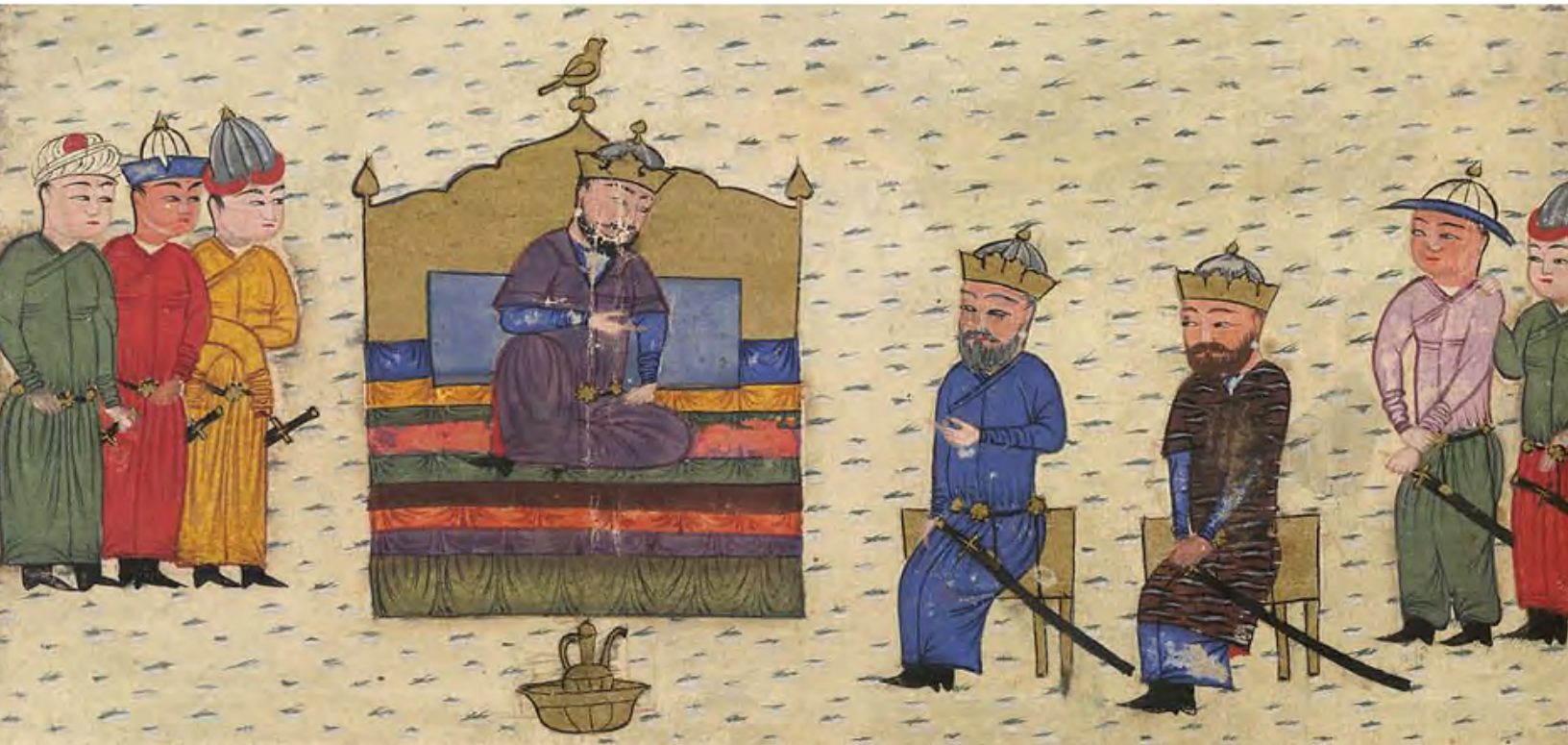
Volume 1, A – K, INDEX

Josef W. Meri, Editor

Medieval Islamic Civilization

AN ENCYCLOPEDIA



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Josef W. Meri
Editor

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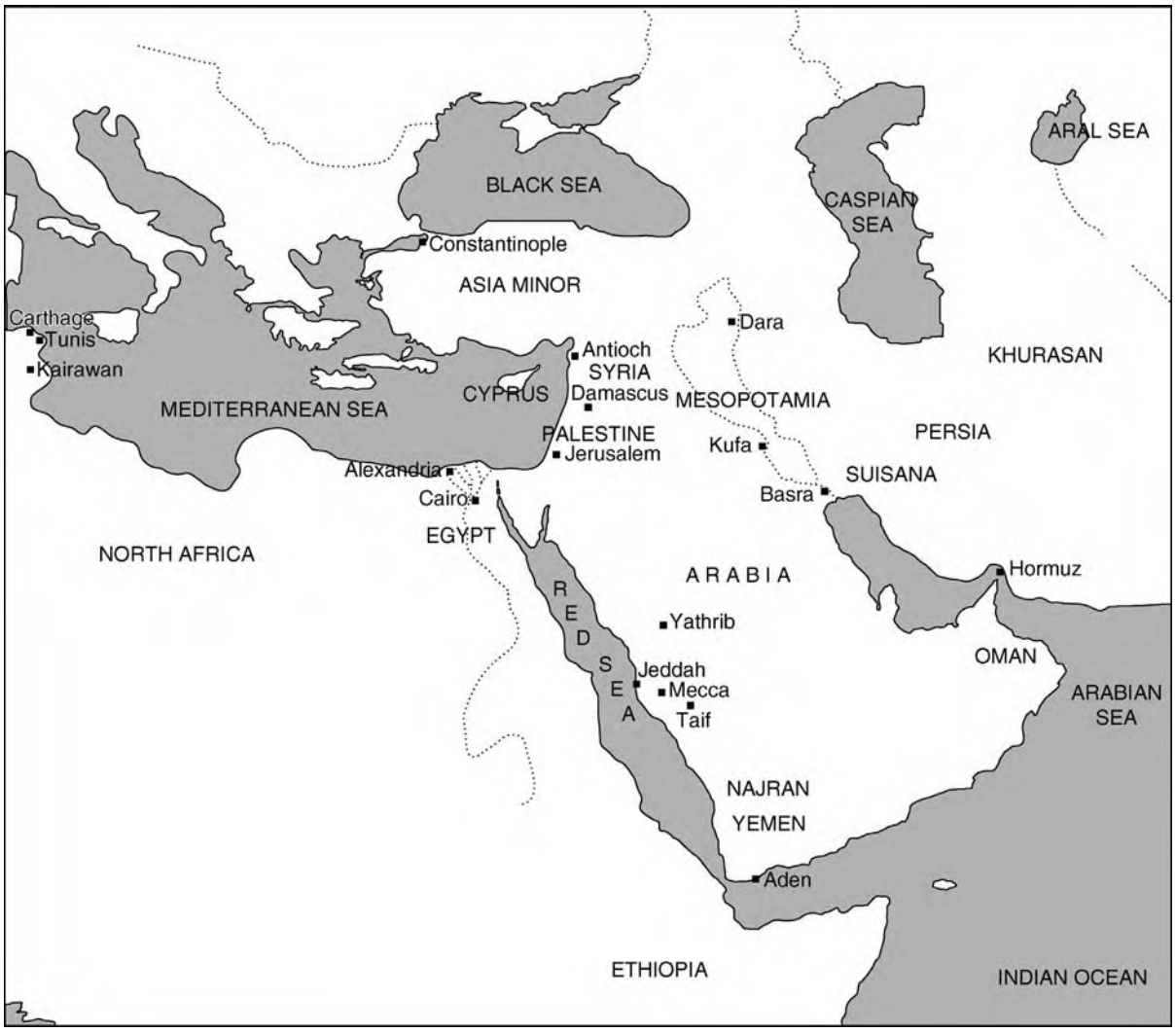
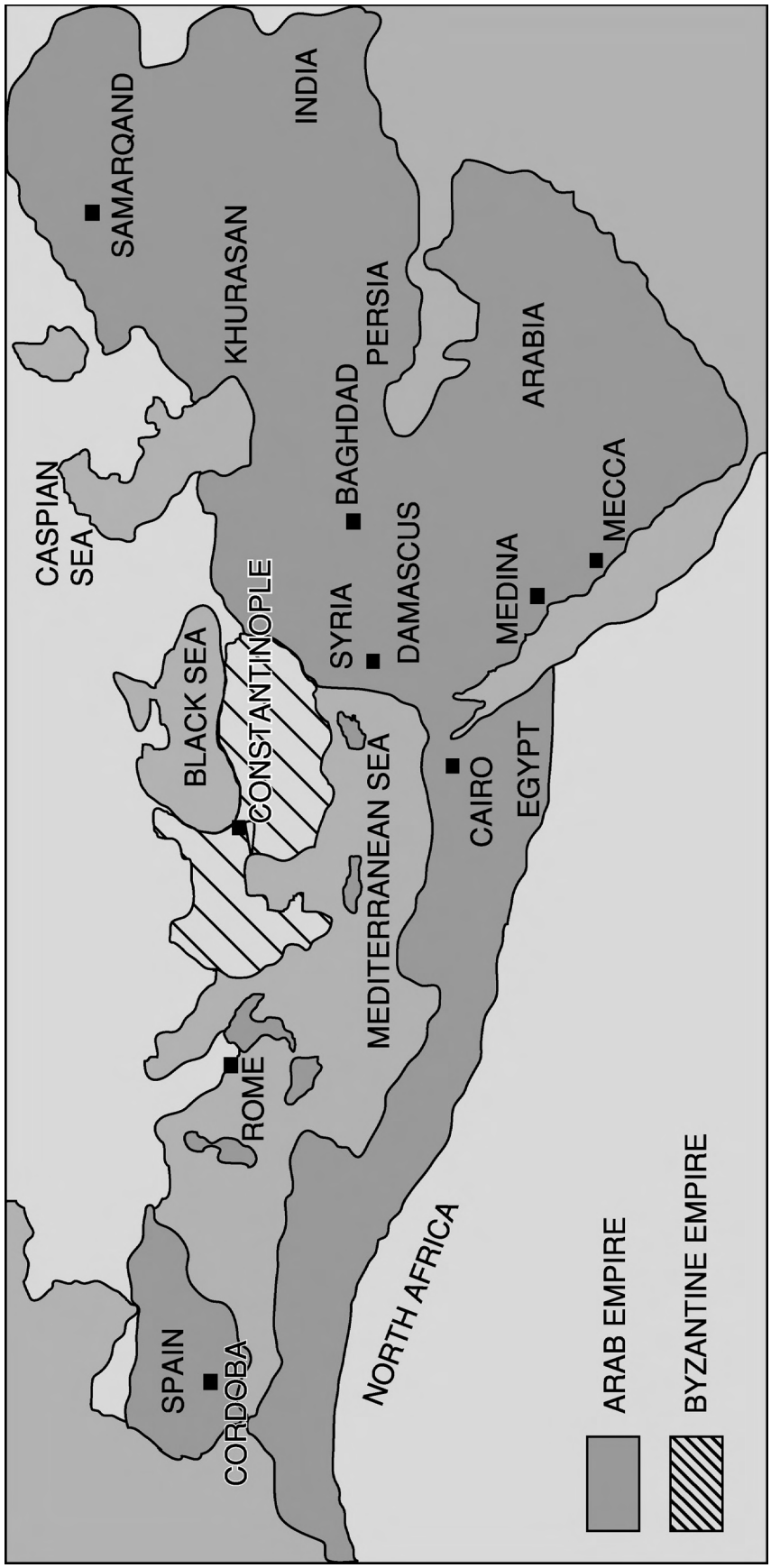
CONTENTS

Maps	vii
Introduction	xi
Medieval Series Note	xv
Editorial Board	xvii
Contributors	xix
List of Entries A to Z	xxvii
Thematic List of Entries	xxxv
Entries A to Z	1
Index	I1

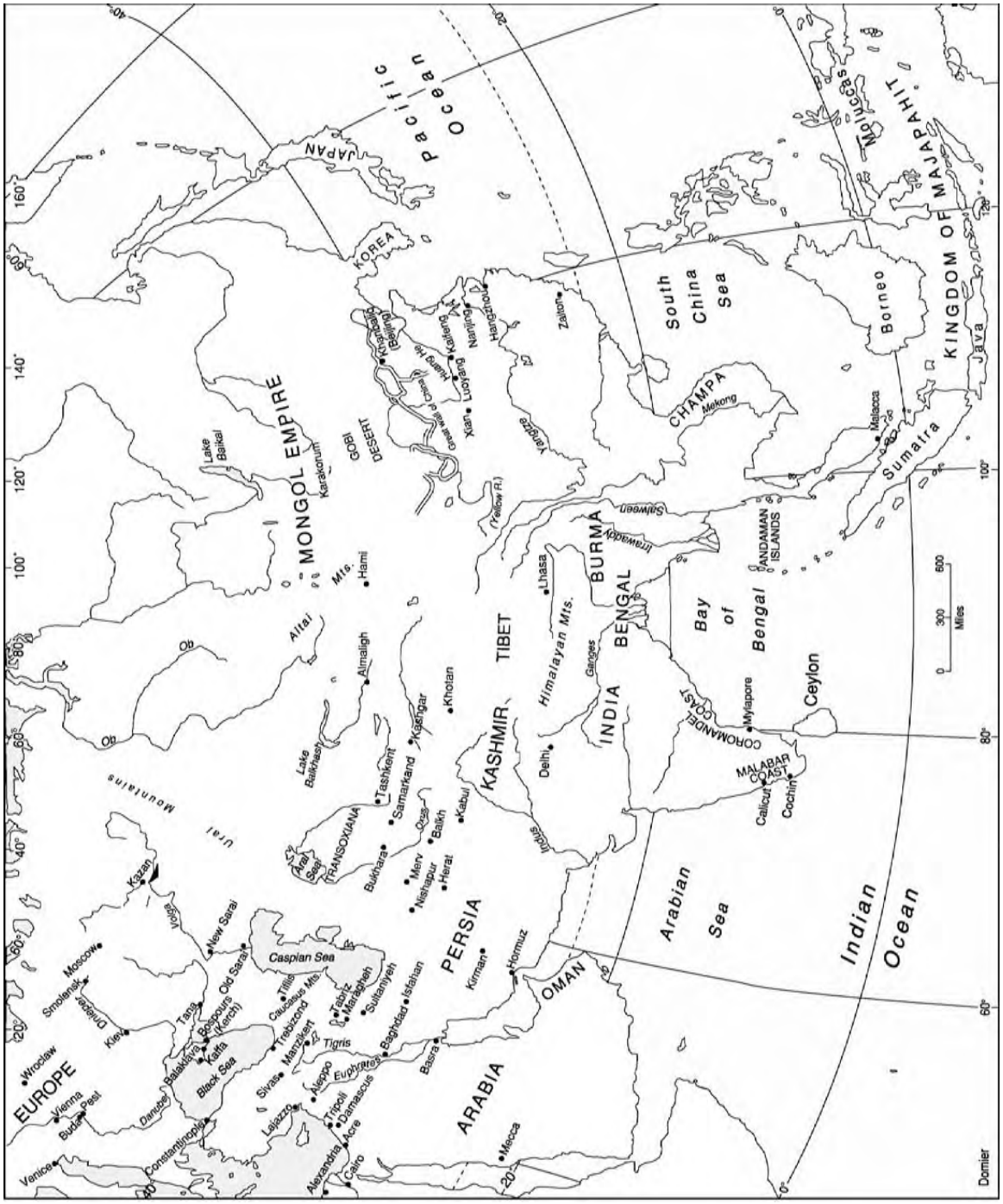
MAPS



Arabia, ca. 600 CE



Arab Empire, 700–850 CE



Asia, 1211–1239 CE

INTRODUCTION

The study of Islam as a religion and the languages of the Middle East, especially Arabic and Persian, has gained in prominence. In the West, a common misperception exists that there is something intrinsic in Islam as a religion that engenders acts of violence and terrorism and that Islamics history is replete with instances of pogroms against non-Muslims. On the contrary, the origin of violent acts lies not in the ontology of any given religion whether Islam, Judaism, or Christianity, in any given Scripture whether the Qur'an, Torah, or Bible, or in any given civilization whether Islamic, Greek, or Roman, but rather in a number of factors, including the psychology of human behavior and the often desperate and trying human conditions that compel humans to carry out desperate acts in times of war and peace, sometimes in the name of religion. The historian of any civilization or historical epoch is keenly aware that no premodern (medieval) society was left unscathed by warfare and political conflicts. Lamentably, until now the paucity of easily accessible English language reference sources about the medieval Islamic world has led to a situation in which some discourses concerning the clash of civilizations, current affairs, and modern ideologies and nationalisms have become synonymous with the whole of Islamic civilization. By contrast, the scholar is able to communicate the defining characteristics of a civilization and is moreover, able to critically understand and engage the Islamic world on its own terms—as heir to one of the world's greatest civilizations, not simply as heir to a world religion whose adherents have historically been in conflict with adherents of other faiths.

Despite increased and indeed, highly successful efforts in the academy to teach about Islam as a religion and the Arabic language, the larger civilizational contextual framework of which both are a part is often ignored and marginalized. Medieval Islamic civilization left an indelible mark on Europe in the transmission of knowledge and ideas in such diverse fields as science, medicine, mathematics, literature, and philosophy.

Medieval Islamic Civilization: An Encyclopedia represents a collaborative effort at bridging the gap between that which we perceive Islam and Islamic civilization to be about and what it really is by providing the reader with an easily accessible reference work presented in a concise language.

Such fundamental questions as to what Islamic civilization is and what Muslims did to contribute to European understanding of the sciences, mathematics, arts, literature, philosophy, and government remain largely unanswered. What was the nature of "interfaith" relations in the Islamic world, and what roles did Jews and Christians play in medieval Islamic societies? As a number of the entries highlight, Jews and Christians attained prominent government posts under various Islamic dynasties from Andalusia and Egypt to Iraq and contributed to the preservation and translation of philosophical and theological texts from Greek, Syriac, and Hebrew into Arabic and other Islamic languages, as well as to the creation of new literary and cultural syntheses borne of a common Islamic cultural milieu. These are among the themes that the entries in this work seek to explore. It is our hope that this work will go a long way toward filling the gaps in knowledge.

Audience

The English-speaking world lacks a single reference work that presents Islamic civilization in a manner intelligible to the nonspecialist. Specialist reference works are numerous and offer more detailed and technical articles about various aspects of Islam from pre-Islamic times to the present. The nonspecialist who desires to understand Islamic civilization is left with few choices except to consult general reference works or works devoted to the European Middle Ages, which only give a fragmented picture of medieval Islamic civilization.

It is to be hoped that the nonspecialist reader, as well as university and secondary school students and teachers, will benefit from this work.

Conception and Genesis

Medieval Islamic Civilization was conceived to share our knowledge as experts in the field of Islamic history and civilization and to correct the misconceptions and misinformation that exist. This impetus encouraged me to take up the challenge of helping to produce a unique reference work. However, it must be emphasized that this is very much an international collaborative effort that includes contributions by leading experts in their fields from North America, Europe, and Asia. Contributors come from various academic backgrounds and employ a diversity of approaches. Each of the entries adopts a unique approach to a given topic and is written dispassionately without regard to current political exigencies or political considerations. *Medieval Islamic Civilization* presents cutting-edge research into such pivotal themes relating to daily life, the ethnic and religious communities of the Islamic world, their beliefs and practices, interfaith relations, popular culture and religion, cultural, economic, and political contacts and exchanges with Europe and Asia, learning and universities, and travel and exploration. It provides a comprehensive portrait of the artistic, intellectual, literary, medical, and scientific achievements of Muslims, Jews, Christians, and others who contributed to the flourishing of one of the greatest civilizations known to humankind. Most of the authors are the leading international experts in their field. Yet all the contributions represent the highest standards in scholarship on the Islamic world.

Choice of Entries

While it is impossible to discuss every facet of Islamic civilization in a two-volume reference—nonspecialist encyclopedias are selective by nature—the choice of entries reflects the diversity of the subjects that are covered herein. The editorial board discussed the entries extensively, and certain additions and emendations were made to compensate for underrepresented themes. Unlike other volumes in this highly acclaimed Routledge series on the Middle Ages that are more geographically specific and are focused on the European Middle Ages from the fifth through sixteenth centuries CE, *Medieval Islamic Civilization* posed a considerable challenge given the geographical expanse of the Islamic world, from the Iberian Peninsula and North Africa to the Middle East, South and Southeast Asia from roughly the sixth through seventeenth centuries. Unlike other reference works, *Medieval Islamic Civilization* has de-emphasized historical themes in favor of an original synthesis that gives greater prominence to aspects of daily life and to the non-Arab elements of Islamic civilization.

The Islamic Middle Ages is taken to represent the period from 622 CE, or the first year of the Hijra of the Prophet Muhammad to Medina, which also marks the first year of the Islamic calendar, though we have also included entries that deal with pre-Islamic themes, peoples, and societies down until the seventeenth century in the case of Southeast Asia, where no significant written records exist for earlier periods.

Indeed, the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries represent the most significant period for written records in Southeast Asia. However, this demarcation is somewhat arbitrary. Indeed, it may be argued that certain continuities existed in Islamic civilization down until the advent of modern secular and national ideologies in the nineteenth century CE.

Acknowledgments

The Board is pleased that so many of our colleagues from around the world recognized the value of *Medieval Islamic Civilization* as not simply another reference work and so enthusiastically answered the call to contribute. We are especially grateful for their inspiring level of commitment and dedication to this initiative and their high-quality contributions.

I would also like to thank the advisory board members for their unstinting dedication, the associate editors Julia Bray and Lutz Richter-Bernburg for expending considerable efforts in commenting on and suggesting revisions to various entries, and to Jere Bacharach for his overall invaluable contributions to *Medieval Islamic Civilization*. I am also grateful to Asma Afsaruddin and Donald Whitcomb for their recommendations. I am especially grateful to the former for agreeing to write a number of significant entries.

This work would not have been possible without the indefatigable efforts and abiding enthusiasm of the editors and publishers at Routledge, in particular Marie-Claire Antoine and Jamie Ehrlich. Also, thanks to the various Routledge staff members who were involved in the early stages of the project.

Finally, it is only fitting that I should pen these words from the Middle East after last having lived here nearly eight years ago.

Josef (Yousef) Waleed Meri
Amman, Jordan

MEDIEVAL SERIES NOTE

The Routledge Encyclopedias of the Middle Ages

Formerly the Garland Encyclopedias of the Middle Ages, this comprehensive series began in 1993 with the publication of *Medieval Scandinavia*. A major enterprise in medieval scholarship, the series brings the expertise of scholars specializing in myriad aspects of the medieval world together in a reference source accessible to students and the general public, as well as to historians and scholars in related fields. Each volume focuses on a geographical area or theme important to medieval studies and is edited by a specialist in that field, who has called upon a board of consulting editors to establish the article list and review the articles. Each article is contributed by a scholar and followed by a bibliography and cross-references to guide further research.

Routledge is proud to carry on the tradition established by the first volumes in this important series. As the series continues to grow, we hope that it will provide the most comprehensive and detailed view of the medieval world in all its aspects ever presented in encyclopedia form.

Vol. 1 *Medieval Scandinavia: An Encyclopedia*. Edited by Phillip Pulsiano.
Vol. 2 *Medieval France: An Encyclopedia.* Edited by William W. Kibler and Grover A. Zinn.
Vol. 3 *Medieval England: An Encyclopedia*. Edited by Paul E. Szarmach, M. Teresa Tavormina, and Joel T. Rosenthal.
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Vol. 11 *Medieval Science, Technology, and Medicine: An Encyclopedia.* Edited by Stephen J. Livesey.
Vol. 12 *Key Figures in Medieval Europe: An Encyclopedia.* Edited by Richard K. Emmerson.

The present volume, *Medieval Islamic Civilization: An Encyclopedia*, edited by Josef W. Meri, is Volume 13 in the series.

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LIST OF ENTRIES A TO Z

A

'Abbasids
'Abd al-Latif al-Baghdadi
'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan
'Abd al-Rahman III
Abu Bakr
Abu Hanifa
Abu 'l-'Ala' al-Ma'arri
Abu 'l-Fadl al-Bayhaqi
Abu 'l-Fadl 'Allami
Abu Nuwas
Abu Shama
Abu Tammam
Abyssinia
Adab
Aden
'Adud al-Dawla
Adultery
Afterlife
Aghlabids
Agra Red Fort
Agriculture
'A'isha bint Abi Bakr
Akbar
Alchemy
Alcohol
Aleppo
Alexander
Alexandria
Algebra
Alhambra
'Ali al-Rida
'Ali ibn Abi Talib
Almohads
Almoravids
Alp Arslan
Alphabets
Amir Khusraw
Amuli, al-
Andalus
Angels
Animal Husbandry
'Antara ibn Shaddad
Apostasy
Apprenticeship
Aqsa Mosque
Aqueducts
Arabia
Arabic
Arabs
Aramaeans
Aramaic
Architecture, Secular—Palaces
Architecture, Secular—Military
Archives and Chanceries
Aristotle and Aristotelianism
Arwa
Ascetics and Asceticism
Askiya Muhammad Touare
Assassins, Ismaili
Astrolabes
Astrology
Astronomy
'Attar, Farid al-Din
Autobiographical Writings
Aya Sophia
'Ayn Jalut
Ayyubids
Azhar, al-

B

Babar
Backgammon
Badr al-Jamali
Badshahi Mosque, Lahore
Baghdad
Bahrain
Bakri, al-, Geographer
Balkans
Baraka
Barani, Zia' al-Din,
Basra
Baths and Bathing
Baybars I, Mamluk Sultan
Beauty and Aesthetics
Berber, or Tamazight
Berbers
Beverages
Bible

Bijapur
Bilal al-Habashi
Biography and Biographical Works
Biruni
Black Death
Books
Botany
Brethren of Purity
Buddhism and Islam
Bukhara
Bukhari
Burial Customs
Burids
Buyids
Byzantine Empire

C

Cairo
Caliphate and Imamate
Calligraphy
Camels
Carpets
Cartography
Central Asia, History (750/1500)
Ceramics
Charity, Islamic
Charity, Jewish
Chess
Children and Childhood
China
Chishti
Chivalry
Christians and Christianity
Circassians
Circumcision
Climate, Theories of
Clothing and Costume
Coins and Currency
Commanding Good and Forbidding Evil
Commentary
Companions of the Prophet
Concubinage
Constitution of Medina
Consultation, or Shura
Coptic Language
Copts
Cordoba
Cosmetics
Court Dress, Abbasid
Court Dress, Fatimid
Court Dress, Mamluk
Credit
Crime and Punishment
Crusades
Cursing
Customary Law
Cyprus

D

Damascus
Dancing
Dara Shikoh
Dates and Calendars
Death and Dying
Decadence, Notion of
Degrees, or Ijaza
Desserts and Confections
Dhimma
Diplomacy
Disability
Divination
Divorce
Dome of the Rock
Dreams and Dream Interpretation
Druze

E

Earthquakes
Education, Islamic
Education, Jewish
Egypt
Elegy
Emigration, or Hijra
Epic Poetry
Epics, Arabic
Epics, Persian
Epics, Turkish
Epidemics
Eschatology
Espionage
Ethics
Eunuchs
European Literature, Perception of Islam
Excellences Literature

F

Farabi, al- (Alfarabius or Avennasar)
Fatima bint Muhammad
Fatimids
Ferdowsi

Festivals and Celebrations
Fez
Floods
Folk Literature, Arabic
Folk Literature, Persian
Folk Literature,Turkish
Folk Medicine
Food and Diet
Foreigners
Franks, or Ifranj
Freethinkers
Funerary Practices: Jewish
Funerary Practices: Muslim
Furniture and Furnishings
Fustat

G

Gambling
Gang-i Shakar, Farid al-Din
Gardens and Gardening
Gender and Sexuality
Genghis Khan
Geniza
Geography
Geometry
Gesudaraz
Ghana
Ghassanids
Ghazali
Ghaznavids
Gibraltar
Gifts and Gift Giving
Glassware
Gnosis
Grammar and Grammarians
Grammar and Grammarians, Hebrew and Judeo-Arabic
Granada
Greek
Guilds, Professional

H

Hadith
Hafsa bint al-Hajj al-Rukuniyya
Hafsids
Hajj
Hakim, al-, Fatimid Caliph
Hamadhani, Badi‘ al-Zaman
Hamdanids
Harawi, al-, ‘Ali B. Abi Bakr
Harizi, Judah, al-
Harun al-Rashid
Hasan al-Basri, al-
Hassan-i Sabbah
Hebrew
Hebron
Herat
Heresy and Heretics
Heroes and Heroism
Hilli, al-, al-‘Allama
Hippology
Hiraba, or Brigandage
Horticulture
Houses
Humanism
Humayun
Humor
Hunayn ibn Ishaq
Hunting
Husayn ibn ‘Ali

I

Ibadis
Ibn al-‘Adim
Ibn al-Athir
Ibn al-Furat
Ibn al-Haytham or Alhazen
Ibn al-Jawzi
Ibn al-Muqaffa‘
Ibn al-Nafis
Ibn al-Rawandi
Ibn ‘Arab
Ibn ‘Asakir
Ibn Babawayh
Ibn Battuta
Ibn Ezra, Abraham
Ibn Ezra, Moses Ben Jacob
Ibn Gabirol, Solomon
Ibn Hamdis
Ibn Hanbal
Ibn Ishaq
Ibn Jubayr
Ibn Khaldun
Ibn Khurradadhbih
Ibn Naghrela, Samuel
Ibn Qādī Shuhba
Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya
Ibn Qutayba
Ibn Quzman
Ibn Rushd, or Averroes
Ibn Sa‘d
Ibn Shaddad
Ibn Shahin, Nissim ben Jacob

Ibn Sina, or Avicenna
Ibn Taghri Birdi
Ibn Taymiyya
Ibn Tufayl
Ibn Tulun
Ibn Tumart
Ibn Wasil
Ibn Yunus
Ibn Zur'a
Idolatry
Idrisi
Idrisids
Ikhshidids
Ilkhanids
Illuminationism
Imam
India
Inheritance
Intellectual History
Interfaith Relations
Iranian Languages
Isfahan
Isfahani, al-, Abu Nu'aym
Ishaq ibn Ibrahim
Islam
Ismailis
Istanbul
'Izz Al-Din

J

Ja'far al-Sadiq
Jahiz, al-
Jami
Java
Jerusalem
Jesus
Jewelry
Jews
Jihad
Jinn
Judah ha-Levi
Judeo-Arabic
Judges
Juha
Jurjani, al-
Juwayni

K

Ka'ba, or Kaaba
Kabbala
Kalila wa Dimna
Karaites
Karbala
Khalid ibn al-Walid
Kharijis
Khatib al-Baghdadi, al-
Khurasan
Khuza'i, Ahmad ibn Nasr
Kilwa
Kindi, al-, Historian
Kindi, al-, Philosopher
Kirmani, al-, Hamid al-Din
Konya
Kufa
Kulayni, al-
Kurdish
Kurds

L

Land Tenure and Ownership, or Iqta'
Law and Jurisprudence
Libraries
Linguistics, Arabic
Love Poetry

M

Madrasa
Mahmud of Ghazna
Mahmud-al-Kati, African Scholar
Maimonides
Majlisi, al-
Majusi, al-, or Haly Abbas
Malay Peninsula
Mali Empire
Malik ibn Anas
Malikism
Malikshah
Mamluks
Ma'mun, al-
Mansa Musa
Manuscripts
Manzikert
Maqama
Maqqari, al-
Maqrizi, al-
Marinids
Markets
Marriage, Islamic

Marriage, Jewish
Martyrdom
Mas'udi, al-
Mathematical Geography
Mathematics
Mawardi, al-
Mecca
Medical Literature, Hebrew
Medical Literature, Persian
Medical Literature, Syriac
Medical Literature, Turkish
Medina
Mediterranean Sea
Mental Illness
Merchants, Jewish
Merchants, Muslim
Messianism
Metalwork
Meteorology
Minerals
Mining
Mir Damad
Mirrors for Princes
Monasticism, Arab
Money Changers
Mongol Warfare
Mongols
Mosaics
Moses
Mosque of Ibn Tulun, Cairo
Mosques
Mu'ayyad fi al-Din, al-
Mu'tazilites
Muhammad al-Baqir
Muhammad ibn al-Qasim
Muhammad, the Prophet
Mulla Sadra
Music
Muslim Community and Polity, or Umma
Muslim ibn al-Hajjaj
Muslim-Byzantine Relations
Muslim-Crusader Relations
Muslim-Mongol Diplomacy
Mutanabbi
Mysticism, Jewish
Mythical Places

N

Nafs al-Zakiyya
Names
Navigation
Navy
Nawruz
Nezami
Nile
Nishapur
Nizam al-Din
Nizam al-Mulk
Nomadism and Pastoralism
Numbers
Nur al-Din ibn Zanki
Nur Jahan
Nusayris

O

Oaths
Öljeitü
Oman
One Thousand and One Nights
Ophthalmology
Optics
Ottoman Empire

P

Painting, Miniature
Painting, Monumental and Frescoes
Palermo
Palestine
Paper Manufacture
Party Kingdoms, Iberian Peninsula
Peace and Peacemaking
Peasants
Performing Artists
Perfume
Persian
Persians
Pharmacology
Philosophy
Pigeons
Pilgrimage
Plato, Platonism, and Neoplatonism
Poetry, Arabic
Poetry, Hebrew
Poetry, Indian
Poetry, Persian
Police
Political Theory
Popular Literature
Post, or Barid
Poverty, Islamic

Poverty, Jewish
Prayer
Precedence
Predestination
Primary Schools, or Kuttab
Prisons
Processions, Religious
Processions, Military
Prophets, Tales of
Prostitution
Ptolemy

Q

Qayrawan
Qazwini, al-
Qur'an
Qur'an and Arabic Literature
Qur'an, Reciters and Recitation
Qutb Minar

R

Raniri, al-, Nur al-Din
Rashid al-Din
Rasulids
Razi, al-, Fakhr al-Din
Razi, al-, or Rhazes
Razia Sultana
Reform, or Islah
Renewal (Tajdid)
Rhetoric
Road Networks
Romance Languages and Literatures of Iberia
Rosewater

S

Sa'adyah Gaon
Sacred Geography
Safavids
Saints and Sainthood, Christian
Saladin, or Salah al-Din
Salman al-Farisi
Samanids
Samarqand
Samarra
Sasanians, Islamic Traditions
Scholarship
Schools of Jurisprudence
Scribes, Copyists
Scriptural Exegesis, Islamic
Scriptural Exegesis, Jewish
Sculpture
Sedentarism
Seeking Knowledge
Selimiye Mosque, Edirne
Seljuks
Seven Sleepers
Seville
Shadow Plays
Shafi'i, al-
Shah 'Abbas
Shahnama
Shajar al-Durr
Shawkani, al-
Shi'i Law
Shi'i Thought
Shi'ism
Ships and Shipbuilding
Sibawayhi
Sibt ibn al-Jawzi
Sicily
Silk Roads
Sinan
Sindh
Singing
Sira
Sirhindi, Ahmad
Slavery, Military
Slaves and Slave Trade, Eastern Islamic World
Slaves and Slave Trade, Western Islamic World
Socializing
Songhay Empire
Southeast Asia, History and Culture
Southeast Asia, Languages and Literatures
Spices
Sports
Sudan
Suffering
Sufism and Sufis: South Asia
Suhrawardi, al-, Shihab al-Din 'Umar
Sulayhids
Süleymaniye Mosque
Sultan
Sunni Ali, Songhay Ruler
Sunni Revival
Surgery and Surgical Techniques
Suyuti, al-
Synagogues
Syria, Greater Syria
Syriac

T

Tabari, al-
Taj Mahal
Talismans and Talismanic Objects
Tamerlane, or Timur
Tawhidi, al-, Abu Hayyan
Technology, Mills: Water and Wind
Textiles
Theater
Theology
Time, Concepts of
Timurids
Titles
Trade, African
Trade, Indian Ocean
Trade, Mediterranean
Translation, Arabic into Hebrew
Translation, Arabic into Persian
Translation, Pre-Islamic Learning into Arabic
Transoxiania
Travel
Tribes and Tribal Customs
Tulunids
Turkish and Turkic Languages
Turks
Tus
Tusi, al-, Muhammad ibn Hasan
Tusi, al-, Nasir al-Din

U

'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz
'Umar ibn al-Farid
'Umar ibn al-Khattab
Umayyad Mosque, Damascus
Umayyads
Urbanism
Usama ibn Munqidh
Usury and Interest
Uthman ibn 'Affan

V

Viziers

W

Waqf
Waqidi, al-
Weather
Wine
Women, Jewish
Women, Patrons
Women Poets
Women Warriors

Y

Ya'qub ibn Killis
Yaqut
Yazidis
Yemen

Z

Zankids
Zayd ibn Thabit
Zaydis
Ziryab
Zoroastrianism

THEMATIC LIST OF ENTRIES

Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, and Hunting

Agriculture
Animal Husbandry
Aqueducts
Camels
Horticulture
Hunting
Nomadism and Pastoralism
Sedentarism

Arts and Architecture

Agra Red Fort
Alhambra
Aqsa Mosque
Architecture, Secular—Military
Architecture, Secular—Palaces
Aya Sophia
Badshahi Mosque, Lahore
Baths and Bathing
Beauty and Aesthetics
Books
Carpets
Ceramics
Dome of the Rock
Furniture and Furnishings
Gardens and Gardening
Glassware
Houses
Jewelry
Madrasa
Metalwork
Mosaics
Mosque of Ibn Tulun, Cairo
Mosques
Music
Musical Instruments
Painting, Miniature
Painting, Monumental and Frescoes
Paper Manufacture
Performing Artists
Poetry
Qutb Minar
Sculpture
Selimiye Mosque, Edirne
Shadow Plays
Shahnama
Sinan
Singing
Süleymaniye Mosque
Sunni Revival
Taj Mahal
Talismans and Talismanic Objects
Textiles
Theater
Umayyad Mosque, Damascus
Urbanism
Women, Patrons
Ziryab

Commerce and Economy

Cartography
Chess
Credit
Land Tenure and Ownership, or Iqta‘
Markets
Merchants, Jewish
Merchants, Muslim
Minerals
Mining
Money Changers
Navigation
Road Networks
Ships and Shipbuilding
Silk Roads
Slaves and Slave Trade, Eastern Islamic World
Slaves and Slave Trade, Western Islamic World
Spices
Technology, Mills, Water, and Wind

Textiles
Trade, African
Trade, Indian Ocean
Trade, Mediterranean
Usury and Interest
Weather

Daily Life

Alcohol
Alphabets
Backgammon
Baraka
Baths and Bathing
Beverages
Charity, Islamic
Charity, Jewish
Chess
Children and Childhood
Circumcision
Clothing and Costume
Concubinage
Court Dress, ‘Abbasid
Court Dress, Fatimid
Court Dress, Mamluk
Cursing
Dancing
Decadence, Notion of
Death and Dying
Desserts and Confections
Disability
Divorce
Ethics
Festivals and Celebrations
Food and Diet
Funerary Practices, Jewish
Funerary Practices, Muslim
Furniture and Furnishings
Gambling
Gardens and Gardening
Gifts and Gift Giving
Heroes and Heroism
Humor
Hunting
Interfaith Relations
Markets
Marriage, Islamic
Marriage, Jewish
Music
Names
Nawruz
Perfume
Pigeons
Pilgrimage
Popular Literature
Poverty, Islamic
Poverty, Jewish
Processions, Religious
Rosewater
Seven Sleepers
Socializing
Spices
Sports
Suffering
Wine

Diplomacy, Government, Politics, and Cultural Exchanges

Archives and Chanceries
Diplomacy
Gifts and Gift Giving
Mirrors for Princes
Muslim-Byzantine Relations
Muslim-Crusader Relations
Muslim-Mongol Diplomacy
Peace and Peacemaking
Police
Post, or Barid
Political Theory
Viziers

Dynasties, Empires, Rulers, and Statesmen

‘Abbasids
‘Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan
‘Abd al-Rahman III
Abu Bakr
‘Adud al-Dawla
Aghlabids
Akbar
Almohads
Almoravids
Alp Arslan
Arwa
Askiya Muhammad Touare
Ayyubids
Babar
Baybars I, Mamluk Sultan
Burids
Buyids
Byzantine Empire
Fatimids
Genghis Khan

Ghassanids
Ghaznavids
Hafsids
Hakim, Al-, Fatimid Caliph
Hamdanids
Humayun
Ibn Naghrela, Samuel
Ibn Tulun
Ibn Tumart
Idrisids
Ikhshidids
Ilkhanids
Mahmud of Ghazna
Mali Empire
Malikshah
Mamluks
Ma'mun, al-, 'Abbasid Caliph
Mansa Musa
Marinids
Nizam al-Mulk
Nur al-Din ibn Zanki
Nur Jahan
Öljeitü
Ottoman Empire
Party Kingdoms, Iberian Peninsula
Rasulids
Razia Sultana
Saladin, or Salah al-Din
Samanids
Sasanians, Islamic Traditions
Seljuks
Shah 'Abbas
Shajar al-Durr
Songhay Empire
Sulayhids
Sultan
Sunni Ali, Songhay Ruler
Tamerlane, or Timur
Timurids
Titles
Tulunids
'Umar ibn al-Khattab
Uthman ibn 'Affan
Umayyads
Ya'qub ibn Killis
Zankids
Zaydis

Geography

Bakri, al-, Geographer
Cartography
Geography
Ibn Khurradadhbih
Idrisi
Qazwini, al-
Mathematical Geography
Sacred Geography
Yaqut

History and Historical Concepts

Abu Shama
Barani, Zia' al-Din, Historian of Pre-Moghul India
Biography and Biographical Works
Cairo
Geniza
Ibn al-'Adim
Ibn 'Asakir
Ibn al-Athir
Ibn al-Furat
Ibn al-Jawzi
Ibn Khaldun
Ibn Qādī Shuhba
Ibn Shaddad
Ibn Taghri Birdi
Ibn Wasil
Intellectual History
Khatib al-Baghdadi, al-
Kindi, al-, Historian
Mahmud al-Kati, African Scholar
Maqqari, al-
Maqrizi, al-
Mas'udi, al-
Rashid al-Din
Sibt ibn al-Jawzi
Tabari, al-
Waqidi, al-

Language

Arabic
Aramaic
Berber, or Tamazight
Coptic Language
Grammar and Grammarians
Grammar and Grammarians, Hebrew and Judeo-Arabic
Greek
Hebrew
Iranian Languages
Kurdish
Linguistics, Arabic
Persian
Romance Languages and Literatures

Sibawayh
Syriac
Turkish and Turkic Languages
Urdu

Law and Jurisprudence

Abu Hanifa
Adultery
Apostasy
Bukhari, al-
Commanding Good and Forbidding Evil
Constitution of Medina
Consultation, or Shura
Crime and Punishment
Customary Law
Disability
Divorce
Ethics
Heresy and Heretics
Idolatry
Ibn Hanbal
Inheritance
Ja'far al-Sadiq
Judges
Land Tenure and Ownership
Law and Jurisprudence
Maimonides
Malik ibn Anas
Marriage, Islamic
Marriage, Jewish
Mawardi, al-
Muhammad al-Baqir
Muslim ibn al-Hajjaj
Prisons
Reform, or Islah
Renewal (Tajdid)
Schools of Jurisprudence
Sa'adyah Gaon
Schools of Jurisprudence
Shafi'i, al-
Shari'a
Shawkani, al-
Shi'ism
Usury and Interest
Waqf
Zaydis

Learning

Azhar, al-
Degrees, or Ijaza
Education, Islamic
Education, Jewish
Humanism
Libraries
Madrasa
Manuscripts
Primary Schools, or Kuttab
Scholarship
Seeking Knowledge
Translation, Arabic to Hebrew
Translation, Arabic to Persian
Translation, Pre-Islamic Learning into Arabic

Literature

Adab
Amir Khusraw
'Antara ibn Shaddad
'Attar, Farid al-Din
Autobiographical Writings
Biography and Biographical Works
Decadence
Elegy
Epic Poetry
Epics, Arabic
Epics, Persian
Epics, Turkish
European Literature, Perception of Islam
Excellences Literature
Ferdowsi
Folk Literature, Arabic
Folk Literature, Persian
Folk Literature, Turkish
Foreigners
Hafsa bint al-Hajj al-Rukuniyya
(Andalusian Poetess)
Harizi, Judah, al-
Humor
Ibn Gabirol
Ibn Hamdis
Ibn al-Muqaffa
Ibn Naghrela, Samuel
Ibn Qutayba
Ibn Quzman
Ibn Sa'd
Ibn Shahin, Nissim ben Jacob
Jahiz, al-
Jami
Judah ha-Levi
Jurjani, Al-
Kalila wa Dimna
Love poetry
Maqama

Mirrors for Princes
One Thousand and One Nights
Poetry, Arabic
Poetry, Hebrew
Poetry, Persian
Poetry, Indian
Popular Literature
Prophets, Tales of
Rhetoric
Shahnama
Sira
Translation

Magic and Divinatory Arts

Astrology
Divination
Dreams and Dream Interpretation
Talismans and Talismanic Objects

Medicine

Black Death
Death and Dying
Disability
Folk Medicine
Food and Diet
Hunayn ibn Ishaq
Ibn al-Haytham, or Alhazen
Ibn al-Nafis
Ibn Sina
Maimonides
Majusi, Al-
Medical Literature, Hebrew
Medical Literature, Persian
Medical Literature, Syriac
Medical Literature, Turkish
Mental Illness
Ophthalmology
Optics
Pharmocology
Razi, al-, or Rhazes
Surgery and Surgical Techniques

Mythical Beings and Places

Angels
Jinn
Mythical Places

Natural Disasters and Weather

Climate, Theories of
Earthquakes
Floods
Meteorology

Personal Hygiene and Cosmetics

Baths and Bathing
Cosmetics
Perfume
Personal Hygiene

Persons

Individuals

'Abd al-Latif al-Baghdadi
'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan
'Abd al-Rahman III
Abu 'l-'Ala' al-Ma'arri
Abu Bakr
Abu'l-Fadl 'Allami
Abu 'l-Fadl al-Bayhaqi
Abu Hanifa
Abu Nuwas
Abu Shama
Abu Tammam
'Adud al-Dawla
Akbar
Alexander
'Ali al-Rida
'Ali ibn Abi Talib
Alp Arslan
Amir Khusraw
Amuli, al-
'Antara ibn Shaddad
Arwa
Askiya Muhammad Touare
Awliya', Nizam al-Din
Babar
Badr al-Jamali
Bakri, al-, Geographer
Barani, Zia' al-Din, Historian of Pre-Mughal India
Bayazid, Yildirim
Baybars I, Mamluk Sultan
Bilal al-Habashi
Biruni, al-

Chishti
Companions of the Prophet
Dara Shikoh
Farabi, al-
Fatima bint Muhammad
Ferdowsi
Gang-i Shakar, Farid al-Din
Genghis Khan
Gesudaraz
Ghazali, al-
Hafsa bint al-Hajj al-Rukuniyya (Andalusian Poetess)
Hakim, al-, Fatimid Caliph
Hamadhani, al-, Badi‘ al-Zaman
Harun al-Rashid
Harawi, al-, ‘Ali ibn Abi Bakr
Hasan al-Basri, al-
Hassan-i Sabbah
Hilli, al-, al-‘Allama
Humayun
Hunayn ibn Ishaq
Husayn ibn ‘Ali
Ibn al-‘Adim
Ibn ‘Arabi
Ibn ‘Asakir
Ibn al-Athir
Ibn Babawayh
Ibn Battuta
Ibn Ezra, Abraham
Ibn Ezra, Moses Ben Jacob
Ibn al-Furat
Ibn Gabirol, Solomon
Ibn Hamdis
Ibn Hanbal
Ibn al-Haytham, or Alhazen
Ibn Ishaq
Ibn al-Jawzi
Ibn Jubayr
Ibn Khaldun
Ibn Khurradadhbih
Ibn al-Muqaffa
Ibn al-Nafis
Ibn Naghrela
Ibn Qadi Shuhba
Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya
Ibn Qutayba
Ibn Quzman
Ibn al-Rawandi
Ibn Rushd, or Averroes
Ibn Sa‘d
Ibn Shaddad
Ibn Shahin, Nissim ben Jacob
Ibn Sina, or Avicenna
Ibn Taghribirdi
Ibn Taymiyya
Ibn Tufayl
Ibn Tulun
Ibn Tumart
Ibn Wasil
Ibn Zur‘a, Christian Philosopher
Idrisi
Isfahani, Al-, Abu Nu‘aym
Ishaq ibn Ibrahim
Ja‘far al-Sadiq
Jahiz, al-
Jami
Judah ha-Levi
Judah al-Harizi
Jurjani, al-
Juvayni
Khalid ibn al-Walid
Khatib al-Baghdadi, Al-
Khuza‘i Ahmad ibn Nasr
Kindi, al-, Historian
Kindi, al-, Philosopher
Kirmani, al-, Hamid al-Din
Kulayni, al-
Mahmud of Ghazna
Mahmud al-Kati
Maimonides
Majlisi, al-
Majusi, al-
Malik ibn Anas
Malikshah
Ma’mun, al-
Mansa Musa
Maqqari, al-
Maqrizi, al-
Mas‘udi, al-
Mawardi, al-
Mir Damad
Moses
Mu’ayyad fi al-Din, al-
Muhammad, the Prophet
Muhammad al-Baqir
Muhammad ibn al-Qasim
Mulla Sadra
Muslim ibn al-Hajjaj
Mutanabbi, al-
Nafs al-Zakiyya
Nezami
Nizam al-Mulk
Nur al-Din ibn Zanki
Nur Jahan
Öljeitü
Plato, Platonism, and Neoplatonism
Qazwini, al-
Raniri, al-, Nur al-Din
Rashid al-Din
Razi, al-, Fakhr al-Din

Razi, al-, or Rhazes
Razia Sultana
Sa'adyah Gaon
Saladin, or Salah al-Din
Salman al-Farisi
Shafi'i, al-
Shah Abbas
Shajar al-Durr
Shawkani, al-
Shirazi, al-, Sadr al-Din
Sibawayh
Sibt ibn al-Jawzi
Sinan
Sirhindi, Ahmad
Suhrawardi, al-, Shihab al-Din 'Umar
Sunni 'Ali
Tabari, al-
Tamerlane, or Timur
Tawhidi, al-, Abu 'l-Hayyan
Tusi, al-, Nasir al-Din
'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz
'Umar ibn al-Farid
'Umar ibn al-Khattab
Usama ibn Munqidh
'Uthman ibn 'Affan
Waqidi, al-
Ya'qub ibn Killis
Yaqut
Zayd ibn Thabit
Ziryab

Peoples

Arabs
Aramaeans
Berbers
Circassians
Copts
Jews
Kurds
Mongols
Persians
Turks

Philosophy and Thought

Amuli, al-
Aristotle and Aristotelianism
Brethren of Purity
Freethinkers
Gnosis
Kirmani, al-, Hamid al-Din
Ibn al-Rawandi
Ibn Rushd
Ibn Sina
Ibn Tufayl
Ibn Zur'a
Illuminationism
Farabi, al- (Alfarabius or Avennasar)
Kindi, al-
Maimonides
Mu'ayyad fi al-Din, Al-
Mulla Sadra
Plato, Platonism, and Neoplatonism
Philosophy
Razi, al-, or Rhazes
Shirazi, al-, Sadr al-Din
Tawhidi, al-, Abu Hayyan
Tusi, al-, Muhammad ibn Hasan
Time, Notions of

Places and Place Study

Abyssinia
Aden
Aleppo
Alexandria
Andalus
Arabia
Baghdad
Bahrain
Balkans
Basra
Bijapur
Brunei
Bukhara
Cairo
Central Asia, History
China
Cordoba
Cyprus
Damascus
Egypt
Fez
Fustat
Ghana
Gibraltar
Granada
Hebron
Herat
India
Isfahan
Istanbul
Java
Jerusalem

Ka'ba, or Kaaba
Karbala
Khurasan
Kilwa
Kufa
Malay Peninsula
Mecca
Mediterranean Sea
Medina
Nile
Nishapur
Oman
Palestine
Qayrawan
Samarqand
Samarra
Seville
Sicily
Sindh
Sudan
Syria, Greater Syria
Transoxiana
Tus
Yemen

Professions, Groups, and Societies

Apprenticeship
Eunuchs
Franks, or Ifranj
Guilds, Professional
Merchants, Christian
Merchants, Jewish
Merchants, Muslim
Money Changers
Peasants
Performing Artists
Qur'an, Reciters and Recitation
Scholars
Scribes, Copyists
Singing
Tribes and Tribal Customs
Urbanism

Religion and Theology

Abu 'l-Fadl al-Bayhaqi
Kulayni, al-
Afterlife
Angels
Aramaeans
Ascetics and Asceticism
Ash'aris
Assasins, Ismaili
Awliya', Nizam al-Din
Bible
Buddhism and Islam
Bukhari
Caliphate and Imamate
Christians and Christianity
Copts
Dates and Calendars
Dhimma
Disability
Druze
Emigration, or Hijra
Eschatology
Funerary Practices, JewishMuslim
Funerary Practices, Muslim
Ghazali, al-
Hadith
Hajj
Heresy and Heretics
Hilli, al-, al-'Allama
Ibadis
Ibn Babawayh
Ibn Hanbal
Ibn Taymiyya
Idolatry
Imam
Islam
Ismailis
Ja'far al-Sadiq
Jesus
Jews
Jihad
Ka'ba
Kabbala
Karaites
Kharijis
Khuza'i, Ahmad ibn Nasr
Majlisi, al-
Malik ibn Abas
Malikism
Marriage, Islamic
Marriage, Jewish
Martyrdom
Mawardi, al-
Mecca
Medina
Messianism
Mir Damad
Monasticism, Arab
Mu'ayyad fi al-Din, al-
Muhammad, the Prophet
Muhammad al-Baqir

Muslim Community and Polity, or Umma
Muslim ibn al-Hajjaj
Mu'tazilites
Mysticism, Jewish
Nusayris
Oaths
Pilgrimage
Prayer
Precedence
Pre-Destination
Qur'an
Qur'an and Arabic Literature
Qur'an, Reciters and Recitation
Razi, al-, Fakhr al-Din
Reform, or Islah
Renewal, or Tajdid
Saints and Sainthood
Sa'adyah Gaon
Scriptural Exegesis, Islamic
Scriptural Exegesis, Jewish
Shafi'i, al-
Shi'i Thought
Shi'ism
Suhrawardi, al-, Shihab al-Din 'Umar
Sunni Revival
Suyuti, al-
Synagogues
Syriac
Tusi, al-, Muhammad ibn Hasan
Waqf
Yazidis
Zayd ibn Thabit
Zaydis
Zoroastrianism

Science and Mathematics

Alchemy
Algebra
Astrolabes
Astrology
Astronomy
Biruni, al-
Botany
Cartography
Climate, Theories of
Dates and Calendars
Geometry
Hippology
Mathematics
Meteorology
Numbers
Pharmacology
Ophthalmology
Optics
Ptolemy
Surgery and Surgical Techniques
Tusi, al-, Nasir al-Din

Travel, Pilgrimage, and Exploration

Cartography
Hajj
Harawi, al-, 'Ali ibn Abi Bakr
Ibn Battuta
Ibn Jubayr
Pilgrimage
Road Networks
Silk Roads
Travel

Warfare and Warfare Technology

'Ayn Jalut
Chivalry
Espionage
Hiraba, or Brigandage
Khalid ibn al-Walid
Manzikert
Mongol Warfare
Muhammad ibn al-Qasim
Navy
Processions, Military
Seljuk Warfare
Slavery, Military
Women, Warriors

Women, Gender, and Families

'A'isha bint Abi Bakr
Arwa
Children and Childhood
Gender and Sexuality
Hafsa bint al-Hajj al-Rukuniyya
Razia Sultana
Shajar al-Durr
Women, Jewish
Women, Patrons
Women, Poets
Women, Warriors

A

‘ABBASIDS

The ‘Abbasid Dynasty (r. 750–1258) came to power after a revolution (747–750) that resulted in the overthrowing of the Syrian-based Umayyad dynasty (r. 661–750). Scholars have divided the period of ‘Abbasid rule into two main eras: (1) 750–945, the ‘‘Golden Age’’ of ‘Abbasid rule and the beginning of its decline; and (2) 945–1258, the period after the ‘Abbasids’ loss of autonomy to regional warlord dynasties and ending with the Mongol execution of the last ‘Abbasid caliph in 1258. This division, which is largely artificial in nature, has affected the nature of the modern study of the ‘Abbasids, with the majority of work being done on the earlier period of ‘Abbasid rule.

Taking their name from an uncle of the Prophet (i.e., al-‘Abbas), the ‘Abbasids sought legitimacy for both the revolution and their subsequent rule by emphasizing their family lineage to the Prophet and the alleged transference of authority to their family line by a descendant of ‘Ali b. Abi Talib. Supporters of the ‘Abbasid dynasty argued that the ‘Abbasids were part of a literal revolution (dawla) in the sense that the ‘Abbasid Caliphate would bring the Islamic community back full circle to its earlier mores as found during the time of the Prophet and the four Rightly Guided Caliphs. Rather than ruling as an elitist Arab dynasty (a crime of which they accused the Umayyads), the ‘Abbasids sought to govern in a more universal fashion as symbols of a unified Sunni community. To that end, the ‘Abbasid caliphs used honorific titles (laqab/pl. alqab) such as *al-Mahdi, al-Ma‘mun*, and *al-Qadir* to denote their links to Allah, and they adopted the title *al-Imam* in addition to the traditional titles of *Caliph* and *Commander of the Faithful.* Another change from the Umayyad period was that Persian culture (i.e., political, literary, and personnel) was more fully integrated into ‘Abbasid society; a key example was the central role played by the Persian Barmakid family of viziers during the early ‘Abbasid government. Modern scholars continue to debate the nature of the ‘Abbasid revolution and the later ‘Abbasid rule, focusing on such issues as the ethnolinguistic and regional backgrounds of those that fought for the ‘Abbasid cause (the abna’ al-dawla); later disputes about the role of the caliphs in determining correct belief; and the nature of the Islamic polity in light of the loss of ‘Abbasid autonomy to regional powers starting in the tenth century.

During the decades after the revolution, the ‘Abbasids successfully consolidated and strengthened their control over their lands. Al-Mansur (r. 754–775) was instrumental during these early years in two distinct ways: (1) he removed any potential/actual rivals to ‘Abbasid rule through direct assassination and/or putting down localized revolts; and (2) he founded Baghdad as the new capital city for the ‘Abbasids in central Iraq. Baghdad soon became the economic, cultural, and intellectual locus of the Muslim world, with the caliphs and their viziers patronizing scholars and promoting the vast translation efforts that integrated works from the ancient world and surrounding cultures into the larger Islamic consciousness. This

cultural flowering built upon earlier developments in Islamic theology and law, and it laid the foundation for developments in Islamic philosophy and mysticism as well as advances in the natural sciences (e.g., optics, medicine, chemistry). Over time, Baghdad would become a conduit for scholarship and the exchange of ideas throughout Muslim lands.

In the ninth century, the ‘Abbasids began to face problems on a variety of fronts, all of which hampered their ability to rule effectively. A disastrous civil war between two brothers, al-Amin (r. 809–813) and al-Ma‘mun (r. 813–833), over the succession to the Caliphate highlighted the weaknesses inherent in the ‘Abbasid support base. The ‘Abbasid caliphs began acquiring new troop support in the form of slave-soldiers (ghulam/pl. ghilman) from the Turkish population on their eastern borders. To maintain the loyalty of these slave-soldiers, al-Mu‘tasim (r. 833–842) established a new capital city, Samarra, to the north of Baghdad. The slave-soldiers would eventually turn against their caliphal masters in 861, precipitating the Samarran captivity (861–870), wherein ‘Abbasid caliphs were placed on the throne and removed by competing troop factions.

Throughout the rest of the ninth century and into the tenth century, the ‘Abbasids were faced with dwindling resources (e.g., financial, troop support) and increased pressure from newly independent dynasties in formerly ‘Abbasid-controlled lands. Most notable were the Samanids (819–1005) in eastern Iran, the Fatimids (909–1171) in Egypt, and the Buyids (945–1055) in Iraq and Iran. It was the Shi‘is Buyid amirs who would bring the ‘Abbasids to their lowest point in 945, deposing the ‘Abbasid caliph al-Mustakfi and replacing him with another of Buyid choosing. Within a century, Buyid control was replaced by that of the Seljuks, a dynasty of Turkish Sunni Muslims (1055–1194). Although the ‘Abbasids began to regain some independence of action during the late eleventh century, they would never regain their former glory. The Mongol sacking of Baghdad in 1258 put an end to the ‘Abbasid presence in Iraq. Although a scion of the ‘Abbasid family would establish a Shadow Caliphate in Egypt that would last until 1517, these ‘Abbasids were merely titular figureheads that were far removed from their ancestors with regard to power and authority.

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See also Baghdad; Buyids; Caliphate and Imamate; Fatimids; Historical Writing; Intellectual History; Al-Ma‘mun; Political Theory; Samanids; Seljuks; Slavery, Military; Slaves and Slave Trade: Eastern Islamic World; Sunni Revival; Translation, Pre-Islamic Learning into Arabic; Umayyads; Viziers

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‘ABD AL-LATIF IBN YUSUF AL-BAGHDADI, MUWAFFAQ AL-DIN ABU MUHAMMAD (557/1162–623/1231)

‘Abd al-Latif was a broadly educated scholar from Baghdad whose studies in grammar, law, tradition, medicine, alchemy, and philosophy are documented in his autobiography, which also vividly depicts contemporary methods of study. Having first followed Ibn Sina as his philosophical mentor, ‘Abd al-Latif later devoted himself exclusively to the works of the ancients, particularly Aristotle, only admitting al-Farabi as interpreter. After extensive travels with periods of residence in Mosul (585/1189), Damascus (586/1190), the camp of Saladin outside Acre (587/1191) (where he met Baha’ al-Din Ibn Shaddad and ‘Imad al-Din al-Isfahani and acquired the patronage of al-Qadi al-Fadil), he settled in Cairo. It was here that he met Maimonides and, most importantly, Abu ’l-Qasim al-Shari‘I, who introduced him to the works of al-Farabi, Alexander of Aphrodisias, and Themistius, which turned him away from Ibn Sina and alchemy. After shorter stays in Jerusalem (588/1192) (where he met Saladin) and Damascus, ‘Abd al-Latif returned to Cairo only to set off a short time later for the East again. He spent some years at the court of ‘Ala’-al-Din Da’ud of Erzindjan, until the city was conquered by the Seljuqid Kayqubadh. Having returned in 621/1229 to Baghdad, ‘Abd al-Latif died there two years later.

‘Abd al-Latif is an encyclopedic author whose work covers almost the whole domain of the knowledge of

his time. Most widely known is his *Kitab al-ifada wa-l-I‘tibar*, which is a short description of Egypt that was translated into Latin, German, and French. His intellectual autobiography is preserved by Ibn Abi Usaybi‘a; it was originally embedded in an extensive historiographical narrative (al-Sira) that has partly survived in al-Dhahabi’s *Ta’rikh al-Islam*. ‘Abd al-Latif composed a compendium of Aristotelian metaphysics, *Kitab ma ba’d al-tabi’a*, which was based on the exegesis of Alexander of Aphrodisias and Themistius. The latter’s otherwise lost paraphrasal of *Book Lambda*—known to English speakers, however, through a Hebrew translation—has survived in Arabic only through ‘Abd al-Latif.

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See also Maimonides; Intellectual History; Philosophy; Ibn Shaddad

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‘ABD AL-MALIK IBN MARWAN

‘Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan was the Umayyad caliph who ruled from 65/685 until 86/705. He inherited a fractured polity from his father, who was apparently murdered in his sleep by one of his wives. The rebel Ibn al-Zubayr controlled the holy sites in the Hijaz, along with significant areas of Iraq, where both he and ‘Abd al-Malik confronted ‘Alid and Kharijite rebels. Only Syria remained firmly in Umayyad hands, and even there ‘Abd al-Malik faced a revolt led by ‘Amr b. Sa‘id al-Asdaq, a family rival, in 69/688–689. These internal threats forced ‘Abd al-Malik to sign a treaty with the Byzantines, paying them tribute in 70/689–690. He was able to restore order and consolidate his power by 73/692. ‘Abd al-Malik continued to face occasional revolts in Iraq and farther east in Khurasan, but his viceroy Hajjaj ibn Yusuf contained these threats ably (and sometimes viciously).

‘Abd al-Malik devoted the remainder of his reign to centralizing power in the capital at Damascus. He depended on his own family for sensitive positions, which was in contrast with his predecessors’ reliance on local elites. He used his powerful Syrian army to crush any provincial resistance. ‘Abd al-Malik introduced the first distinctly Islamic coinage. In contrast with older Muslim coins, which were based on Byzantine models, ‘Abd al-Malik’s coins were devoid of pictorial images and included Qur’anic phrases instead. The remarkable uniformity of these coins demonstrates the degree to which ‘Abd al-Malik centralized the control of minting money. His coins remained the model for coins throughout the Umayyad and ‘Abbasid periods. In addition, ‘Abd al-Malik began the long process of establishing Arabic as the standard administrative language of the realm and invested heavily in agricultural development, particularly in Iraq and the Hijaz. At his death in 86/705 at the age of 60, he was succeeded by al-Walid, the first of four of his sons to ascend to the caliphate.

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‘ABD AL-RAHMAN III AL-NASIR

‘Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad b. ‘Abd Allah, the first and the greatest of the short-lived line of Marwanid caliphs of al-Andalus, was born in Cordova in AH 277/891 CE, the grandson of the ruling emir ‘Abd Allah. In AH 300/912 CE, as the emir ‘Abd al-Rahman III, he took on his grandfather’s war-ridden and deeply divided reign, during which local strongmen of Iberian or Arabic descent had successfully revolted against the emiral authority

and established themselves as independent rulers in most of the territory. Although the fiercest and most well known of ‘Abd al-Rahman’s triumphs was the defeat inflicted on Ibn Hafsun, the muwallad (Iberian Muslim) lord of Bobastro, in the southeastern part of the country, ‘Abd al-Rahman was also able—in less than ten years—to restore the emiral authority to the rest of al-Andalus. Most notably, he achieved this aim not only by way of militarily crushing the revolted warlords but also, in many cases, by making peace deals with them or by having them join his ruling elite. At the same time, ‘Abd al-Rahman kept facing the Christian Iberian armies on the northern border, trying to contain the antagonism of the kings of Leon and Asturia, with uneven results. The defeat of Simancas (also known as ‘‘The Battle of the Ditch,’’ or Alhandega) in AH 327/939 CE ended ‘Abd al-Rahman’s campaigns against the Christian kings and provoked a brutal purge in the army, starting a fateful trend toward a more pronounced role being assigned to mercenary troops. Nonetheless, it did not significantly alter the balance of power; this was still favorable to the Muslim side, because the Christian kings remained subject to an annual tribute to the Marwanide ruler.

In AH 316/929 CE, ‘Abd al-Rahman proclaimed himself caliph (amir al-mu’minin) of al-Andalus, adopting the honorific title of al-Nasir li-din Allah (‘‘the winner for the religion of God’’). This act has been widely interpreted as not only celebrating the reunification of al-Andalus under the Marwanid rule but also challenging the concomitant rise of the Fatimid power in North Africa. From this time on, most of the new caliph’s military and diplomatic efforts were directed at contrasting the Fatimid influence in North Africa by supporting the local rulers and tribal leaders who were opposed to the new Shi‘is dynasty and establishing military alliances with them. This policy, although not leading to any significant territorial gain aside from the peaceful capture of Ceuta in AH 319/931 CE, would eventually result in the increased influence of the Berber element on the Andalusian army until the end of the Caliphate.

On a more internal plan, ‘Abd al-Rahman’s action was directed at contrasting the influence of the Marwanid traditional clients (the mawali) over the governmental bureaucracy. To enforce his absolute authority and will over the wheels of the administration, he increased—among other things—the influence and scope of his personal retinue and guard, which comprised many former slaves and depended strictly on his command. He also distanced himself from the view of the general population and created a stricter set of rules for the court protocol and administration. In AH 325/936 CE, al-Nasir started the construction of an entirely new caliphal city, Madinat al-Zahra’ (the ‘‘City of al-Zahra,’’ after his favorite concubine), which was about five kilometers northwest of Cordova. He eventually retired there with his court, thereby truncating the link between the Marwanid house and its turbulent capital. The construction of Madinat al-Zahra’ was supervised by ‘Abd al-Rahman’s son and heir al-Hakam. The process lasted for about ten years and absorbed most of the caliph’s concerns and financial resources: sources describe his endless search for precious materials and skilled craftsmen, which were found in North Africa, the East, and Byzantium. It was also at this new caliphal residence that ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Nasir received the ambassadors of many Islamic and Christian kings and potentates, especially the ones sent by the Byzantine emperors, who were actively pursuing an alliance against the Fatimid expansion in the eastern Mediterranean and acknowledged ‘Abd al-Rahman’s influential role and power.

‘Abd al-Rahman III’s very long reign, which lasted for half a century until his death in AH 350/961 CE, is unanimously described as the golden age of the Muslim civilization in the Iberian Peninsula. Conversions to Islam started to peak thanks to his politics of integrating religious and social minorities into the mainstream Ibero-Muslim society, the cohesion and vitality of which were greatly increased. At the same time, his patronage of scientific and literary excellence allowed for a fuller expansion of the Andalusian intellectual elite’s potential. Although the contributions of Jewish and Christian scholars brought about a remarkable enhancement of philosophical and scientific knowledge, the introduction of many contemporary Eastern literary texts and the imposition of more cogent rules on official court writing resulted in the birth of a full-blown Andalusian literature, which was to reclaim its legitimate place within the overall Arabic literary heritage. On the other hand, ‘Abd al-Rahman III’s legacy of unchecked authority, in combination with his increased reliance on the mercenary element in the military, was partly responsible for the confiscation of power by the Amirid regency under his feebly determined and less-gifted successors.

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ABU BAKR

Abu Bakr b. Abi Quhafa, as his full name is usually given, was from the clan of Taym of the prominent tribe of Quraysh. He is said to have been born two to three years after Muhammad, so he was probably born around 572 CE in Mecca. Sources report that he was a wealthy merchant before his conversion to Islam and that he had expert knowledge of the genealogies of the Arab tribes. He married four times and had six children, the most famous of whom was ‘A’isha, who became the Prophet’s youngest wife.

Sunni sources eulogize Abu Bakr’s position as one of Muhammad’s most preeminent Companions as a result of his early conversion to Islam (some sources report that he was the first male to do so) and his subsequent devotion to the Prophet and the cause of Islam. Abu Bakr is said to have spent 40,000 dirhams (or dinars) in charity before his emigration (hijra) to Mecca in 622, much of which went toward the manumission of slaves. Among his best-known sobriquets are *al-‘Atiq* (this generally means “freed slave,” but in this case it was explicated by Muhammad himself to refer to Abu Bakr as “freed from hell-fire”) and *al-Siddiq* (“the truthful,” “one who believes”; this particularly applied to his having believed the Prophet’s account of his nocturnal journey to Jerusalem, which is known as *isra’*). In Medina, Abu Bakr took part in all of the major expeditions that were led by the Prophet, and he was frequently the Prophet’s advisor.

After Muhammad’s death in 632, Abu Bakr was selected as the first caliph at the portico (Saqifa) of the Banu Sa‘ida, after some contentious debate. Many were convinced that he was the obvious successor to Muhammad as a result of the fact that he had been appointed to lead the pilgrimage during the ninth year of the hijra and because he had been designated as the prayer leader during the Prophet’s illness; he also had a positive general record of service to the nascent community. He ruled for only two years, until his death in 634, and he decisively quelled the uprising of some of the Arab tribes against the Medinan government in what have come to be known as the ridda (so-called apostasy) wars. He is the first of the Rightly Guided Caliphs (al-Khulafa’ al-Rashidun), and the Sunni literature of excellences (fada’il/manaqib) generously records his many virtues and his loyalty to Islam.

ASMA AFSARUDDIN

See also Caliphate and Imamate

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ABU HANIFA AL-NU‘MAN

Abu Hanifa al-Nu‘man b. Thabit b. Zuta, theologian and jurist, is the eponymous founder of the Hanafi legal school. He was born in Kufa circa AH 80/699 CE and died in 150/767 in a prison in Baghdad at the age of 70. His grandfather Zuta is said to have been brought over from Kabul to Kufa, where he settled after being set free.

There are not many details available about Abu Hanifa’s life in Kufa. Sources report that he worked there as a silk merchant and also that he acquired scholarly training in the religious law and hadith. He attended the lecture sessions of Hammad b. Abi Sulayman (d. 120/738) in Kufa and possibly of ‘Ata’ b. Abi Rabah (d. AH 114 or 115) in Mecca. After Hammad died, Abu Hanifa gained fame as the foremost scholar of religious law in Kufa, but he never served as qadi (judge); however, he was offered judgeships by various rulers, such as Yazid b. ‘Amr, the governor of Iraq during the time of Marwan ibn Muhammad, who was the last Umayyad caliph. When Abu Hanifa declined, Yazid had him whipped, and the former escaped to Mecca, where he stayed for five or six years. Abu Hanifa is counted among the most illustrious of the Tabi‘un (literally “the successors,” which refers to the second generation of Muslims), and some sources relate that he met at least four Companions of the Prophet, including Anas b. Malik. In the eyes of the pious in particular, this distinction conferred on him and his scholarly activities great merit. His usual honorific is al-Imam al-A‘zam (“the Greatest Leader”), from which the neighborhood around his mausoleum in Baghdad derives the name al-A‘zamiyya.

There is frequent mention of Abu Hanifa’s great scrupulousness (wara‘), abstemiousness (zuhd), and charity. He is said to have spent generously for the members of his household and given away an equal amount as alms for the poor, and he would also meet the needs of his indigent students. Like other pious scholars, his day was given over to teaching and prayer. His daily routine began with the morning prayer in a mosque, after which he would answer his students’ questions until about noon. After the noon prayer, he would teach again until the night prayer. Then he would return home and, after a short rest, later go back to the mosque and worship until morning prayer. He is said to have recited prodigious

amounts of the Qur'an regularly, and, according to some sources, he performed the hajj fifty-five times.

Abu Hanifa himself did not leave behind substantial works on religious law, but his legal thought may be reconstructed from the writings of his students. His best-known students were al-Shaybani (d. 189/749–750) and Abu Yusuf (d. 192/798), who have preserved Abu Hanifa's doctrines and opinions in their works. From these works it becomes apparent that Abu Hanifa's legal thought was based to a considerable degree on his personal opinions (ra'y) and that his conclusions were derived through legal reasoning (qiyas). In his theology, Abu Hanifa showed concern for maintaining the unity and harmony of the Muslim community; his time was racked with communal strife, and so he sought a middle ground between extremes. In this propensity Abu Hanifa shows the influence of the Murji'a (''those who defer''), a group that came into existence during the last third of the Umayyad era. The central concern of the Murji'a was the issue of the early caliphate; in an attempt to contain the dissension that had erupted after the murder of 'Uthman, they expressed unequivocal support for Abu Bakr and 'Umar but deferred judgment on the respective merits of 'Uthman and 'Ali. The Murji'a also believed that an individual's faith did not increase or decrease and that it did not include works such as the daily prayers. This Hanafi-Murji'i attitude seminally shaped the political and theological attitudes of the later fully formed Ahl al-Sunna. In Abu Hanifa's letter to the Basran jurisprudent 'Uthman al-Batti, which scholars regard as authentic, the former defends his adherence to Murji'i principles. In the creedal statement known as Fiqh al-Akbar I, Abu Hanifa articulates ten articles of faith that take issue with the positions of the Kharijites, the Shi'is, the Qadariyya, and the Jahmiyya. Abu Hanifa probably did not compose this statement himself, but the Fiqh al-Akbar is deemed to be an accurate summation of his theological views.

The detractors of Abu Hanifa during the later period attributed to him certain unpopular doctrines that were derived not only from the Murji'a but also from the Jahmiyya (the predecessors of the later Mu'tazila); for example, he is described as having subscribed to the position that the Qur'an was created and that hell was not eternal. The rijal works regularly included Abu Hanifa among the weak transmitters of hadith, and the traditionalists in general attacked his perceived excessive reliance on personal opinion and legal reasoning. His staunch supporters from among the later Hanafi jurists attempted to exculpate him of these accusations; his student Abu Yusuf stressed that Abu Hanifa was profoundly learned in hadith, and the Hanafi jurist Ahmad b. al-Salt (d. ca. 308/921) denied that Abu Hanifa had maintained that the Qur'an was created. The Hanafi jurisprudent Abu Ja'far al-Tahawi (d. 321/933) wrote the *Manaqib Abi Hanifa*, which recorded and praised the virtues of the school's eponym.

There are conflicting reports about why Abu Hanifa was imprisoned late in life. Some say it was as a result of his having refused to serve as a qadi under the 'Abbasid caliph al-Mansur, whereas al-Khatib al-Baghdadi relates that it was his rather open criticism of al-Mansur during an 'Alid revolt that landed him in jail, where he eventually died in 767. Under the Saljuqi sultan Malikshah (AH 485), one of Malikshah's viziers had an elaborate dome built over Abu Hanifa's grave, and his mausoleum was restored several times during the Ottoman period.

Asma Afsaruddin

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ABU 'L-'ALA' AHMAD IBN ABD ALLAH, AL-MA'ARRI

Abû l-'Ala' Ahmad ibn Abd Allâh al-Ma'arri, born in 973 CE in Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân in northern Syria, traveled for his education to Aleppo and Baghdad and returned to Ma'arra, where he died in 1058 CE. Ma'arri was the blind author (by dictation) of prose and poetry. He composed poems during his younger years, and these are compiled in *The Spark of the Tinderbox (Saqt al-zand)*, a collection of poems that praised the Hamdanid King Sa'd al-Dawla, the notables of Aleppo, and a few librarians in Baghdad.

Later, in *The Self-Imposed Compulsion (Luzûm mâ lâ yalzam)*, he uses a nonobligatory double rhyme, but these poems are chiefly characterized by their ironic and even cynical descriptions. They are unconventional as compared with the poetic form that is usually found in the odes of this time, because they contain many a thought on religion, death, destiny, the sinful world, the afterlife, resurrection (the question of whether it really shall occur), and the fate of

slaughtered animals and their compensation in the afterlife.

Ma'arri's prose is not only found in his short, flowery-styled letters but also in at least two very extensive Epistles *(Risâlas)*. The first letter, which was written in 1021 CE, was always thought to have been lost. However, its manuscript was discovered in 1975 CE by the Egyptian scholar 'A'isha 'Abd al-Rahmân; she became the editor of this work, which is entitled *Epistle of the Neighing and the Braying (Risâlat al-sahil wa l-Shâhij)*. In this text, various animals are described, and they symbolize certain personages from Ma'arri's time. A mule suffering from arduous labor that consists of drawing up water from a deep well symbolizes the author himself. The mule wants to send a petition of complaint to someone, who, in reality, would have been the Fatimid Governor of Aleppo, Abu Shujâ' Fâtik 'Azîz al-Dawla. Several animals are asked to convey this petition—a horse, a camel, and others—but all of them refuse to do so, for different reasons. Finally, a fox comes along and becomes involved in the sudden imminent danger of a Byzantine attack, which had occurred also in reality and which threatened the territory around Aleppo. This attack was organized by the conjoint rulers of the Byzantine Empire: Basil Bulgaroctonus II and his brother Constantine VIII. The mule and other animals, although frightened and panicking, nevertheless discuss the conditions prevailing in the empire.

In this manner the *Risâla* renders information about the ideas prevailing in Ma'arri's time in Syria. *The Epistle of the Neighing and the Braying* is considered by its editor 'A'isha 'Abd al-Rahmân to be a preliminary exercise for Ma'arri's subsequent Letter.

The second prose work composed by Ma'arri in the year 1033 CE is his *Epistle of Forgiveness (Risâlat al-Ghufrân)*. This work consists not only of a description of the gardens of Paradise and the tortures of Hell but also of a discussion about and a criticism of many poetical fragments by Muslims and non-Muslims, ranging from pre-Islamic poets to heretics from Persia and polytheists from India. Some of these poets and also grammarians and scholars enjoy a comfortable afterlife in Paradise; although not expected by them, their sins have been forgiven by Allah the Merciful One.

In 2002, the first half of this work was translated into German by Gregor Schoeler and entitled *Paradies und Hölle*. In this part, an old correspondent of Ma'arri called Ibn al-Qârih 'Alî ibn Mansûr ("Dawkhala") is ironically described as having died and then entered (but not without great difficulties) through the Gates of Paradise. After this, he visits many places of interest, like the regions of Hell, where Satan (Iblîs) dwells and where a few poets are shown being tortured by avenging angels.

The second half of the piece deals with questions pertaining to aspects of religion. A discussion of ideas is forwarded by the author with, it would seem, cynical relish; these ideas are ascribed to Arabs who, by the general public, were considered heretics who should be executed.

Of the other books by Ma'arri, another is worth mentioning here. Its incomplete manuscript version was found in 1918 CE, and it was considered by some scholars to be an imitation of the Qur'an, because of its rhymed prose and typical Qur'anic oaths. It was entitled *Chapters and Endings, Glorifying Allah and Offering Words of Warning (al-Fusûl wa l-Ghâyât fî Tamjîd Allâh wa l-Mawa'iz)*.

As for the author's social relations with personages of the Ismâ'îlî persuasion, a short description of him is found in the traveler Nâsiri Khosraw's book, *Safar Nâmah*, in which the author himself claims to have kept some correspondence with a high Fatimid dignitary called Abû Nasr Mûsâ ibn Abî 'Imrân.

For more information on al-Mu'ayyad fî al-Dîn al-Shîrâzî, see *Margoliouth*, Abu l-'Ala' al-Ma'arri's correspondence on vegetarianism.

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ABU 'L-FADL AL-BAYHAQI

Al-Bayhaqi, Abu 'l-Fadl (995–1077) was a secretary and historian and the author of the monumental Persian history of the Ghaznavid dynasty generally referred to as the *Tarikh-i Bayhaqi*. Of an original thirty-odd volumes, only six have survived, and this surviving portion, which deals with the reign of Mas'ud I (r. 1030–1041), is known accordingly as the *Tarikh-i Mas'udi*. Bayhaqi, who was born in the district of Bayhaq (modern Sabzavar) in Khurasan, studied in Nishapur. In about 1021, he found employment in the Ghaznavid chancellery, where he first served Mahmud of Ghazna (r. 999–1030) and then several of Mahmud's successors, including Mas'ud I. In his many years of service, Bayhaqi assisted the head of the chancellery, Abu Nasr Mishkan (d. 1039), and then (although less happily) Abu Nasr's successor in office, Abu Sahl Zawzani; under 'Abd al-Rashid (r. 1049–1052), Bayhaqi himself briefly directed the chancellery, but he fell from favor and was imprisoned until the accession of Sultan Farrukhzad (r. 1052–1059), whom Bayhaqi also served, although possibly not at the Ghaznavid court (see Yusofi and Meisami).

Bayhaqi's *History* is a highly individual work in which the author articulates and demonstrates a distinctive approach to historiography, providing a wealth of detailed and carefully documented information about the Ghaznavid court and administration, integrating religious and philosophical perspectives in his descriptions and commentary, and displaying both erudition and subtlety in his masterful use of the Persian language. His long term of administrative service permitted Bayhaqi to observe directly—and on occasion even to participate in—the events he records. When he did not have personal experience to draw from, Bayhaqi handled his sources with much discernment, clearly identifying them and assessing them with regard to their reliability. Furthermore, during the course of his secretarial work, Bayhaqi assembled not only his own detailed notes but also a considerable number of documents, some of which he reproduced in full in his narrative. His *History* thus furnishes thorough accounts of military campaigns, official correspondence, negotiations, and agreements, and it sheds much light on local conditions and customs, the culture of the elites, the lives of the men and women of the Ghaznavid court, and many other topics. The strikingly vivid quality of Bayhaqi's writing derives in part from his proximity to the events and persons he describes, and it is enhanced by his extensive use of direct speech. Although Bayhaqi's high standards of accuracy and his wide-ranging subject matter have rendered his work a

particularly valuable source for the study of Ghaznavid history (see especially Bosworth), it is also clear that his personal outlook and literary style are inseparable from his recounting of events (see Waldman and Meisami). Bayhaqi gives distinctive meaning to the events he describes, both in a moral sense and in terms of the recurrent patterns he discerns in the unfolding of history. To communicate these meanings, he employs a variety of rhetorical techniques, including suggestion by analogy, copious quotations from Arabic and Persian poetry, digressions, and flashbacks to episodes drawn from earlier Islamic history (references to Sasanian and other pre-Islamic Iranian traditions are notably sparse). (For an example of Bayhaqi's methods, see Meisami's analysis of his account of the trial and execution under Mas'ud of Mahmud's former vizier Hasanak, pp. 88–94.) Bayhaqi's *History* is, then, amply documented, replete with specific information, and exemplary.

Many titles for Bayhaqi's *History*—or portions of it—are preserved in the sources, and the secretary probably composed other works as well (see Yusofi). Sa'id Nafisi has collected two volumes' worth of passages from lost sections of Bayhaqi's *History* that were cited in later works, together with quotations from other lost works of Bayhaqi.

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ABU 'L-FADL 'ALLAMI (1551–1602)

Historian, courtier, ideologue, and intellectual alter ego of the Mughal Emperor Akbar, Abu 'l-Fadl was born in 1551 in Agra. He was the son of Shaykh Mubarak, a scholar from Nagawr in Rajasthan. A precocious talent who had mastered Arabic, the religious sciences, and philosophy, and who was inclined towards Sufism, Abu 'l-Fadl followed his brother Fayzi, Akbar's poet laureate, into service, appearing at court in 1571. A forceful disputant and independent thinker, Abu 'l-Fadl was constantly at odds with the Sunni ulema, and he held their bigotry to be responsible for the persecution and exile of his father,a Shi'is notable and a supporter of the Mahdawiyya. He was thus quite happy to support Akbar in his formation of a new religion, and he provided the intellectual justification for Akbar as the Perfect Man, the philosopher-prophet-king in the *Akbarnama*.

Abu 'l-Fadl formulated the ideology of Akbar's reign, placing the monarch above the petty political and religious squabbles of the court. Consistent with the Iranian tradition, he considered the king to be an emanation of God's pure light, possessing the divine power of sovereignty in his person and the wisdom to deploy it as the Perfect Man of Sufism and the perfect sage of the Illuminationist philosophical tradition. The king as the benevolent face of God on earth would treat all of his subjects—both Muslims and non-Muslims—equally, thereby promulgating an established Sufi ethic of universal peace (sulh-i kull). This theory proposed that all religions are equal representations of a single divine truth and that all express a pure monotheism that lies at the heart of each one of them.

His other major literary achievement was the *A'in-i Akbari*, which was a major gazetteer, a comprehensive history, and a tax register of India.

As Akbar's main spokesman, Abu 'l-Fadl was responsible for the development of the Mughal art of epistolography (insha'); his letters became templates and exemplars for later secretaries. Abu 'l-Fadl headed the chancellery and organized the cultural program of translating major Sanskrit works into Persian. Because of his outspoken advocacy of Akbar's cause and his closeness to the king, Abu 'l-Fadl aroused the jealousy of other courtiers and the suspicion of the heir, Salim, who conspired along with others to have him murdered in August 1602. With Abu 'l-Fadl's death, Akbar lost a close friend and supporter.

SAJJAD H. RIZVI

See also Akbar; Illuminationism; Mughals; Sufism; Shi'ism

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ABU NUWAS

Abu Nuwas Abu 'Ali al-Hasan ibn Hani' al-Hakami (d. ca. 814) was one of the major Arabic poets of the 'Abbasid age. He is known for his poems about wine, love, and unbridled debauchery, but he was also the foremost representative of the "modern" (muhdath) poetry that developed during the late eighth century.

Abu Nuwas was born in the mid-eighth century to an Arab father and Persian mother in al-Ahwaz in Iran, but he moved with his mother to Basra and Kufa, where he received a thorough philological and religious education, studying with a number of poetic authorities, most notably the poet and transmitter Khalaf al-Ahmar (d. 796). He then traveled to Baghdad, where he initially struggled to gain the favor of the notable families of the day. Eventually he became the drinking companion of the caliph al-Amin (d. 813) and enjoyed great notoriety and popularity until his death in Baghdad at some time between 813 and 815. There are countless anecdotes of Abu Nuwas and his scandalous behavior in which the personage corresponds with the libertine spirit of the poetry, and the name has retained associations that are quite independent of the poetry itself. (For example, a completely unhistorical Abu Nuwas appears in some of the tales in *The 1001 Nights*.)

With the wine poem (khamriyya), Abu Nuwas refined a genre that had previously been an occasional element in the polythematic classical Arabic ode (qasida). Wine drinking provides the setting for a number of thematic possibilities: a description of the wine, the seeking of drink, the joys of drunkenness, anecdotes of drinking bouts and their aftermaths, sexual escapades, and episodes of heartbroken or crapulent remorse. The celebration of hedonism and the flaunting of the norms of polite and pious society are seen in the following famous lines:

> Ho! a cup, and fill it up, and tell me it is wine,
> For I will never drink in shade if I can drink in shine!
> Curst and poor is every hour that sober I must go,
> But rich am I whene'er well drunk I stagger to and fro.
> Speak, for shame, the loved one's name, let vain disguise alone:
> No good there is in pleasures o'er which a veil is thrown.
> (trans. R.A. Nicholson)

In such verses Abu Nuwas was rebelling not only against contemporary society but against the heroic model of the pre-Islamic poet. The "modern" poetry of his time was in part a reaction against the conventions of the classical, pre-Islamic odes. Although he demonstrates a deep knowledge and appreciation of the older poetry, he is better known for mocking its elements, most famously the prelude, which expresses sorrow at traces of long-abandoned encampments in the desert and the disappearance of those who once dwelt there. Abu Nuwas laments instead the vanished taverns or urges wine in place of nostalgia.

Although best known for his bacchanalia, Abu Nuwas applied his talents to other genres as well, such as panegyric, satire, and, notably, the hunting poem. This latter type, like the wine song, had been a single element in the classical qasida, but Abu Nuwas gave it its own genre (in which he followed the ancients' use of a highly specialized vocabulary and detailed descriptions of nature scenes). The majority of his verses display a simplicity and elegance that matches well his wit and lightheartedness; however, the joys of wine and sex with boys were not his only topics, and he was capable of various shades of sorrow, regret, and awe and of giving voice to these shades with fine poetic precision.

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ABU SHAMA, 'ABD AL-RAHMAN IBN ISMA'IL ABU MUHAMMAD SHIHAB AL-DIN

Abu Shama was a religious scholar (1203–1268) who spent his entire life in Damascus; he was most

renowned for his chronicle *Kitab al-Rawdatayn fi Akhbar al-Dawlatayn al-Nuriyya wa-l-Salahiyya (The Book of the Two Gardens on the Reports of the Two Reigns [of Nur al-Din and Saladin])*. This chronicle treats the main events, including the Crusades, that occurred during the rules of the Zankid ruler Nur al-Din (d. 1174) and the Ayyubid ruler Saladin (Salah al-Din, d. 1193) during the twelfth century. Although written more than fifty years after the death of Saladin, the chronicle has enjoyed wide popularity, because it integrates a number of previous sources into a coherent narrative. Abu Shama's principal aim in composing his chronicle was to present the two rulers as examples of ideal Muslim rulers to be emulated by later rulers.

Abu Shama came from a modest family that did not belong to the civilian elite of Damascus, and he himself was closely linked to its rather marginal immigrant Maghribian community. Throughout his career he held a number of minor teaching posts in madrasas (colleges for higher studies), and it was only toward the end of his life that he was able to briefly attain a more prestigious post. This marginal position in the town's social texture was paralleled by his controversial stances, which tended to criticize his contemporaries in sharp terms. Here he focused on the issue of innovations (i.e., practices that he considered contrary to the teachings of Islam). He finally died by the hands of attackers who beat him to death.

Besides history, Abu Shama's oeuvre was focused on religious sciences such as the variant readings of the Qur'an, law/jurisprudence, hadith, and poems praising the Prophet. It was in the first of these fields that he gained a certain prominence among his contemporaries, especially by commenting on a didactic poem written for students.

From a modern perspective, it is his continuation (Dhayl) of the main chronicle that represents considerable interest, because he included in his poems (such as the poems about one of his wives and about his moods of distress) as well as in his autobiographical sections an unusual array of events that were linked to his inner life.

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See also Historical Writing

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ABU TAMMAM

Abu Tammam was an Arab poet (ca. AH 189–232/805–845 CE), allegedly the son of a Christian wine seller, who rose from his provincial background in Syria to become a panegyrist of the 'Abbasid caliphs al-Ma'mun, al-Mu'tasim, and al-Wathiq and of their great officers of state. He celebrated caliphal campaigns and victories (most notably over the Byzantines at Amorium in 223/838) in qasidas marked by the bloodiness of their battle scenes and the stridency of their religious propaganda. Nevertheless, he was above all an intellectual poet of Mu'tazili leanings who changed the course of Arabic literature by charging the sinewy and concrete pre-Islamic Bedouin qasida with philosophical conceits and with the sophisticated wordplay and metaphors, known as *badi',* that are typical of "modern" poetry. His originality served as a focus for the Arabic "quarrel of the ancients and moderns." The issue was less whether modern, urban Arabic poetry could stand in worthy succession to its pre-Islamic, Bedouin precursors—this was broadly conceded—than whether poetic truth was a closed system or one that should evolve with social and intellectual change and, if so, at what pace. If poetry outstripped educated conservative taste, would not the concepts of poetry and poetic truth be reduced to playthings of fashion? Abu Tammam's experiments stimulated poetic criticism as a systematic and scholarly discipline, particularly from the century or so after his death; his example took root within his own lifetime and was pervasive. His diwan (collected verse) attracted commentaries as voluminous as those devoted to pre-Islamic poets. Al-Mutanabbi (d. 354/965) was his greatest poetic heir.

Abu Tammam was also an anthologist; his most famous compilation, *al-Hamasa (Valor),* proved no less influential than his own poetry. Carefully crafted from the tribal poetry of all periods to afford an image of timeless Bedouinity, it chimed in with an increasingly romanticized conception of Arab tradition.

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See also Poetry: Arabic; al-Ma'mun; Rhetoric; Al-Muntanabbi

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ABYSSINIA

The appearance of Islam in Abyssinia (historical Ethiopia) coincided with the first recognizable polity in the Ethiopian region: Aksum. There are various traditions of contact between ancient Ethiopia and early Islam: the Prophet Muhammad is reported to have written to the Aksumite king (Negus) inviting "People of the Book" to reconsider the teachings of Jesus; the emigration of Muhammad's cousin Ja'far ibn Abi Talib to Ethiopia to escape the Qurayshite persecution and his claimed conversion of the Ethiopian Negus; or indeed the tradition that the second male convert to Islam was Bilal, a slave of Ethiopian origin, whom the Prophet Muhammad appointed the first mu'adhdhin to call the faithful to prayer.

The emergence of the nascent caliphal state coincided with the apogee of Aksumite power when the Ethiopian fleet dominated the Red Sea. In retaliation for an Aksumite attack on the Hijaz, Arab forces occupied the Dahlak islands, which are opposite the Aksumite port of Adulis (in modern-day Eritrea), and Aksumite control of Red Sea trade ended, which precipitated the kingdom's decline. An independent Islamic sultanate emerged on the Dahlak islands, and friendly trade relations were established with Aksum's successor *Habasha*—the term Arab geographers gave the people of the Ethiopian interiors—states in the north of Ethiopia.

However, after the decline of Aksum, the successor states of the Zagwe and Solomonic dynasties began their historic antipathy to the emerging network of Islamic peoples and polities to the southeast. The political—rather than the religious—rivalry between the Habasha Christian polity in Ethiopia and a succession of Islamic sultanates centered on the control of trade. The most important trade route began at the coastal Islamic settlement of Zayla, and the Islamic faith had also traveled along this route. The network of Islamic sultanates known to Arab geographers as the "country of Zayla" consists of ethnically mixed populations of Semitic- and Cushitic-language-speaking traders, agriculturalists, and pastoralists.

At the end of the Zagwe dynasty (c. 1269), an Islamic sultanate of Shawa is documented as being founded by the Makhzumite dynasty (a Meccan clan), dating back to AH 283 or 896/897 CE. Shawa was later eclipsed by the sultanate of Yifat, which was founded by 'Umar Walashama (who traced his origin from the Arabian Quraysh but who was probably of local origin). Yifat intervened in Shawa in 1280 (AH 678) or 1285, apparently with the compliance of a Solomonic Christian emperor. The great Islamic historian Ibn Khaldun mentions Yifat and its Walashama sultans, such as Hakk Al Din I and Sabr/Sa'd al-Din. Both Hakk Al Din I and Sabr Al Din fought with the Habasha king (negus) Amda Seyon, who occupied Yifat. It was not until 1376 that their successor Haqq al-Din II successfully challenged the Christian Solomonic dominance over Yifat, but the Ethiopian ruler Dawit I later reasserted his authority and killed Haqq al-Din II. Another Walashama, Sa'd al-Din II continued to resist, but he fled to Zayla, where he was killed by the Habasha forces of Yeshaq. Scions of the Walashama dynasty took refuge with the King of Yemen, but some returned and ruled further east of Yifat, founding the Sultanate of Adal around 1420.

The new Walashama dynasty in Adal grew larger, expanding into Somali areas (the "black Berbers" of the Arab geographers). The expansion of the power of Adal culminated in the Sultan Ahmad Badlay's attempted reconquest of Muslim areas, which ended in defeat at the hands of Negus Zara Yaqob. The Sultanate of Adal then retreated to Dakar and then

Harar, which was founded in 1520 by Sultan Abu Bakr Muhammad, where a reversal of fortunes culminated in the defeat and destruction of the Christian Solomonic empire (from 1529–1543) by a later military leader of the Adal sultanate, Ahmad ibn Ibrahim al-Ghazi, who was nicknamed *Gran* (the left handed).

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ADAB

Adab is an Arabic term (pl. adab [pronounced with long a]) for a key concept in medieval Islamic culture. In the culture's self-description, adab is both polite learning and its uses: the improvement of one's understanding by instruction and experience, it results in civility and becomes a means of achieving social goals. Adab requires a knowledge of history, poetry, ideas, proverbs, parallels, precedents, and the correct and pleasing use of language. It is the social and intellectual currency of the elite and of those who aspire to be part of it. Courtiers and politicians should use adab in their dealings with the ruler. Rulers and grandees should be patrons of learning and adab. Adab can be displayed to them as a product (the treatise or compendium); as a performance (the disputation or reading); or simply the apt repartee in the majlis (salon, social gathering; see Socializing and al-Tawhidi). Anyone who practices adab is an *adib* (pl. udaba'); udaba' see themselves as architects of civilization and guarantors of its survival in the teeth of political upheavals.

Under the 'Abbasids and their successor dynasties, adab was a route into office holding and sometimes to the vizierate; see numerous examples in al-Tanukhi's (AH 329–384/940–994 CE) *Table-Talk of a Mesopotamian Judge* and Yaqut's (d. 626/1229) *Dictionary of Men of Adab (Mu'jam al-Udaba')*, among others. The concept of adab as mannerliness could be narrowed to apply to particular groups, such as Sufis (e.g., 'Abd al-Qahir al-Suhrawardi, 490–563/1097–1168, *Adab al-Muridin, A Sufi Rule for Novices*), or to a given profession or situation (e.g., Ibn Qutayba, d. 276/889, *Adab al-Katib [Skills of the Bureaucrat];* al-Ghazali, d. 505/1111, *Adab al-Akl [Table Manners])*, not least that of ruler (hence the numerous mirrors for princes in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish).

Historically, adab evolved through several phases from the end of Umayyad rule and over the first two centuries of 'Abbasid rule (mid-eighth to tenth centuries CE). During all of these phases, the written page took the place of the traditional oral study circle (see Books). During a first phase, senior bureaucrats wrote epistles that were designed to imbue caliphs with Sasanian ideas of statecraft and to help them manage the increasingly complex problems of empire (see Ibn al-Muqaffa'). A second phase addressed the senior or junior bureaucracy; thus al-Jahiz (d. ca. 255/869) welcomed the rationalist trends arising from the translation movement (see Translation: Pre-Islamic Learning into Arabic) and championed the intellectual leadership of an enlightened minority. Ibn Qutayba, however, stressed the duty of even the moderately literate to educate themselves through reading and highlighted the imaginative appeal of the huge body of exemplary stories made available by Arab antiquarian scholarship and translations. In Muslim Spain (Andalus), Ibn 'Abd Rabbih (246–328/860–940) synthesized these conceptions of adab in an anthology, *al-'Iqd (The Necklace),* which lauds rulership (sultan) and reason as given by God, adab, and books as the vehicles of reason.

Meanwhile, a further type of adab had emerged in which political or didactic messages are absent. Instead, poets, musicians, and udaba' are foregrounded as cultural heroes and exemplars of the human condition. The greatest exponent of this type of adab is Abu al-Faraj al-Isfahani (284–ca. 363/897–ca. 972), whose compilations include the monumental *Kitab al-Aghani (The Book of Songs),* which records the careers and loves of the great men and women musicians and the lives and legends of Arab poets and poetesses down the ages; the slim *al-Ima' al-Shawa'ir (Slave Poetesses)*; and (perhaps) *The Book of Strangers (Kitab al-Ghuraba')*, which contains miniature anecdotes and poems of loss and longing, mostly by obscure or anonymous contemporaries. Both thematic anthologies and the commemoration of contemporary udaba'—obscure as well as famous—continued throughout the medieval period, as did the tradition of providing the common reader with syntheses of the literary heritage (e.g., al-Baghdadi, 1030–1093/1621–1682, *Khizanat al-Adab [The Treasury of Adab]*) and handbooks of general knowledge (al-Tha'alibi, 350–429/961–1038, *The Book of Curious and Entertaining Information*; al-'§mili, 953–1030/

1547–1621, *al-Kashkul [The Beggar's Bowl]*). The patterns of human experience—especially love—held up by adab also enriched religious thought, particularly that of the Sunni Revival.

In modern scholarship, adab is sometimes taken to represent the secular dimension of Islamic culture or Islamic humanism, and the term *adab literature* has been coined as a catch-all to denote any work (e.g., al-Mas'udi's *Meadows of Gold*) or literary form (e.g., the maqama) that is both instructive and pleasurable.

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See also Courtiers; Socializing; al-Tawhidi; Yaqut; Ibn Qutayba' al-Ghazali; Mirrors for Princes; Ibn al-Muqaffa'; Bureaucracy; al-Jahiz

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ADEN

The Indian Ocean port city of Aden, Yemen, is located in the southwestern corner of Arabia and about ninety-five nautical miles east of the Bab al-Mandab, which is the entrance to the Red Sea. The medieval city stood on the eastern side of the homonymous peninsula in an area that has been known since British times as "the Crater." The modern toponym reflects local geology and topography; the site of the medieval city is nestled in the crater of a defunct volcano, the walls of which surround it on all but the seaward side. Thanks to its general geographical location, defensible topography, and ample and easily accessible anchorages (and despite its arid climate and shortage of potable water), Aden has been the chief port in the region for extended periods during its long history.

The political history of the city can be reconstructed in detail only from the fifth/eleventh century onward. The Sulayhid rulers of Yemen conquered Aden in AH 454/1062 CE and eventually ceded the administration of the port to the Zuray'ids. The latter initially remitted a portion of the lucrative port taxes as tribute to their Sulayhid overlords. As Sulayhid power waned, however, Zuray'id Aden became an autonomous state, with the port at its center and substantial hinterlands under its jurisdiction. In 530/1135,

in an episode that highlights both the nature and the rivalries of Indian Ocean maritime principalities, the ruler of the Arabian Gulf island of Kish/Qais attacked Aden and laid siege to the port unsuccessfully. After the 569/1173 conquest of Yemen by the Ayyubids, Aden lost its autonomy but maintained its prominence as the country's main port. The Ayyubids developed the physical and institutional infrastructure of the port, as did their successors the Rasulids (626–858/1229–1454). State-sponsored development included the building of fortifications, harbor works, warehouses, markets, and customs facilities that marked the urban landscape, and the institution of naval patrols that secured the maritime approaches to the port. The Tahirids (858–923/1454–1517) wrested power from the Rasulids when they captured Aden in 858/1454. Although the Portuguese failed to take Aden during the early tenth/sixteenth century, the Ottomans succeeded in 945/1538.

The commercial importance of medieval Aden cannot be overstated. The fourth-/tenth-century Arab geographer al-Muqaddasi described the port as "the vestibule of China, entrepôt of Yemen, treasury of the West, and mother lode of all trade wares." Several travelers, including Marco Polo and Ibn Battuta, passed through Aden and commented on its bustling port. The most extensive account of commercial life and the organization of trade in Aden appears in Ibn al-Mujawir's *Tarikh al-Mustabsir,* a seventh/thirteenth-century work that was quoted and supplemented by Adeni historian Abu Makhrama (870–947/1465–1540). The *Daftar al-Muzaffari*, an administrative document composed for the Rasulid sultan al-Muzaffar (647–694/1249–1295), highlights the significance of the port as a global market and a source of commercial tax revenues. In letters, legal papers, accounts, and lists dating primarily from the fifth/eleventh to seventh/thirteenth centuries and preserved in the document repository of the Cairo Geniza, Aden emerges as the major Indian Ocean hub for the network of Jewish merchants that operated across the Islamic world from Spain to India and beyond. These and other sources testify to the cosmopolitan nature of the city and the ethnic, linguistic, and sectarian plurality of its port society, which included Arabs, Persians, Indians, Africans, Muslims, Jews, Hindus, and Christians.

The urban growth of Aden in modern times, which began with the British capture of the place in 1839, appears to have erased most physical vestiges of the medieval port. Among the scanty remains is an impressive system of interconnected cisterns that served the city's water supply throughout the medieval period; their construction may date to pre-Islamic times. Also impressive is a tall tower structure of disputed function and date, which appears to have stood near the shoreline of the medieval harbor. Alternatively, a number of archaeological sites on the mainland opposite Aden testify to the manufacturing and agricultural activity connected with the port during its heyday.

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See also Arabia; Geniza; al-Muqaddasi; Yemen

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‘ADUD AL-DAWLA

Abu Shuja‘ Fanna Khusraw (936–983) is usually known by the honorific ‘Adud al-Dawla, which was granted by the Caliph al-Muti‘ in 962. ‘Adud al-Dawla (“Aid of the Dynasty”) was the Buyid amir who ruled in Baghdad from 977 until his death. The son of Rukn al-Dawla, he was given control of Fars in 949 at the tender age of 13 or 14. It was there that he spent the majority of his career learning statecraft while focusing on expanding and entrenching his own and his family’s power. In these endeavors, like most rulers of the time, he was constantly in need of funds. He took the unusual step of improving agricultural infrastructure with the hope of increased productivity and revenue; this largely worked. Consequently, he was always able to muster greater resources than his opponents. In 975, with his father’s blessing, he moved his army into Baghdad to quell the disorder that his cousin ‘Izz al-Dawla (also called Bakhtiyar) was unable to control. It provided a convenient excuse to fulfill his ambition of unifying and centralizing his hold on the Buyid domains.

Shortly after his arrival, he forced his cousin to abdicate. However, family power dynamics took precedence. Rukn al-Dawla, as head of the family, was none too pleased by this turn of events and ordered his son to restore ‘Izz al-Dawla and withdraw. ‘Adud al-Dawla complied, but the respite did not last long. When his father died the next year, ‘Adud al-Dawla restarted the machinations against his cousin. The lack of clear lines of succession encouraged him in his endeavor to become the dominant member of the family. In 977, he defeated ‘Izz al-Dawla, entered Baghdad, and was given the title *Amir al-Umara’* (“Commander of the Commanders”). ‘Adud al-Dawla worked with his brother Mu’ayyid al-Dawla to fight and exile a third brother, Fakhr al-Dawla, who had allied with ‘Izz al-Dawla. In the process, ‘Adud al-Dawla firmly established his control over the Buyid family holdings and himself as their head. His rule marks the high point of the dynasty. He had diplomatic contacts with the Fatimids and the Byzantines, he exerted real political control, and he even had pretensions of using the title *Shahanshah* (“King of Kings”). He behaved as if he were an independent king, but he recognized the limits on the exercise of power. Therefore, he maintained the fiction of his subservience to the caliph as a useful tool for legitimizing his authority.

In the end, as he was dying, ‘Adud al-Dawla attempted to formalize arrangements for his son to succeed him. However, for three months, his advisors had to hide his death to allow them time to transfer the reins to Samsam al-Dawla; this highlights the fact that his arrangements could not have been all that secure or formalized if his advisors had to pretend that he was still alive to make for a successful handover. For all of his power and success in reforming the government, he failed to solve many of the outstanding problems of the dynasty, particularly the question of succession and familial power-sharing.

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See also Buyids

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ADULTERY

The legal notion of adultery in medieval Islam differs in several respects from contemporary ideas. Muslim jurists would not distinguish between forbidden sexual relations of a married person and other forms of intercourse prohibited by the *Shari‘a*. On the one hand, these acts were considered in accordance with the judgments on zina (fornication; unlawful intercourse) in the Qur’an and the hadith. On the other hand, not all extramarital affairs necessarily establish the charge of committing zina. Adultery constitutes, on that ground, a subsidiary part inside of a broader legal category that combines moral, religious, and social values.

The noun *zina* and its grammatical derivations (e.g., *al-zani* [the fornicator])—without counting

numerous paraphrases—appear in five verses of the *Qur'an*. Three of these verses list zina together with other sins, namely murder (17:32; 25:68; 60:12), infanticide (17:32 and 60:12), theft, and false accusation (60:12). They do not pronounce specific punishments; however, 25:68 refers to the sufferings of fornicators and murderers in the hereafter. The other two verses imply more significant juridical consequences. Sura 24:2 states the Qur'anic penalty of one hundred lashes for each fornicator, both male and female, and the next verse (24:3) sets an impediment to marriage between fornicators and believers. However, this latter stipulation has been either considered abrogated or taken as but a recommendation by most legal scholars. Instead of following the Qur'anic prescription, later jurisprudence sets the norm for the punishment of zina with the example of the Prophet Muhammad and of 'Ali ibn Abi Talib, who pronounced the sentence of stoning in five cases. The application of the punishment relies on the testimony of four witnesses in explicit terms or on the confession of the perpetrator, which is to be repeated four times.

Committing zina figures prominently among the most serious sins imaginable in Islamic ethics and puts into question the actual belief of the perpetrator. More than that, zina imposes one of the five "limit penalties" (hudud, sing. hadd) specified in the Qur'an, the only one that had been sharpened by the more severe precedents in the hadith. Zina constitutes not just a personal sin but a criminal offense against the community to be judged by worldly legal authorities. Accounting the properties of the crime, the Andalusian jurist Ibn Rushd defines zina as "all sexual intercourse that occurs outside of a valid marriage, the semblance *(shubha)* of marriage, or lawful ownership" (1996, vol. 2, 521). To appreciate the significance of this statement, we shall briefly discuss those sexual acts that give rise to uncertainty with respect to their nature as zina.

First, there are a number of practices that are not immediately conceived of as sexual intercourse. Some jurists count masturbation among the manifest forms of zina, but their position is contrasted, for example, by a statement of Ahmad Ibn Hanbal comparing masturbation to a mere phlebotomy. There is also no consensus about whether copulation with animals should be punished with the hadd penalty. Opinions differ not less on homosexual intercourse: some jurists impose stoning in any case, some distinguish between the active and the passive partner, and others leave the decision to the discretion of the judge (Bousquet 1990, 83–4; Musallam 1983, 33–4; Peters 2002, 509). Lesbian activities are rarely introduced in legal manuals; they are generally passed over in silence (see Murray 2005).

Second, a nontrivial topic of legal reasoning on zina consists of the attempt to circumscribe the proper meaning of "lawful ownership." Sexual intercourse with one's own slave is permitted. The category of possession, however, raises economic issues that collide with moral concerns. Typical conflicts are cases in which parental and economical notions intermingle (e.g., the father who has intercourse with his son's slave). Opinions vary widely between the application of the hadd penalty and the requirement of a possession transfer with restitution of the slave's value to the former owner (Ibn Rushd 1996, vol. 2, 522).

Third (and this is related to the second point), an important legal instrument with respect to zina concerns the possible erroneous belief of the perpetrator of having acted within the state of actually being married (i.e., to have intercourse with somebody mistaken to be one's wife or without fulfilling the legal prerequisites of marriage). The avoidance of the hadd penalty for errors resulting from resemblance (shubha) follows from a noncanonical hadith (see Powers 2002, 62–3, n. 40, for references).

The contradictions between the rigorousness of the legal norm and the procedural as well as doctrinal formulations against its strict application allow for different conclusions about the function of the law. One position advances that the entire criminal legislation on zina serves the sole aim of avoiding the "divulgence of scandale" (Bousquet 1990, 89–90). However, because the matrimonial relationship is crucial to the whole fabric of family law in early Islam, this legislation appears also as a "protective wall" that ensures the maintenance of social and economic rights and duties (Coulson 1979, 65–8).

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See also Concubinage; Crime and Punishment; Family; Gender and Sexuality

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AFTERLIFE

"Think not of those who are slain in Allah's Way as dead. Nay, they live, finding their sustenance in the Presence of their Lord" (Qur'an 3:169). Medieval Qur'an commentators usually connect this verse to the battle of Uhud (AH 3/625 CE), during which the Muslims had been defeated and had suffered many casualties. They further explain that the verse had been revealed to console the bereaved. In trying to be more specific as to the bliss bestowed upon "those slain in Allah's Way," these commentators adduce a prophetic tradition (hadith, q.v.) that states that the souls of the shuhada' (those killed in Allah's Way) wander in Paradise, in the bodies of green birds. So wonderful is their bliss that, when God asks them for their wish, their only desire is to return to the present world so that they may be killed again. With this notion in mind, it is not surprising that this particular verse has become one of the most frequently cited verses in the last few years, mainly in relation to suicide bombings.

It is not only the fate of the shuhada' that has created the eagerness to explore the world beyond ours; this yearning is deeply rooted in religious anxieties and aspirations of every pious person. Medieval Islam was very much aware of this need and supplied the "essential information" in various ways: Qur'an commentaries, hadith, and theological and mystical works, as well as more popular treatises. The latter constitute an especially colorful and descriptive genre that consists of hundreds or maybe thousands of tales that provide meticulous details about the world beyond the present one: the encounter with the angels Munkar and Nakir, the Barzakh, the delights of Paradise, the torments of Hell, and so on (see the relevant entries in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* and *The Encyclopaedia of the Qur'an*). Although these details answer the curiosity of the believers and deliver some comfort, their main purpose is to illuminate the enigma of the Divine Providence. As a counsel to pious Muslims who might wonder about the reason for the scrupulous life they have to lead, this literature elaborates on the ongoing communication between the dead and the living, assuming a direct proportion between the performance of duties in the present world and the rewards granted in the next.

Ibn Abi al-Dunya (d. AH 281/894 CE) may be considered one of the earliest and most prolific writers who developed this popular afterlife genre. He covered the different stages of the hereafter and presented descriptions of the upper worlds in short treatises. His works draw attention to three main ways by which the living can learn about the dead:

1. Tales of people who woke up a few seconds after their death, described their experiences, and died again *(Man 'Asha Ba'da al-Mawt [Those Who Lived After Death])*.
2. Tales of people who stayed in the vicinity of a graveyard and encountered the dead, either inside their graves or nearby, in forms that indicate the taste of death *(Kitab al-Qubur [The Book of Graves])*.
3. Tales of people who appeared in dreams after passing away and portrayed their new abode; dream narrations make the richest source of information about death and the next world *(Kitab al-Manam [The Book of Dreams])*.

Regardless of the method chosen, each anecdote in this genre creates the feeling of a physical contact between the two worlds and alludes to the fact that death is not the final stage of life. The dead in these anecdotes are considered "living dead." They meet with each other and discuss occurrences of the present world; they have doubts and desires; they are capable of building relationships with the living; and they always deliver reliable information. This makes the living believe that they can learn from the experience of the dead, which is accumulated in the dead's new vicinity. The dead are perceived as those who understand the value of duties but who are incapable of performing any, whereas living people can carry out deeds but are not aware of their consequences in the next world. Thus, the living choose to follow the dead's instructions about how to behave to guarantee their own comfortable existence when their turn comes. A large portion of these anecdotes focuses on the fact that the dead's sepulchral sufferings are mitigated through good deeds performed by the living. These tales also illustrate how praying for the dead, visiting their graves, and accomplishing their duties are likely to reduce the agonies of the living after their own deaths.

In accordance with this, the edifying nature of this genre in general and the heritage of Ibn Abi al-Dunya in particular become apparent. Although never straightforward, this genre constantly encourages the dwellers of the present abode to perform certain deeds and refrain from others. Its picturesque and tangible

descriptions expressed in simple daily language and phrased in an unequivocal way answer human uncertainties and ease the fears of death. These tales penetrate the heart and become a reliable authority according to which pious life is conducted.

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See also Death and Dying; Dream and Dream Interpretation; Hadith; Jihad; Mecca; Qur'an

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AGHLABIDS

The Aghlabid dynasty ruled the emirate of Ifriqiyya (modern-day Tunisia) from 800–909 CE. During that century, they consolidated the economic and military position of the province, exercising considerable control over the Mediterranean after the conquest of Sicily. A failure to overcome critical internal divisions, however, weakened the Aghlabids and led to their collapse before the Fatimid army of Kutama Berbers.

Ibrahim b. al-Aghlab (800–812), governor of the Zab region on the western border of the 'Abbasid empire, founded the dynasty after putting down a revolt by the jund (Arab military class) in Qayrawan, the capital of Ifriqiyya. He then negotiated his reward with the 'Abbasid caliph, Harun Al-Rashid. The caliph appointed him emir (prince) and gave him virtual autonomy after Ibrahim pledged forty thousand dinars to the imperial treasury and agreed to forego a one hundred thousand dinar subsidy normally received by the province.

The revolt that brought the Aghlabids to power was a portent of a perennial problem of the Aghlabid rulers: the propensity of the volatile jund to rebel. After two further revolts, Ibrahim I constructed a fortified palace complex, the Qsar al-Qadim, which was three miles south of Qayrawan and protected by a special guard of black slaves. Although the third Aghlabid emir, Ziyadat Allah (817–838), channeled much of the revolutionary potential of the jund toward a jihad (holy war) against Sicily, the Aghlabids never successfully counterbalanced this force.

Another source of tension was the ulama, the influential class of religious scholars whose piety and learning commanded the respect of urban and rural society. The ulama critiqued excesses and injustices they identified in the Aghlabid regime, including usury, un-Islamic taxation (applying a land tax to Muslim subjects and demanding payment of tithes in money not in kind), and the production and sale of wine. The ulama also censured the pleasure-seeking lifestyle of the Aghlabid court as excessive and illicit. In addition, tensions between the rival Hanafite and Malikite schools of Islamic law were compounded by controversy over mu'tazilism (a rationalist approach to Islam), which the caliph Ma'mun (813–833) made the official doctrine of the empire. In Ifriqiyya, the literalist Malikite approach (which was propagated at Qayrawan by the eminent jurist Asad b. al-Furat [d. 828]) took root and became the dominant school. It was under the Aghlabids that Al-Furat's student Sahnun (d. 854) penned the authoritative digest of Malikite doctrine, *Al-Mudawanna*. The emirs, who were sensitive to public opinion, consistently selected Maliki jurists for positions in their administration. As prolific builders, the Aghlabids also attempted to shore up religious legitimacy through the extensive construction of religious buildings. Ziyadat Allah I rebuilt the Great Mosque of Qayrawan in 836, and the Zaytuna Mosque of Tunis was built by Abu Ibrahim Ahmad (856–863). Great resources were also invested in public works, particularly water projects, including aqueducts and the famous circular cisterns at Qayrawan.

These last projects increased the region's agricultural productivity, contributing to economic expansion as Ifriqiyya regained prominence as a grain exporter. Qayrawan also became an important terminus for

trans-Saharan trade, primarily of slaves and gold. This rise in east-west and north–south trade proved a significant factor in the Aghlabids' external policies.

With its land borders relatively quiet, the emirate was most vulnerable on its coasts, and a series of ribats (fortified monasteries) were built to guard against Christian raids. Although they had diplomatic exchanges with Charlemagne's Christian empire (which posed no naval threat), the Byzantines posed a recurrent economic and military threat. In 827 C.E., a rebel Byzantine naval commander approached Ziyadat Allah III to help invade Sicily. For the emir, the invasion presented an opportunity to take over a Byzantine base across from Ifriqiyya, to control east-west Mediterranean traffic, and, not insignificantly, to channel the domestic discontent of the ulama and jund into a campaign against an external enemy. The emir placed the jurist Al-Furat, who had argued for jihad against Christian Sicily, in charge of the invasion force, which left from the garrison port of Susa with ten thousand men. They made early gains in the west by taking Palermo in 842, but they took seventy-five years to oust the final Byzantine forces. However, while securing Sicily, the Aghlabids extended their power considerably on the Italian peninsula, sending repeated expeditions to Calabria and Campania, raiding Rome in 846 C.E., and establishing a presence on the Adriatic coast in Brindisi and Bari. By 902 C.E., they were well established in Sicily and dominated the mainland through trade and military power.

Despite these external successes, the policies of Ibrahim II (875–902 C.E.), who tried to consolidate Aghlabid authority by slaughtering the Arab aristocracy and the jund, undermined the Aghlabid position in Ifriqiyya. His repression weakened the military and provoked widespread resentment, thus paving the way for the downfall of the dynasty. In 909 C.E., the last Aghlabid amir, Ziyadat Allah III, fled before the Ismaili armies that helped establish the Fatimids.

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See also Kharijis; Berber Revolt; Qayrawan; Al Ma'-mun; Tax and Taxation; Slaves and Slave Trade; Western Islamic World; Trade, Mediterranean; Muslim–Byzantine Relations; Sicily; Ismailis; Fatimids; North Africa

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AGRA RED FORT

After his victory over the last ruler of the Lodi dynasty, Sultan Ibrahim (1517–1526), the first Mughal emperor Babur (r. 1526–1530) installed himself in the Lodi mud-brick fort at Agra and ordered the construction of a large, three-story stepwell that was completed in March 1527. It was only under his grandson Akbar (r. 1556–1605), however, that imperial patronage seriously focused on Agra and made its fort into an immensely strong fortified palace city to rival Delhi and Lahore. Akbar's chronicler, Abu'l-Fazl, referred to the emperor's five hundred buildings in Agra, an exaggeration that nevertheless suggests the massive transformation Akbar and his architect Qasim Khan Mir Barr u Bahr oversaw between 1565 and 1573. Although very few Akbar-period buildings still stand, the early semicircular ground plan of the Agra Fort is evident, with its 22-meter high walls stretching over 2.5 kilometers.

Faced with red sandstone and white marble, the Hathi (Elephant) Gate on the west was the main public entrance. Built in the same materials is the so-called Jahangiri Mahal, the best-preserved Akbari building inside the walls. Adjacent to and overlooking the Jumna River, its open architecture lets those inside the palace view the hectic river traffic and catch cooling breezes off the water. Its several inner courtyards, its overall layout, and its decorative stonework are influenced by the non-Islamic palace traditions of Gujarat and Rajasthan and of the massive fort at Gwalior, an Akbari synthesis that is most strikingly revealed in the imperial city of Fatehpur Sikri only 42 kilometers to the west, where the emperor resided from 1569–1585.

Additions to the Agra Fort by Akbar's son and successor Jahangir (1605–1627) are also known

View of exterior. Moghul style, 1565. Built by Akbar. Credit: SEF/Art Resource, NY. Jahangiri Mahal, Red Fort, Agra, Uttar Pradesh, India.

largely from texts. They included a small palace and a public audience hall. Contemporary paintings also show the Shah Burj (King's Tower), from which Jahangir suspended a belled Chain of Justice, purportedly designed so that petitioners could ring it and get his attention.

However, it was during the reign of Shah Jahan (1627–1658) that the Agra Fort was transformed through lavish and astute patronage. His regnal name means "King of the World," an image that came to dominate almost all aspects of the arts under his patronage. Between 1627 and 1637, most of the fort's structures were replaced with buildings clothed in white marble or stucco. Materials reflected rank, as did the order of structures. On the east side of a large rectangular courtyard, the pillared public audience hall was built of red sandstone that was covered with white stucco. The hall's east side, however, was lined with white marble and inlaid with precious stones, for it presented a jharoka or balcony window where the emperor made regular formal appearances to his closest adherents, who were assembled according to rank. On the east side of the courtyard was a pillared hall with a throne room containing baluster columns, a form that was explicitly derived from European prints and used only in an imperial context. To the north was a chahar bagh, a cruciform garden with a central fountain that was particularly favored by Mughal patrons, for whom it recalled their descent from Timur and their origins in Samarqand. On its east side was a private audience hall that contained a Persian inscription likening the emperor to the sun, a conceit that was reinforced by solar medallions in the marble stone. The emperor's private residence was located next to an open court and looked out over the river. His bedroom was so richly gilded that there appeared to be a gold aura around his head during his ritual jharoka appearances.

Within the fort is also a large white marble mosque that was completed in 1653. In keeping with well-established Mughal precedent, it has three white marble domes that rise above its qiblah wall. Stunning black marble inscriptions convey images of paradise and laud Shah Jahan as a world ruler.

Materials, imagery, and inscriptions weave a common theme. Interior gardens and their fountains evoke the desirable order and pure water of paradise. Forms like the baluster column are reserved only for

the environment in which the emperor lives. Other forms appropriated from European prints include the scales of justice and the solar orb; in the circumscribed environment of the Mughal court and the Agra Fort, these forms were well understood, although it is unlikely that they would have conveyed much meaning to those outside of the purview of court refinements. Likewise, the intense, concentrated symmetry of architectural space is an expression of social order that is remarkable for its consistency and forcefulness. The ruler and his family were located on an exalted plane. The Agra Fort presented not just symmetry but also precise definition and regulation of movement from courtyard to chamber to courtyard. The temporal world was firmly set in place as well: time was ritualized, and the emperor's set appearances guaranteed that the elaborate system continued to function. It is no wonder that European visitors so admired the Mughal court and that European rulers saw court ceremonies and imagery worth imitating. The Mughals had mastered the political art of fabricating a monarch who was also the empire's indispensable hero.

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See also Akbar; Alhambra; Architecture, Secular: Civil; Architecture, Secular: Military; Architecture, Secular: Palaces; Architecture, Religious; Babar; Bureaucrats; Delhi; Gardens and Gardening; Hindus; Humayun; India; Mosques; Lahore; Mughals; Nur Jahan; Painting, Miniature; Persian; Persians; Qur'an; Timurids; Turks; Water

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AGRICULTURE

The history of Islamic agriculture *(filāḥa)* goes back to very ancient times, to the time of the conquests (seventh and eighth centuries). When the Muslims as conquerors came to the different regions—and where the inhabitants of the different regions became Muslims—attention to the land became a concrete and nondeferable matter. The decaying structure of the landed estates of late antiquity, where they still existed, was eliminated; the land was divided up among the warriors and their families; land left neglected and uncultivated for a long time started to be tilled again. This was the start in the Islamic countries of what some scholars have very aptly called the "green revolution": this revolution would later form the basis of countless and advantageous exchanges between the East—including the Far East—and the West, and it points to the Muslims as the pioneers of a new way of farming. Confirmation of what took place can first be found in the many texts and archaeological data concerning the development of technology related to agriculture; several dams and barrage systems that had already existed in pre-Islamic times were restored, and other new ones were built. Systems for transporting water (canals, aqueducts), raising water [šādūf, sāqiya, nā'ūra (noria)], and storing water (tanks with settling apparatus) spread until they became commonplace in the countryside and in towns; various types of water mills and windmills and complex distillation equipment enabled a series of processes related to agriculture (grinding cereals, pressing olives, refining cane sugar, distilling rose water/oil) to be at least partly automated.

In many different parts of the Iranian Plateau and from Mesopotamia to Spain, the digging of a thick network of canals (which made it possible to irrigate the fields regularly) led, on the one hand, to the introduction of crops that needed a lot of water all year round into regions with an unfavourable climate (i.e., the migration of plants from the Far East, acclimation in India, and movements over sea and land to the coasts of Africa and Arabia). On the other hand, it laid the foundations for another important aspect of Islamic agriculture: the growing of flowers and ornamental plants and, essentially, the development of that marvel of art and thought that would continue for centuries to be the art of the Islamic garden. The written "scientific" tradition of the subject also stresses its excellence. Among the many sources in Greek—although there are also many contributions from other cultures—some writings are outstanding:

1. *The Georgika,* which was attributed to Democritus (the author, who is obviously not the pre-Socratic Greek philosopher, may be the same person as second century BC writer Bolos of Mendes).
2. *The Synagogue* by Vindanios Anatolios of Berytos (in Arabic texts he was called Anatolios

or Junius; his work occurred during the fourth and fifth centuries CE).

3. *The Georgika* by Kassianos Bassos Scholasticos (sixth century CE), which was referred to by Muslims as Qusṭūs or Kassianos (this work was translated from Greek into Arabic around the year 827 with the title *al-Filāḥa al-rumīya*, but there is also another translation, not from Greek but from Pahlavi, which was entitled *Kitāb al-zar'*).

A special case in the most ancient Arabic literature is the monumental work *al-Filāḥa al-nabaṭīya (Nabatean Agriculture)*. The study of plants accounts for more than half of the work, but it also says a lot about agricultural techniques like grafting, soil improvement, and so on. This work, which introduces itself as being of pre-Islamic origin and being rearranged and translated into Arabic (possibly during the tenth century) by Ibn Waḥšiya—but which may have been written in Arabic between the eighth and ninth centuries—contains many very old contributions of various origins. The fact that, unlike other treatises from the first centuries of Islam, it has come down to us in its entirety makes it a tremendously important point of reference.

In the truly Islamic textual tradition, there are many treatises from different periods and regions. The earliest works, written by grammarians and lexicographers, were concerned with defining the scientific Arabic terminology of the subject; problems arose from the fact that many plants were often called by different names in different (although nearby) places. The works were soon joined by other books that show how the subject evolved. These include the following: in Egypt, the *Qawānīn al-dawāwīn* by Ibn Mammātī (d. 1209); in Spain, the *Kitāb al-mugnī fī'l-filāḥa* (1073) by Ibn Ḥaǧǧāǧ al-Išbīlī (the Sevillian) and, later, the *Kitāb al-filāḥa* by Ibn al-'Awwām al-Išbīlī (twelfth–thirteenth century); in modern times, in Syria, the *'Alam al-malāḥa fi 'ilm al-filāḥa* (1725) by 'Abd al-Ġanī al-Nābulusī, summed up an earlier great work, which has not come down to us, by Riyāḍ al-Dīn al-'Āmirī (d. 1529).

From the fourteenth century onward, Islamic agriculture began a slow but inexorable process of decline (see, for example, the case of Egypt during the Mameluke period; however, but the crisis period started much earlier in several regions). The causes identified include the increasing rigidity of Islamic culture, which was accompanied by less attention to scientific developments and technology; the depopulation of the countryside as a result of wars, invasions, epidemics, and policies that were not favorable to agriculture; and the progressive economic and commercial growth of Europe, which became more and more competitive as time went on. By the eve of the modern age, no traces would remain of the Islamic "green revolution" of the first centuries; however, the valuable contribution of the Muslims is still universally recognised today in the history of agriculture in both the East and the West.

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See also Aqueducts; Technology, Mills: Water and Wind

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'A'ISHA BINT ABI BAKR

'A'isha bint Abi Bakr (d. 678 CE), the second wife of the Prophet Muhammad (d. 632), attained both a revered and reviled status in medieval Islamic civilization. Controversies abounded in the depiction of her life within both Sunni and Shi'is Muslim sources. 'A'isha's remembrance, which was recorded exclusively by men, defined her central role in debates about female sexuality, politics, and sectarianism.

'A'isha was the wife of the most important man in Islamic history and the daughter of Abu Bakr (d. 634), a staunch companion of the Prophet and the first political leader after his death. 'A'isha's marriage to the Prophet at the age of nine was an extension of the close bond between her famous husband and father. 'A'isha, along with the other wives of the Prophet, became a member of a special female elite in Muslim society that is defined in the Qur'an by the phrase "Mothers of the Believers" (33:6). The Qur'an also specifically directed these women to "stay behind a curtain" (hijab) (this is currently defined as a veil) and to "stay in their houses" (33:33), an injunction that was eventually used in the medieval period to separate all women from the public sphere.

'A'isha attained the status of Muhammad's favorite wife after the death of his first wife, Khadija (d. 619), but her reputation was threatened at the age of fourteen by an accusation of adultery. Her innocence was revealed by the Qur'an (24:11–20), but the incident was interpreted differently by the Shi'i Muslim minority, who claimed that the revelation was not directed at 'A'isha, whose name does not appear explicitly in these verses. The accusation of adultery thus became a cause of Sunni-Shi'is Muslim friction during the medieval period.

After the Prophet's death, 'A'isha opposed the fourth caliph, 'Ali ibn Abi Talib (d. 661), the first Shi'is Muslim leader, at the Battle of the Camel (656). Her defeat and the deaths of so many Muslims on both sides of the conflict made 'A'isha an object of shared Sunni and Shi'i Muslim censure. Both groups used this political disaster as a lesson to all medieval Muslim women about the dangers of their participation in politics.

The role of 'A'isha as a source of the Prophet Muhammad's words and deeds as recorded in medieval collections of hadith (traditions) became central to Sunni legal thought during the medieval period. By contrast, Shi'is Muslims rejected 'A'isha as a deeply flawed and unreliable source for their interpretation of Islamic history and law. Sunni Muslims, however, continue to revere her as an object of revelation and the source of much of their faith.

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See also Abu Bakr; Muhammad, the Prophet

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AKBAR (R. 1556–1605)

Abu'l-Fath Jalal al-Din Muhammad Akbar was the most celebrated, powerful, and controversial Mughal emperor of India. Succeeding to the throne at the death of his father Humayun in 1556 when he was thirteen years old, he transformed a weak dynasty and administration into a Mughal Empire that controlled most of India from the capital at Agra and that established patterns of administration and rule (eloquently laid out in *A'in-i Akbar*) that would persist for a couple of centuries after him. The first Indian-born Mughal, with a Central Asian father and a Persian mother, Akbar embodied the cultural synthesis that marked out his reign, during which Persianate cultural interaction with Indian vernacular cultures was at its apogee.

In 1560, Akbar brought the regency of Bayram Khan to an end and set out to consolidate his power by a mixed policy of conquest and marriage alliances. He established his power in the Gangeatic plain by conquering Bihar (1574) and Bengal (1576) and extended his power into Malwa and Rajasthan through marriage alliances that brought capable non-Muslim notables (e.g., the organizational genius Raja Todar Mal and his companion Birbal) to court. Akbar perpetuated the Mughal policy of importing talented Persian warriors, bureaucrats, poets, and scholars into India. At the height of his power, his empire included Kashmir (taken in 1587) and parts of the Deccan plateau (taken in campaigns in the 1590s). His incorporation of northern India into the empire meant that, for the first time since Asoka, the ruling dynasty controlled most of the subcontinent. In the *Akbarnama*, his friend Abu 'l-Fadl 'Allami (d. 1602) celebrated him as the shadow of God on earth, whose authority and wisdom was supreme in matters temporal and spiritual. From the 1570s, Akbar began hosting religious dispute in his new 'Ibadatkhana in his retreat of Fatehpur Sikri; in 1579, he declared himself to be the ultimate religious authority in the land, which angered most of the Sunni ulema at court. He created his own religion, which he named the divine faith (din-i ilahi). This was a unique synthesis of Islamic and Indian forms of religiosity. His patronage of fine arts and projects to translate and depict Vedic epics such as the *Mahabharata* (rendered as the *Razmnama*), his encouragement of philosophers, free thinkers, and Shi'is notables at court, and his bibliophilia despite his illiteracy further alienated the ulema. Discontent and the failure of the Deccan campaigns toward the end of his reign led to the rebellion of his son Salim, the future Jahangir. When Akbar died in 1605, his religious innovations had failed to make a lasting impression, but the Mughal Empire was arguably at the height of its power.

SAJJAD H. RIZVI

See also Abu 'l-Fadl 'Allami; Dara Shikuh; Humayun; Mughals

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ALCHEMY

The term *kīmiyā'*, which means "alchemy" in Arabic, apparently derives from the Greek *chymeia*/*chēmeia*, a term that was already used to indicate the science of alchemy in late antiquity in Alexandria, Egypt (see also *cheō* [to pour] and *chyma* [fused metal, particularly gold]).

According to a tradition found in the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadim (tenth century), the Muslims may have acquired their very first knowledge of alchemy at the beginning of the eighth century, when the Umayyad prince Khalid ibn Yazid (d. 705), desiring to know and study the science of the Greeks, brought philosophers from an Egyptian city (presumably Alexandria) and commissioned them to translate a number of scientific texts, including early treatises in alchemy. The texts reached Syria, thus becoming available to Muslim scholars.

Very little is known about which texts were translated into Arabic in the Umayyad period, both alchemic and others. However, it was probably from this time onward—during the earliest years of the 'Abbasid caliphate and certainly more intensively later—that a substantial number of alchemical writers in Greek gradually came to be taught in Arabic in Baghdad: from the pseudo-Democritus, Pythagorus, Hermes, the pseudo-Apollonius of Tyan, Zosimos of Panopolis, Mary the Jewess, and Theodorus to Cleopatra. These figures were considered by Muslim alchemists at every stage of their history as the undisputed masters of an ancient tradition. Over time, other authors of various origin were added to the Greeks—Syrians, Persians, Indians, and perhaps Chinese—so that, between the end of the eighth century and the beginning of the ninth, the time was ripe to start producing new treatises in Arabic. Just a few famous names suffice to recall the importance and continuity of the Islamic alchemical tradition: Jabir ibn Hayyan, who was credited with a corpus of some three thousand titles (eighth/ninth centuries); Muhammad ibn Zakariyya al-Razi (Rhazes); Ibn Umayl al-Tamimi and Maslama al-Majriti (tenth century); and al-'Iraqi, al-Jildaki, and al-Izniqi (thirteenth–fifteenth centuries). In accordance with the most ancient customs of the discipline, the treatises were soon followed by their respective commentaries: from the tenth century on, many alchemical treatises took the form of commentaries on preceding authors, either pre-Islamic or—in the case of the later alchemists—Muslim. Textual materials were thus gradually layered and sedimented to form a palimpsest that became ever more difficult to read.

In Islam, as in ancient times, alchemy revolves around a mysterious central nucleus that is its innermost heart. A very high level of craftsmanship embraces firstly the arts of fire (metallurgy, particularly the working of precious metals, ceramics, and glass [colored glasses, precious synthetic stones, and ceramic enamels]) and then extends to the preparation of various types of coloring (from fabric dyes to artistic materials for book production). Around this nucleus is arranged the chemical knowledge of the alchemists, and from this precious core of objects the less esoteric chemistry probably grew and prospered (i.e., Islamic society's skills in the extraction of cane sugar, the industrial preparation of rose water and various essences, and the perfecting of relatively sophisticated chemical apparatuses).

The link with art probably lies at the origin of the most mysterious and incomprehensible features of alchemy. This link is suggested by the universally accepted need to maintain a secret (in this case, production secrets); the prime role played by the relationship between nature and the human creator (nature, which produces, and the creator, who then perfects the work of nature), and above all the particular interpretation placed by the alchemist on alchemical operations. For the alchemist, who observes his work in the process of formation, what he performs in his laboratory is a real act of creation (cosmogony): his product is the cosmos, and the alchemist its creator. The whole process is then narrated through allegories that are drawn, with no distinction made with regard to genre, from scientific and literary texts, poems, and mythological tales, thereby testifying simultaneously to both the author's learning and his desire to exalt his discipline.

The philosophy on which the alchemist constructs his theory of transmutation, which embraces the findings of other sciences that study physical bodies (e.g., mineralogy, medicine), is Pythagorean in origin (albeit a Pythagorism that knows its Aristotle). Every composite body can be decomposed into four simple bodies (the elements: water, air, fire, and earth), and the elements in their turn can be decomposed into incorporeal "natures," which relate to each other in

particular numerical ratios. Operating a chemical transformation—or transmutation—means decomposing a body into its elements; going beyond its material texture into its natures; correcting or modifying the mathematical ratios between these incorporeal natures; and then, by degrees, recomposing a new, "modified" body. In the conceptual framework of alchemy, which always strives towards perfection, the most sought-after composition is that of a fifth nature, the perfect nature, which is able not only to produce a perfect body but also to change all other natures into itself; this is the elixir (Arab. *iksīr*, Gr. *xērion*) that the alchemists recognize as the supreme aim of alchemy.

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See also Abbasid; Aristotle; Ceramics; Medicine; Precious Metals; al-Razi; Umayyad

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ALCOHOL

The English word *alcohol* originates from the Arabic *al-kuúl* (English, *kohl*), an antimony which, when pulverized finely, is used for darkening the edges of the eyelids. The meaning of the English is said to derive from an analogy between alcohol's highly refined spirits and the fineness of the pulverized black powder.

The oldest recipe or instruction on human record is for the creation of an alcoholic beverage. Its origin is Sumerian Mesopotamia; not surprisingly, this is also one of the earliest locations in which crop agriculture was practiced. Beer and wine are thus ancient products of human invention, almost certainly discovered by accident from the natural fermentation of grains and fruits. Their utility extended beyond that of their effect on consciousness and the human nervous system, for they also likely preserved the nutrients in juices that might otherwise spoil. They were also invented and developed in Western Asia, which is the same general location out of which emerged the three great monotheistic scriptural religions.

Alcoholic beverages were invented and developed in agricultural economies, and the communities or polities of these areas naturally benefited from control over the production and distribution of these products. Members of pastoral and nomadic economies—not unsurprisingly—have tended to outlaw or distrust the use of alcohol, probably for this reason.

There are two main groups of alcoholic beverages: those that are obtained through fermentation, such as beer and wine, and those that are obtained through distillation, such as whiskey, vodka, and brandy. Because there is no historical evidence of distilled beverages before approximately 1000, Islamic rulings forbidding the use of alcohol referred to wine and beer.

References to the consumption of alcoholic beverages in the Qur'an are not consistent. Verse 16:67 celebrates strong drink from the fruit of palm trees and grapes, associating its inebriating quality (sakar) with good nourishment (rizq hasan). Verse 2:219 associates wine (al-khamr) with games of chance and finds some benefit in both, in addition to greater sin. Verse 4:43 suggests only the prohibition against intoxication while engaged in prayer (wa'antum sukaraa), but only until sober ("until you know what you are saying") (Cf. Lev. 10:8–10). Verse 5:90 associates wine (al-khamr) with games of chance, idolatry, and divination, considering them all to be the work of Satan. These verses are understood by most Muslim commentators and jurists as having been revealed in sequence. In the earliest period of Muhammad's prophetic career, the consumption of alcohol was not forbidden. Wine became forbidden only after the excessive drunken behaviors of Muhammad's generation seemed to get out of control.

Much discussion in the medieval Islamic juridical literature treated the definition of wine, because a number of drinks were prepared from dates, grapes or raisins, figs, and other fruits, and Arabic words other than *khamr* referred to beverages that were or were not fermented. Moreover, some beverages were not intentionally fermented but would become so after being preserved for a long time in storage. Despite the religious prohibition, medieval Muslim

anthologists list the ingredients of a wide variety of fermented beverages that were made and consumed by Muslims as well as Jews and Christians.

Because wine was used in both Jewish and Christian religious ritual, it was always permitted for those communities living among Muslims in Islamic lands. This sometimes caused tension and even violence because of the cognitive dissonance between Islam's legal support for the consumption of alcohol by the otherwise socially restricted religious minorities while maintaining its strict prohibition for Muslims. Therefore, although they were legally forbidden for Muslims, alcoholic beverages were always accessible through Christians and Jews, if not directly from Muslims themselves.

Notwithstanding the strict prohibition against imbibing actual alcohol, spiritual or poetic drunkenness through the bacchic wine poem (labeled technically as the "wine poem" or hamriyya only during the modern period) was a regular theme in the repertoire of the Arabic poets. Beginning even before the emergence of Islam, it reached its poetic heights during the second Islamic century with Abu Nuwas (Al-Hasan b. Hani' al-Hakami, d. 813–815), and it continued in various forms into modernity. Perhaps the best-known forms in the West include the spiritual intoxication that epitomizes the medieval mystics, who are spiritually drunk with their love for God.

A different expression is found in the poetry of medieval Islamic Spain, where the bacchic poem is associated with the pleasure of life, the quest for love, and a deep and profound communion with nature. The Andalusian wine poem became so much a part of shared medieval culture that Christians and Jews wrote them in Arabic as well. Jews also wrote wine poems in their own unique genre of poetry in the Hebrew language, which developed along the same lines as the Arabic poetry of their day.

Pour me a drink, and another,
of the wine of Isfahan
or the wine of old Chosroes
or the wine of Qayrawan.
There is musk in the wine cup
or in the hand of the one who pours it;
or perhaps it was left in the wine
when they drew it from the jar.
Deck me with crown and diadem,
and sing me my own poems.
The wine cup is a springtime
you can touch with your fingers,
and the heat of the wine seeps slowly
from my tongue all the way to my feet.

Abu Nuwas

REUVEN FIRESTONE

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ALEPPO

Aleppo (in Arabic, Halab) is a city in northern Syria, and it is second in size and importance to Damascus, which is the capital of the modern republic. The site has been continuously inhabited since at least the twentieth century BCE. The large, centrally situated fortified mound that still dominates the city dates from this period.

The mostly Christian population of Aleppo surrendered to the conquering Muslim armies in AH 16/636 CE. After relative obscurity during the time of the Umayyads and early 'Abbasids, the city enjoyed a brief but splendid prominence as capital of the Hamdanid ruler Sayf al-Dawla, who captured Aleppo from its Ikshidid governors in 333/944. Among the literary figures whom Sayf al-Dawla (see Hamdanids) patronized at his court was the Syrian poet al-Mutanabbi.

The interlude came to an end in the winter of 351/962, when the Byzantine general (later emperor) Nicephorus Phocas stormed and sacked the city. Then followed half a century of disorder during which Hamdanid rule over Aleppo was repeatedly challenged by the Fatimids, the Byzantines, and neighboring Arab statelets. After a brief period of Fatimid rule at the beginning of the eleventh century, the Bedouin Arab Mirdasid dynasty took control of the city under the nominal suzerainty of the Fatimids; fifty years of progressively weakening Mirdasid rule followed. An end was put to Arab rule over Aleppo in 479/1086, when the Seljuk sultan Malikshah captured the city and installed a governor.

Turkish rule was to continue in one form or another until Saladin took Aleppo in 579/1183. After the death of Malikshah, a small Seljuk dynasty was founded in Aleppo by Malikshah's brother, Tutush.

Aleppo. Detail of the entrance. Captured during the second crusade. Ayyubid and Mamluk periods, thirteenth to sixteenth c. Credit: Werner Forman/Art Resource, NY. Citadel, Aleppo, Syria.

However, the state was too small and weak to offer meaningful resistance to the Crusaders, to whom Aleppo had to pay tribute in an effort to forestall attack. Seljuk rule gave way to a short-lived period under the ineffective control of the Ortoqid dynasty of Mardin. The weakened and disordered city was only saved from Crusader occupation in 518/1124 as a result of the enterprise of the city's qadi (Islamic judge), Ibn al-Khashshab.

Aleppo's fortunes began to change when, in 523/1129, it was taken by 'Imad al-Din Zanki, governor of Mosul and atabak (guardian) of two sons of the Seljuk Sultan Mas'ud. Zanki's military successes took Frankish pressure off the city. After Zanki's death in 541/1146, his son Nur al-Din Mahmud not only continued his father's struggle against the Crusaders but also restored Aleppo's administrative order and material fabric. Nur al-Din rebuilt the city's fortified walls, the citadel atop the central mound, and the Great Mosque. To assert the orthodox Sunni nature of Zankid rule in a city with a long history of Shi'is activity, he founded six madrasas (Islamic schools) in which an orthodox curriculum was taught.

Medieval Aleppo attained its greatest prosperity under the next ruling dynasty, the Ayyubids. In 579/1183, Saladin took the city from Nur al-Din's successors. Three years later he gave it to his fourth son Ghazi, who was first governor and then, after Saladin's death, ruler, with the title of al-Malik al-Zahir. Under al-Zahir and his two successors, Aleppo became the capital of a strong and prosperous state, the city itself benefiting especially from trade with the Venetians, who established a permanent factory there. As part of an extensive reconstruction program, al-Zahir rebuilt the citadel, thereby creating one of the most impressive military installations in the Near East. Madrasas continued to be built, and there developed a remarkable intellectual life that nurtured people like the traveler and teacher 'Ali ibn Abi Bakr al-Harawi and the chronicler and encyclopedist Ibn al-'Adim.

But it was not to last. In 658/1260, Aleppo was taken by the Mongols under Hulagu and sacked. The last Ayyubid ruler of the city, al-Zahir's grandson al-Malik al-Nasir Yusuf II, who had abandoned Aleppo to its fate, was later captured and killed. The city was occupied by the Mamluks after their victory over the

Mongols at ‘Ayn Jalut in the same year, but it was lost to the Mongols several more times before being finally recovered by the Mamluks at the beginning of the following century.

Aleppo took years to recover from the depredations of the Mongols. The situation was made worse by the continuing threat of further Mongol attack and by political instability. Another setback occurred in 803/1400, when Tamerlane sacked the city.

This notwithstanding, the century before the Ottoman occupation of Aleppo after the Ottoman victory over the Mamluks at the battle of Marj Dabiq in 522/1516 saw another revival in the fortunes of the city. Aleppo benefited from disruption of the existing commercial routes to the north and grew rich on the trade that came its way. The suqs (markets) expanded, khans (enclosed warehouses) proliferated, and the walls of the city had to be extended to accommodate the increased population.

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See also Architecture, Secular: Military; Excellences Literature; Madrasa; Merchants, Christian; Muslim–Byzantine Relations; Muslim–Mongol Diplomacy; Silk Roads; Sunni Revival; Trade, Mediterranean

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ALEXANDER

During the medieval Islamic period, Alexander the Great was most closely associated with the figure Dhu al-Qarnayn, who was mentioned in 18:83–101. Many of the literary motifs and themes developed in the Greek Alexander Romance, which in turn appears to be based on the Epic of Gilgamesh, can be found in Muslim exegeses, histories, and related genres.

Early Muslim exegetes identify the figure Dhu al-Qarnayn with various historical and mythical figures, including Moses, an angel, and different South Arabian kings, although the identification with Alexander predominates in later literature. Other medieval recensions of the Alexander Romance, including the Ethiopic and Persian, likewise identify Alexander with Dhu al-Qarnayn. The figure of Khidr, which was alluded to in 18:60–82 just before the account of Dhu al-Qarnayn, also appears in many of the Islamic recensions of the Alexander Romance, and he may be associated with figures mentioned in Syriac, Greek, and Armenian recensions.

Other sources associate Dhu al-Qarnayn and Khidr with the prophet Abraham. In his history, Tabari relates that there were two Dhu al-Qarnayns: one living in the time of Abraham and another being Alexander. Muslim exegetes conflate Dhu al-Qarnayn with Abimelech, the king who presides over Abraham’s claim to the well of Beersheba in Genesis 21:22–34 in the Bible. Ibn Kathir preserves a number of sources that report Dhu al-Qarnayn’s visit to Abraham at Mecca during his building of the Ka‘bah.

Dhu al-Qarnayn is also conflated with Moses and the Prophet Muhammad. The epithet ‘‘Dhu al-Qarnayn’’ is usually understood to denote a person with two horns or a person who traveled to the two ends of the earth. Moses is portrayed as horned in the Vulgate and in medieval Christian texts, and in his encounter with Khidr in 18:60–82 is said to have traveled to the ends of the earth. The Prophet Muhammad’s night journey to the ends of the earth appears to be modeled on the journeys of Dhu al-Qarnayn and Alexander in the different recensions of the Alexander Romance. The journeys of both the Prophet Muhammad and Dhu al-Qarnayn to the two cities at the ends of the earth, where a remnant of the Israelites is living, may also be compared to the exegesis in 7:159, Rabbinic traditions of the ‘‘Lost Tribes,’’ and the pseudoepigraphical *History of the Rechabites.*

Dhu al-Qarnayn’s world travels in 18:83–101 are interpreted in the light of Alexander’s world conquests, and his building of the wall against Gog and Magog is a motif that is found in a wide variety of texts from Josephus to the medieval Jewish and Christian apocalypses.

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ALEXANDRIA

Alexandria, which is presently known as the shining pearl of the Mediterranean, is the second-largest city and the main port of Egypt. Situated northwest of the Nile delta, it stretches along a narrow land strip between the Mediterranean Sea and Lake Mariut.

Founding

When Alexander the Great reached Memphis (Egypt) on his expedition of conquest, he was welcomed by the people who supported him in overthrowing Persian rule. In 331 BCE, Alexander then ordered a city to be founded there to serve as a regional capital. He was later buried there.

The Roman City (30 BC–AD 641)

By the time the Romans conquered Egypt, there was an Egyptian community centered around the old site of Rhakotis, a Greek community downtown, and a Jewish community occupying the eastern districts. Octavian, the new Roman Emperor, founded a new town, Nicopolis, just east of Alexandria (it is now part of the greater city, known as El-Raml). Higher taxes were imposed, but Octavian's successors were less harsh. Matters improved when the Red Sea Canal was cut to link the Nile to the Red Sea, serving as a forerunner to the modern Suez Canal.

During the early rule of the Romans in Egypt, Christianity was introduced into Alexandria by St. Mark, who was martyred in AD 62 for protesting against the worship of Serapis. As Christianity took root, leading ecclesiastical centers such as the oratory of Saint Mark and later the Catechetical School were established as the first of their kind in the world. However, as the Christian population grew, so did the Roman emperors intensify their persecution against those who resisted it. Persecution reached unprecedented levels during the "Era of the Martyrs" around AD 284, when an estimated 144,000 martyrs—including St. Menas, St. Catherine, and St. Peter of Alexandria—were killed. When, in October 312, Emperor Constantine announced Christianity as the official religion of the Empire, Alexandria was ready for the change.

During the next two centuries, the spiritual power of the Coptic Church in Alexandria grew among Egyptians. However, the power of the "Royal" Patriarchs, appointed by the Roman emperor, was more political than religious. The Coptic Patriarchs, on the other hand, had no political interests.

During the early seventh century, both the Persian Empire and the Roman Empire started to fall apart. In 617, the Persians peacefully captured Alexandria for a short period of five years. By the time the Roman Emperor Heraclius regained his forces and recaptured the lost provinces, the world was ready to witness the birth of a new power. From the desolate Arabian Peninsula came the Arab forces that swept both the Romans and the Persians; they were spiritually powered by the new religion of Islam, and they established an empire that would last for over a thousand years. After negotiating with the Roman Patriarch, Cyrus, who was also serving as the Roman ruler of Egypt, Alexandria was peacefully captured by the Arab commander 'Amr ibn al-'As on November 8, 642 CE and 'Amr and his soldiers entered a city which "contained 4000 palaces, 4000 baths, and 400 theatres".

The Arab–Islamic City

The Caliph 'Umar ibn al-Khattab, who ruled from Medina, appointed 'Amr ibn al-'As governor of Egypt, and he promptly relocated the capital to Fustat, which was the nucleus of modern Cairo. For the next thousand years or so, the glamour of Alexandria declined. However, the Arabs greatly admired the city, and the most descriptive accounts of the Pharos Lighthouse and the pre-Islamic monuments come from Arab historical, geographical, and travel accounts such as those from Ibn Khurradadhbih, Ibn Jubayr, al-Harawi, and Ibn Battuta. Medieval accounts also locate the tombs of Alexander and Aristotle in the city.

When significant parts of the lighthouse collapsed during the 956 and 1323 earthquakes, it was not repaired. In 1498, the medieval fort of the Mamluk

sultan Qaytbay was eventually constructed on the foundation of the Pharos. However, this failed to bring Alexandria back to prominence after the discovery of the new route around Africa to the Far East.

Alexandria was also an important port center for Arab and foreign merchants down to the early fourteenth century. European consulates and traveler hostels such as those of the Venetians were established in the city. Alexandria also served as a port of transit for goods to and from India and the Far East. Likewise, it was an important center for the manufacture of textiles.

During the Middle Ages, a number of famous scholars and Sufis hailed from or came to be associated with Alexandria, such as the famous *hadith* scholar Abu Tahir al-Silafi (d. 1180); the Shadhili Sufi Ibn 'Ata' Allah (d. 1309), the author, an important work of Sufi biography; and al-Busiri (d. 1294), the author of the famous *Ode of the Mantle (burda)* of the Prophet Muhammad.

Today, greater Alexandria stretches nearly seventy kilometers along the Mediterranean coast, with urban areas covering more than one hundred square kilometers. Her rich population of more than four million still reflects her ancient history and close ties to the Mediterranean. With ethnic minorities including Armenians, Greeks, Italians, Lebanese, Maltese, and Syrians, among others, Alexandria is considered the most culturally diverse of all Egyptian cities.

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ALGEBRA

The word *algebra* is a Latinized form of the Arabic word *al-jabr,* which means restoration. The word appears in the title *Book on al-Jabr and al-Muqabala;* this is the introductory treatise in Arabic on the solution of linear and quadratic equations, which Muhammad ibn Musa al-Khwarizmi wrote around 830 CE in Baghdad. During the twelfth century, after Spain had been conquered by the Christians, the work was translated as the *Book on Algebra and Almucabala,* from which the field of algebra got its name. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the meaning of the word *algebra* has changed from the science of the solution of equations to the science of a particular class of mathematical structures.

Because al-Khwarizmi's work in algebra is fundamental, a brief summary is presented here. Al-Khwarizmi discusses linear and quadratic equations without algebraic symbolism, and he even writes all numbers out as words. For example, one of his equations is called *capital,* and ten *roots* are the unknown amounts of money. Because the product of the root times itself is supposed to be equal to the capital, the equation can be expressed in modern symbols as $x^2 + 10x = 39$.

Al-Khwarizmi does not use zero and negative numbers, so he has to distinguish three different types of mixed quadratic equations; in modern notation these would be the following: $x^2 + bx = c$, $x^2 = bx + c$, and $x^2 + c = bx$, with $b, c > 0$. He also discusses the two simple quadratic equations $x^2 = bx$ and $x^2 = c$ and the linear equation $x = c$. For each of these six standard forms, he explains a general method of solution in words, using numerical examples. The solutions of $x^2 + bx = c$, $x^2 = bx + c$, and $x^2 + c = bx$ are equivalent to the modern algebraic formula, but al-Khwarizmi only gives positive roots. He correctly states that $x^2 + c = bx$ only has a solution of $b^2 \geq 4c$, but he does not clearly explain that the equation has two different roots if $b^2 > 4c$.

Al-Khwarizmi illustrates the solutions of the three mixed quadratic equations using geometrical figures. He then shows how any quadratic equation can be reduced to one of the standard forms. *Al-jabr* (restoration) is the operation of removing defective terms in the equation. For example, if our equation is one capital except two roots is equal to 10 dirhams, we "restore" the missing two roots to both sides of the equation, and we conclude that one capital is equal to two roots and 10 dirhams. This equation is in the standard form $x^2 = bx + c$, with $b = 2$ and $c = 10$.

Al-Khwarizmi then presents a long series of examples of problems that can be reduced to equations, and he explains how each equation can be solved according to the preceding theory. He adds a brief section on surveying, which has no relation to algebra. His work was a great didactical success, and he is rightly regarded as the founder of Islamic algebra.

In his preface, al-Khwarizmi says that his work contains a certain amount of material that people constantly use in computations. It is true that the contents of his work were indeed known in 1000 B.C. in ancient Babylonia, which is the same area in which he wrote his work. Al-Khwarizmi's statement has been uncritically interpreted by modern historians in the sense that Arabic algebra was "practical" and that the quadratic equations were motivated by practical applications. Al-Khwarizmi

presents "applications" of algebra in Islamic inheritance problems, but his examples are very artificial and only lead to linear equations in which $bx = c$. As a matter of fact, there were few if any applications of quadratic equations in the medieval Islamic tradition; the motivation for algebra seems to have been primarily recreational.

Al-Khwarizmi's work was translated into Latin because it was available in Islamic Spain during the eleventh century CE, just before Spain was reconquered by the Christians. In the meantime, algebra developed in the Eastern Islamic world beyond the level reached by al-Khwarizmi. During the late ninth century, Abu Kamil started to solve equations that had irrational coefficients such as *root two*. He also studied systems of linear equations involving several unknowns. Meanwhile, mathematicians were also beginning to look at equations of higher degree. The Iranian mathematician al-Mahani (ca. 860) studied a problem that Archimedes mentioned but did not solve in his work *On the Sphere and Cylinder*. The problem was a preliminary to the division of a sphere by a plane into two parts such that their volumes have a given ratio. Al-Mahani showed that a problem that Archimedes had left unsolved was equivalent to a cubic equation (of the form $ax^2 = x^3 + c$). Unfortunately, the formula for the solution of cubic equations (discovered in Italy during the sixteenth century) produces x as the sum of two complex numbers. Such numbers were meaningless to ancient and medieval mathematicians, and therefore al-Mahani could not solve the equation.

During the mid-tenth century, Abu Ja'far al-Khazin constructed a line segment of length x in a geometrical way by means of a hyperbola. After this breakthrough, other Islamic mathematicians also started to work on geometrical solutions of cubic equations. The famous Iranian mathematician and poet 'Umar al-Khayyam wrote a treatise on algebra that contained geometrical solutions of all types of cubic equations by means of parabolas, hyperbolas, and circles. Just like al-Khwarizmi, al-Khayyam only worked with positive coefficients, and therefore he had to distinguish many types of cubic equations, which were equivalent to the modern $x^3 = ax^2 + c$, $x^2 + ax^2 = c$, $x^3 + c = ax^2$, $x^3 + c = ax^2$, $x^3 + ax^2 = bc + c$, and so on, with $a, b, c > 0$. 'Umar al-Khayyam did not use modern symbolism. His work was not complete according to medieval mathematical standards, because he did not use the precise conditions for the existence of the solutions.

Other algebraic advances were also made. During the tenth century CE, the Iranian mathematician al-Karaji explained how one can draw the square roots of a polynomial such as (in modern symbolism) $x^4 + 6x^3 + 13x^2 = 12x + 4$. He did this by generalizing the way in which square roots of decimal and sexagesimal numbers were extracted. He only discussed cases in which the result comes out nicely (in the above example, $x^2 + 3x + 2$). During the twelfth century, al-Samaw'al explained the same for negative coefficients, and he showed how polynomials can be divided by the same method as decimal and sexagesimal numbers. Also during the twelfth century, Saraf al-Din al-Tusi (who is not the same as Nasir al-Din) discussed rather complicated methods for the numerical approximation of the (positive) root of a cubic equation. He also showed at what points the exact roots of cubic equations exist, and thus he solved one of the problems that al-Khayyam had left open. Neither al-Khayyam nor Sharaf al-Din realized that the cubic equation $x^3 + bx = ax^2 + c$ can have three (positive) roots.

It is perhaps surprising that the Islamic advances in algebra were made without algebraic symbolism. During the fourteenth century, Western Arabic mathematicians used abbreviations of words in equations in much the same way as Diophantus (c. 250) did in his *Arithmetica* and as the mathematicians did in sixteenth-century Europe.

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See also Mathematics; Geometry; Numbers

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ALHAMBRA/AL-QASR AL-HAMRA'

Alhambra/al-Qasr al-Hamra' derives its name from the Arabic *hamra'* (red), which is probably a reference to the color of the dirt that makes up the high hill (the Sabika) beside the Darro river from which the Alhambra commands panoramic views of Granada and the surrounding countryside. The complex dates

largely to the middle- to late-fourteenth century and to the reigns of Nasrid sovereigns Yusuf III and Muhammad V; only the Tower of the Infantas and Christian alterations and additions are known to have been added later. Somewhat removed from the city, its placement follows traditions that began with the 'Abbasids and that are also reflected in the ruling and dwelling spaces built by the Ayyubids and Mamluks in Syria and Egypt as well as Madinat al-Zahra', the earlier Andalusian palace built by the Umayyads outside of Córdoba during the tenth century. The high walls and towers present a forbidding façade to the visitor, who today approaches the palace through a gate (known as the Puerta del Vino) some distance down the hill; he or she is then confronted with the Renaissance-style facade of the Palace of Charles V, which was placed by Spanish architect Antonio Machuca directly against the eastern side of the Palace of the Lions and over the walkway that led through the royal cemetery.

The earliest known architectural activity on the site dates to the eleventh century CE, when Granada was ruled by the Berber Taifa dynasty of the Banu Ziri. This is perhaps connected to the patronage of the Jewish vizier Samuel ha-Levi ben Nagrila; remains from the Arabic al-Qasba (fortress) were found in the southern tip of the complex, which is known as the Alcazaba. These structures were largely functional, and their relationship to the putative vizier's palace has never been determined with certainty. It is also believed that the fountain from which the Palace of the Lions derives its modern name is owed to the Jewish vizier's patronage. It is with the Nasrids, however (the dynasty began in 1238 under Muhammad I Ibn Ahmar, with Granada as its capital), that spaces clearly planned for royal use were designed and built. The earliest of these structures, the Palace of the Generalife, was probably begun under Isma'il in 1314 and destined for relaxation and pleasure in a tradition that is often deemed a quintessentially "Islamic" one, although it was also adopted by medieval Christian sovereigns in Castile, Aragon, and Sicily. The palace's salons and miradors (related to the Arabic *manzara*, or belvedere—a place from which to enjoy a view) open onto a long, rectangular–pool-and-garden complex that is now considerably restored. Interiors are adorned with panels of vegetal and geometric ornamentation; their similarities to Nasrid textiles have often been noticed, but the true object of contemplation is the constructed landscape and gardens.

The Palaces of the Myrtles and the Lions (built between 1333 and 1391) are the best preserved and the most altered, whether during the adaptations of the palace to Christian use carried out under Ferdinand and Isabel (as well as their son, Charles V) or during modern restoration; these two spaces have also fostered the most contention among scholars. Earlier schools of interpretation viewed the complex composed by these two palaces as imbued with a single plan and conception; recent studies have given greater attention to the differences between the two palaces and to the fact that each possessed its own bath complex, orientation, and possibly even entrance, thereby stressing the particular architectural, ornamental, and even poetic coherence of each. The Palace of the Myrtles (in Spanish, *arrayánes*), which is also referred to as the Palace of Comares, is the earliest of the two; it was possibly begun by Isma'il and substantially developed under Yûsuf, but it also owes much to the patronage of Muhammad V. It is preceded by a still poorly understood area referred to as the Mexuar (from the Arabic *mashwar*), which probably served administrative purposes (petitions and other matters of civic import), although disagreements exist regarding the specific function to be attributed to each area. Corridors then lead past a small oratory and into the throne room proper, which is often referred to as the *Sala de Comares.* It looks out onto a central patio and pool complex, and it is separated from the latter by a long, narrow space known as the *Sala de la Barca* (probably from the Arabic *baraka*, or blessing); it is mirrored on the opposite side of the pool by a similar complex of rooms. The stunning effects produced by reflections of the architecture in the still rectangular pool have been commented on by numerous poets and modern scholars; they contribute to a sense of stasis that is echoed in the throne room (and, according to specialists, in the panegyric and battle-centered subject matter of the poetic compositions that adorn the walls), for which a cosmological reading based in what most read as a representation or evocation of the seven heavens in the ceiling. The poetic inscriptions—verses throughout the palace—were taken from longer compositions by three principal poets: Ibn al-Jayyan, Ibn Zamrak, and Ibn al-Khatib, although those authored by the latter would have been effaced after his fall from grace serve to support this interpretation. Again, the throne room participates in a particularly Andalusi tradition of royal spaces; however, Christian sovereigns such as Alfonso X and Muhammad V's contemporary Pedro I ("el Cruel") did not hesitate to adapt them to their own purposes, perhaps even contributing to the development of the Islamic prototype.

During the fourteenth century, it is possible that the two doorways that punctuate the impressive facade of the Palace of the Myrtles were originally located on the

southern extreme of the Patio of the Myrtles, which constitutes the palaces' most formal and elaborate entrance, and which led directly into the throne room. Entrance would have been effected through a small space topped by a dome and followed by the *Salon of the Suras;* this mirrors the Sala de la Barca, which precedes the throne room. This debate has awakened considerable controversy, and much work remains to be done before the hypothesis can be fully substantiated; however, such an arrangement would be in keeping with the tradition of Hispano-Islamic palaces, and it would help to explain Charles V's decision to place his palace where he did.

From the Palace of the Myrtles, one passes into the Palace of the Lions. Here, with the exception of the verses in the Mirador of Lindaraja (probably the privileged position occupied by the sovereign when this palace was in use), inscriptions concentrate more on the themes of beauty—specifically those of architecture and gardens—than did those of the Salon of Comares. This fact gives rise to an interpretation that is now believed by many scholars to overemphasize the pleasurable (and even paradisiacal) aspects of the palace and to give short shrift to what was possibly an official or judiciary function. The patio, which is oriented in the opposite direction of that of the Myrtles and punctuated in the center by the famous Fountain of the Lions, is flanked on all four sides by rooms that are covered with spectacular muqarnas vaults and embellished with small fountains that are channeled from the central one. The east and west rooms are preceded by porch-like structures that evoke pavilions, and columns are grouped so as to suggest movement and invite perambulation. Interpretations of the Court of the Lions vary, as noted earlier, from that of a pleasure palace with no other purpose to a new Mexuar to a Sufi madrasa and tomb complex.

Although scholars of the nineteenth century viewed the Nasrid palace through a Romantic lens that emphasized its uniqueness and quintessentially Islamic qualities, the Alhambra in fact gives ample evidence of interactions with contemporary cultures, both Christian and Muslim. Relationships to Marinid Morocco have been suggested on the basis of both shared ornamental tastes and the particular plan of the Palace of the Lions, which the structure in turn shares with the original state of the cloister of a convent of Poor Claires that was established in the Castilian villa of Tordesillas by Pedro I "el Cruel" of Castile in 1373 (the building was previously a palace built under his and his father's patronage). Numerous and as yet incompletely studied interchanges are documented in the corpus of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century architecture and ornament built or adapted by Christian or Jewish patrons according to Islamic models known as *mudéjar*. The textiles that ornamented the Alhambra's salons and walls evidence intriguing similarities to those produced throughout the Mediterranean, including Italy. The painted leather ceilings, moreover, that adorn the so-called Sala de Justicia at the eastern end of the Patio of the Lions are clearly related to European models, although their program has yet to be fully deciphered. Finally, it is known that Isabel I spent a considerable amount of time in the palace before her death and was in fact buried (in the habit of the Poor Claires) for a time in one of the miradors of one of the complex's older palaces that she had donated to the Franciscan order so that a convent might be founded on the palace grounds, which now belonged to her.

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See also Architecture, Religious; Architecture, Secular; Civil Architecture, Secular; Palaces; Baths and Bathing; Beauty and Aesthetics; Gardens and Gardening; Painting, Monumental and Frescoes; Poetry, Arabic; Poet; Water

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‘ALI AL-RIDA

Eighth Imam of the Twelver Shi‘is and heir to the ‘Abbasid caliph al-Ma’mun, Abu ’l-Hasan ‘Ali ibn Musa ibn Ja‘far al-Sadiq was born sometime during the late 760s in Medina, the son of the seventh Imam Musa al-Kazim and a Nubian slave wife. His father designated him as his successor before he died in prison in 799. None of his brothers claimed the imamate, although some of them—along with his uncle Muhammad ibn Ja‘far—revolted against the ‘Abbasids. The real split in the Twelver community took place between al-Rida’s supporters and those who insisted that al-Kazim was the messianic Mahdi of the last days and that he had not died but merely gone into occultation. The Waqifiyya, as they became known (particularly in the heresiographies), were prominent in Iraq and withheld the payment of the khums from al-Rida. In Medina, al-Rida narrated hadith from his forefathers, but it seems that he was not received well by Sunni traditionists (or, rather, by the later constructors of hadith criticism), because few Sunnis transmitted from him; however, at the same time, when al-Rida went to Khurasan, famous Sunni traditionists such as Ibn Rahawayh and Yahya ibn Yahya were said to have met him in Nishapur.

In 816, the ‘Abbasid caliph al-Ma’mun invited al-Rida to Khurasan and, in a radical policy shift, designated al-Rida, an ‘Alid, as his successor and married his daughter Umm Habib to him. Some of the sources, especially the Twelver accounts, make much of al-Rida’s ‘‘royal progress’’ to Marv, although it is unclear whether he had even accepted al-Ma’mun’s proposal at the time. In an official ceremony in March 817, al-Rida was formally designated an heir apparent. Historians have debated the intentions of all the protagonists; recent research suggests that al-Ma’mun had decided that the best candidates for the caliphate ought to come from the wider pool of Hashimites and that ‘Ali ibn Musa was the best candidate. He even gave him the title *al-Rida,* no doubt as a preemptive move against Shi‘i rebels who often raised the banner of al-Rida min Al Muhammad, the chosen (messianic) candidate from the family of Muhammad. Al-Rida was given a high status at the court of al-Ma’mun, where he often took part in religious disputations; accounts of this were recorded later in Ibn Babuwayh’s *‘Uyun akhbar al-Rida*, the main collection of reports about him. Twelver sources

categorically state that al-Rida accepted the post reluctantly; he had little taste for political power, and he suspected bad faith on the part of al-Ma’mun. Certainly there is a sense in which the disputations were designed as set pieces to embarrass al-Rida, and it seems unlikely that he would ever have succeeded the much younger al-Ma’mun. Suspicions were further raised by the sudden death of al-Rida at Tus in September 818. Most accounts allege that he was poisoned; most Twelvers historians blamed al-Ma’mun. The sudden change in al-Ma’mun’s policy and the attempt to eradicate his memory (despite the immediate signs of grief and funeral arrangements that placed al-Rida’s body in the tomb of Harun al-Rashid) seemed to confirm these suspicions. According to Twelver tradition, al-Rida was succeeded by his son Muhammad al-Jawad, whose minority raised issues about the ontological status of the Imam and his knowledge. The tomb near Tus became a major pilgrimage site for the Imam martyred in foreign lands. Pilgrimage to his shrine city, which was renamed Mashhad (place of martyrdom) in his honor, was commended in Shi‘i pilgrimage manuals. Miracles ascribed to him in his life multiplied after his death; pilgrims were cured, dilemmas solved, and spiritual guidance found.

Three works are attributed to al-Rida. *Al-Risala al-Dhahabiyya fi ’l-Tibb* is a treatise on Prophetic medicine that is said to have been commissioned by al-Ma’mun and copied in golden ink. Despite questions concerning its provenance, it remains popular in Twelver circles. *Sahifat al-Rida* is a collection of 240 hadith mentioned in some early Imami sources. *Fiqh al-Rida*, which is a work that purports to record al-Rida’s legal pronouncements, was unknown until the Safavid period; it is in fact the legal work, *Kitab al-taklif*, of the Imami heresiarch Muhammad ibn ‘Ali al-Shalmaghani (d. 934).

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See also al-Ma’mun; Messianism; Nishapur; Shi‘ism; Shi‘i imams

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‘ALI IBN ABI TALIB

‘Ali ibn Abi Talib (c. 599–661) was the first cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet Muhammad; the fourth of the four Rightly Guided Caliphs (al-khulafa’ al-rashidun); and the first of the Imams deemed by all Shi‘is Muslims to be appointed by divine mandate. The word *Shi‘is* itself is derived from the term *shi‘at ‘Ali*, which means “partisans of ‘Ali.”

Few figures of nascent Islam had as pervasive and enduring an influence—both symbolic and actual—on the unfolding of Islamic thought, culture, and spirituality as ‘Ali. Referred to by the Prophet as the “gate” to the city of prophetic science, one of the most noticeable features of his legacy for medieval Islam is indeed the range of disciplines—from theology and exegesis to calligraphy and numerology, from law and mysticism to grammar and rhetoric—that are regarded as having been first adumbrated by ‘Ali.

As Companion of the Prophet

‘Ali was about five years old when he was taken into the household of Muhammad, and, from this time until the death of the Prophet, was his constant companion. He was one of the first to accept the mission of the Prophet, although he was still but a youth. After the migration *(al-hijra)* to Medina (622), ‘Ali distinguished himself principally as the most outstanding warrior in the early battles fought by the Muslims, his valor and strength assuming legendary dimensions through the reports of the battle of Khaybar in 629. He was also one of the scribes of the verses of the continuing revelation of the Qur’an.

In Medina, the Prophet instituted a pact of brotherhood between the emigrants from Mecca and the

"helpers" (the Muslims of Medina), and he adopted 'Ali as his brother. The Prophet married 'Ali to his daughter, Fatima, who was considered (along with her mother, Muhammad's first wife, Khadija) to be a paragon of feminine sanctity in Islam. The Prophet's *ahl al-bayt* ("people of the House")—the members of which the Qur'an refers to in 33:33 as being purified of all defilement—was indicated by the Prophet as consisting of himself, 'Ali, Fatima, and their two sons, Hasan and Husayn.

In one of the most famous and controversial sayings of the Prophet, known as the Hadith al-Ghadir, 'Ali is referred to as the *mawla* (guide/master/nearest) of all those who regard the Prophet as their mawla. For Shi'is, this implied a clear designation *(nass)* by the Prophet of 'Ali as his successor. It was belief in 'Ali as the true, divinely appointed successor *(khalifa)* and heir *(wasi)* of the Prophet that formed the theological basis of the distinctive political philosophy of Shi'ism. Such Shi'ite dynasties as the (Isma'ili) Fatimids (q.v.) and the (Ithna'ashari) Safawids (q.v.) were founded on this political philosophy.

As Caliph

The short caliphate of 'Ali (656–661) was marked principally by the first civil wars within Islam. He fought three major battles: that of Jamal (656) against the forces of Talha, Zubayr (two leading companions), and 'A'isha (one of the Prophet's wives); that of Siffin against Mu'awiya (657); and that of Nahrawan (658) against the "Seceders" (Kharijites [q.v.]; those who seceded from his own ranks). Although victorious in the first and last of these battles, the second resulted in a stalemate and an attempt at arbitration. When this attempt collapsed, 'Ali roused his forces for a resumption of the war against Mu'awiya but was attacked by a Kharijite during morning prayers at the congregational mosque in Kufa on 28 January 661; he died from his wounds two days later.

Intellectual and Spiritual Legacy

The chief vehicle of 'Ali's intellectual legacy is the *Nahj al-Balagha*, a text of sermons, letters, and aphorisms that was compiled by al-Sharif al-Radi (d. 1016), a renowned Shi'i scholar of 'Abbasid Baghdad. Few texts have exerted a greater influence on the field of Arabic literature and rhetoric than the *Nahj*. Despite ongoing questions about the authenticity of the text, recent scholarship suggests that most of the material in it can in fact be attributed to 'Ali (Djebli, 56). The numerous commentaries on this text—the most important being that of the Mu'tazilite, Ibn Abi l-Hadid (d. 655)—greatly amplified its influence on theological speculation, philosophical thought, and literary discourse.

With regard to 'Ali's spiritual legacy, this was transmitted in the Sunni world principally through the widespread Sufi brotherhoods (turuq, s. tariqa, q.v.), all of which trace their spiritual genealogy back to him through an unbroken chain of initiatic masters. In the Shi'i context, his spiritual influence is discerned in the tradition of what came to be called *'irfan* (*gnosis;* q.v.), which partly overlaps with Sufism but is distinct from it in certain respects.

'Ali's shrine in Najaf, near Baghdad, remains one of the most important places of pilgrimage in the Muslim world.

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ALMOHADS

The Almohads were the Berber dynasty that ruled the Islamic West (Morocco, Algeria, Tunis) and al-Andalus (Muslim Spain) from the sixth/twelfth century to the first half of the seventh/thirteenth century.

The name *Almohads* derives from the Arabic *al-muwahhidun* (the Unitarians), which was adopted by the followers of an Islamic reformist movement originating with the teachings of the Masmuda Berber Ibn Tumart, who led a doctrinal opposition against what he saw as the religious and moral corruption of Almoravid times. The sources of Ibn Tumart's thought, which are to be understood within the theological

and legal debates about the acquisition of certainty in the interpretation of God's revelation, are still open to discussion.

Ibn Tumart's life in Almohad sources follows the paradigm of the Prophet Muhammad's biography, which makes the disentangling of legend from history difficult. Ibn Tumart performed an emigration (517/1123) with his disciples to the village of Tinmallal (Atlas mountains) to escape Almoravid persecution. There, having gained the allegiance of neighboring Berber tribes, the religious movement transformed itself into a revolutionary army that engaged in military fighting against the Almoravids. Purges of dissidents were carried out, and Ibn Tumart proclaimed himself (or was proclaimed) Mahdi (rightly guided one), a title with Messianic overtones.

After Ibn Tumart's death, his disciple 'Abd al-Mu'min (Zanata Berber) proclaimed himself caliph (r. 524/1130–558/1163), eventually adopting an Arab (Qaysi) genealogy. 'Abd al-Mu'min was the founder of the Almohad empire, managing to conquer Marrakech (the Almoravid capital) in the year 542/1147. He introduced changes in the composition of the Almohad Berber army, incorporating the Arab tribes (Sulaym, Hilal) that had been moving westward in North Africa since the fifth/eleventh century. 'Abd al-Mu'min was also responsible for the creation of the religious elites known as *talaba*. Al-Andalus was partly occupied during 'Abd al-Mu'min's times, and so was Tunis, where he defeated the Normans of Sicily. His successors Abu Ya'qub Yusuf (r. 558–580/1163–1184) and Abu Yusuf Ya'qub al-Mansur (r. 580–595/1184–1199) had to face the Almoravid Banu Ghaniya and internal opponents as well as continue the struggle in the Iberian Peninsula against both local Andalusi independent rulers and the Christians. These groups were defeated at the battle of Alarcos (591/1195), although some years later the Almohads would prove unable to stop them; and by the third decade of the seventh/thirteenth century, major towns such as Seville and Cordoba were lost to the King of Castile. The ruling dynasty was weakened by internal splits, some of which were associated with the maintenance or abandonment of the original Almohad ideology. The empire disintegrated during the first half of the seventh/thirteenth century, and former Almohad territory was divided among the Marinids in Morocco, the Hafsids in Tunis, and the 'Abd al-Wadids in Algeria.

The Almohad movement had aimed at a complete religious renewal that was conceived as a return to the situation of the early Muslim community, when the Prophet ensured the correct understanding and implementation of God's design for the believers. By this, they were proclaiming a break with the existing society, because it represented the degradation of the original community. This break showed itself in certain Almohad peculiarities that aimed at proving the beginning of a new era: the qibla of the mosques was changed; changes were introduced in the public call to prayer; in the Almohad coins, the square shape predominated over the round; and the study of the fundamentals of belief and law was promoted. The Almohad period also witnessed the flourishing of Sufism in the Islamic West and also of philosophy; the main representative of this was Ibn Rushd al-Hafid (d. 595/1198), known in the Latin West as Averroes. The effort for propagating Almohad doctrine among the population led to the use of the Berber language in ritual and writings, while at the same time the penetration of Arab tribes in Morocco would eventually help the process of linguistic Arabization.

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See also Ibn Tumart; Almoravids

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ALMORAVIDS

The Almoravids were the dynasty that ruled Morocco and al-Andalus (Muslim Spain) from the fifth/eleventh century to the first half of the sixth/twelfth century.

The Almoravids were recruited from among Berber Sanhaja nomads who inhabited southern Morocco and the Sahara and who were involved in the salt, gold, and slave trades. They were known in Arabic as *al-murabitun*, which means those who engage in *ribat* (this term refers to a fortified convent on the frontiers of Islam but also metaphorically to a spiritual discipline that could be directed to military aims). The origins of the Almoravid movement are connected by sources to the desire of a leader of the Gudala tribe to improve the religious life of his tribesmen (and their relatives, the Lamtuna), convincing a Maliki scholar, Ibn Yasin, to settle with them in what is now Mauritania. Ibn Yasin, while keeping for himself the political and religious leadership, appointed Yahya ibn 'Umar al-Lamtuni leader of the army after the Sanhaja had been organized into a raiding force. They conquered the Sahara and southern Morocco. Ibn Yasin died in 450/1058 while fighting the heretic Barghawata Berbers; although mention is made of some spiritual successors, the movement eventually united under a single religious, political, and military leadership. Yahya ibn 'Umar died in 447–448/1055–1057 and was succeeded by his brother Abu Bakr, who left for the Sahara to put order there and who appointed as commander of the army in Morocco his cousin Yusuf ibn Tashufin (d. 500/1107). The latter became the supreme authority of the Almoravid movement, which he led to the conquests of Morocco, part of Ifriqiya (see North Africa), and al-Andalus. The capital of the empire was established in Marrakech. Ibn Tashufin and his successors, who claimed a Himyari (Southern Arab) genealogy, adopted the title *Prince of the Muslims (amir al-muslimin)* and are said to have acknowledged the 'Abbasid caliphate.

The Andalusi Taifa kings (see Party Kings [Iberian Peninsula]), unable to stop Christian military advance in the Iberian Peninsula, asked for Ibn Tashufin's help; he crossed the Strait of Gibraltar, obtaining a resounding victory at Zallaqa (479/1086). This and later military interventions eventually led to the dethronement of those same Taifa kings, and al-Andalus became part of the Almoravid empire.

The Almoravid dynasty was supported by the Sanhaja murabitun, who constituted a military and political elite, and by the employment of Christian mercenaries and black slaves in the army.

In the religious and legal spheres, the Maliki jurists had great influence, because the Almoravid rulers usually tried to back their political and religious decisions with fatwas (see Law and Jurisprudence). Although the Almoravid movement has usually been portrayed as fanatical and conservative, supporting those Malikis who opposed theology and Sufism (with the episode of the burning of al-Ghazali's *Ihya'* 'ulum al-din [Revivification of the Religious Sciences] figuring prominently in this regard), recent scholarship indicates a more complex situation. The Almoravid program of religious reform, which centered on jihad and the abolition of illegal taxes, went in fact together with an increasing interest in theology, the fundamentals of religion (usul al-din), and the rational sciences, as well as with the flourishing of Sufism, thus prefiguring in many ways the subsequent Almohad intellectual and religious revolution.

The Almoravids, who were weakened by their fight against the Christians of al-Andalus, lost their power at the hands of the Almohads, who accused them of heterodoxy for their un-Islamic dressing (the men were veiled and the women were not) and for their anthropomorphism. In al-Andalus, the disintegration of Almoravid power was the result of the formation of independent polities led by charismatic leaders (e.g., the Sufi Ibn Qasi), military men, or urban notables (mostly judges). Almost all of these autonomous political entities disappeared with the Almohad intervention in the Iberian Peninsula. Only the branch of the Massufa Banu Ghaniya managed to survive, ruling first in the Balearic Islands and then in Ifriqiyya.

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See also Jihad; Gibraltar

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ALP ARSLAN

Alp Arslan (r. 1063–1073 CE) was the second sultan of the Great Seljuk Empire. Born in 1029, he was a son of Chaghri Beg, a grandson of Seljuk ibn Duqaq (the eponymous founder of the Seljuk dynasty), and a nephew of Toghril Beg, the first sultan of the Great Seljuk Empire (of which Chaghri and Toghril were cofounders). Soon after their conquest of the Middle East began in 1040, Chaghri became ruler of Khurasan, using Merv as his capital. Other regions of the empire were subsequently parceled out to other members of the family. Alp Arslan was close to his father, who, as early as 1043, sent him as the head of forces against the Ghaznavids. In 1050, he plundered Fasa far to the west, in Fars. He fought the Ghaznavids again, successfully, in 1053–1054. When Chaghri died around 1059, Alp Arslan succeeded him as ruler of Khurasan and placed Nizam al-Mulk, who had previously entered his service, in charge of its administration. At about the same time, he marched to Rayy, the capital of the Seljuk Empire, to help Toghril crush a revolt by his cousin Ibrahim Yinal.

Toghril died childless in 1063. Before he died, he married one of Chaghri's wives, whose son he designated his heir. With the support of powerful amirs, Alp Arslan rid himself of his half-brother, overcame rebellious family members (the most formidable of whom was his brother Qavurt, the ruler of Kirman), and took the throne at Rayy, placing Nizam al-Mulk in charge of running the empire. Shortly thereafter, the 'Abbasid caliph al-Qa'im recognized him as sultan; he then concentrated on continuing the Seljuk conquests. In 1064, Alp Arslan marched to Azerbaijan. From there he invaded Georgia and conquered the Armenian cities of Kars and Ani, and afterward he returned to Rayy. In 1065, he consolidated his hold on Transoxania and campaigned beyond the Jaxartes (Syr Darya). In 1067, he turned south to crush a revolt by Qavurt and then returned to the western frontier where, in the meantime, Turkmen raiders had been penetrating ever more deeply into Byzantine territory. In 1068, he again invaded Georgia, and, in 1070, he moved into northern Syria, besieging Edessa and Aleppo. In 1071, while in Syria, he made plans to overthrow the Fatimid caliphate in Egypt. His attention was diverted, however, when he learned that the Byzantine emperor Romanus IV Diogenes was marching into eastern Anatolia. The emperor had decided to put an end to the growing Turkish menace by taking the fortresses of Manzikert and Akhlat, thus sealing off major immigration routes into Anatolia. At Manzikert, Alp Arslan defeated the Byzantine army and captured the emperor. Byzantine defenses in Anatolia collapsed, and Turkish immigration began on a large scale, driven by a desire for booty and pastures. There is no evidence that Alp Arslan ordered a systematic conquest of Anatolia. Indeed, he immediately returned east to face hostilities with the Qarakhanids in Transoxania. In 1073, in the midst of this campaign, a captive Castellan managed to stab him to death; his son Malikshah succeeded him.

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See also 'Abbasids; Armenia, Byzantine Empire; Fatimids; Muslim–Byzantine Relations; Raids; Seljuks; Seljuk Warfare; Turks

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ALPHABETS

The Arabic alphabet (abjad, abajad, or abu jad) consists, in its present state (which has been attested to since the end of the seventh century) of twenty-eight graphemes that are consonantal phonemes. They are as follows (here with a simplified transliteration and numerical value): alif (', 1), ba' (b, 2), ta' (t, 400), tha' (voiceless gingival or interdental: th, 500), jim (j, 3), ha' (h, 8), kha' (voiceless spirant fricative: kh, 600), dal (d, 4), dhal (voiced gingival: dh, 700), ra' (lingual vibrant: r, 200), zay (z, 7), sin (s, 60), shin (voiceless cacuminal spirant, hushing sound, 300), sad (voiceless velar postdental, 90), dad (voiced velar occlusive, 800), za' (voiced velar interdental spirant, 900), 'ayn (voiceless fricative spirant: ', 70), ghayn (voiced fricative spirant: gh, 70), fa' (f, 80), qaf (voiceless back-velar occlusive, together with occlusion of the larynx, 100), kaf (k, 20), lam (l, 30), mim (m, 40), nun (n, 50), ha' (voiceless breath: h, 5), waw (w and long u, 6), and ya' (y and long i, 10).

Like other Proto-Sinaitic–derived scripts, Arabic does not have letters for vowels (haraka [motion]). However, at a later period, diacritical signs were invented to mark the vowels of Arabic and other phenomens of pronunciation. The marks for the short vowels are as follows: fatha (a), kasra (i), and damma (u). The marks of the short vowels, when doubled, are pronounced with the addition of the sound *n* (an, in, un); this is called *tanwin* (*nunation,* from the name of the letter *nun*). The long vowels and diphthongs are indicated by *alif* (long a), *ya'* (for long i and ay), and *waw* (for long u and aw).

When *alif* is not a mere letter of prolongation (i.e., a long *a*) but rather a consonant, pronounced like the *spiritus lenis*, it is distinguished by the mark *hamza,* which means compression, and is shown as follows: '. With the vowels u and a, it is written over the alif; with the vowel i, it is written under. In special conditions, it is put over a ya' or a waw; in others, it is directly on the line, without a support. The alif maqsura (the alif that can be abbreviated) and the ta' marbuta (the tied ya') are in their forms, respectively, variants of the ya' and the ha'.

The *sukun* (rest) corresponds to the sheva quiescens of the Hebrew: it indicates the absence of vowel or a consonant. A consonant that is to be doubled without the interposition of a vowel is marked by a *shadda* (strengthening mark). When the vowels with hamza ('a, 'i, 'u) at the beginning of a word are absorbed by the final vowel of the preceding word, the elision of the *spiritus lenis* is marked by the sign wasla (union).

There are at least two positions among Western scholars regarding the origin of the Arabic alphabet and writing: the Nabatean Aramaic one and the Syriac one (via the towns of Anbar and Hira). It should be noted that, for most of the ancient Muslim scholars, the Arabic script came from these towns to Mecca. There are also several legends surrounding the origin of the Arabic script. According to the Kufian Ibn al-Kalbi (d. AH 204/819 CE or 206/821), the first to form it was a group of Bedouin Arabs, whose names were Abu Jad (Abdjad), Hawwaz (or Hawwiz), Hutti, Kalamun (or Kaliman), Safas (or Safad), and Qurusa'at (or Qarishat, Qarashat). These legendary persons are supposed to have been kings of Midian (Madian). These names are actually combinations of the letters of the alphabet in the traditional order of the Semitic alphabet that have been combined in groups of four, three, four, and four, from aleph to taw.

Other languages are written in Arabic script: Hausa, Kashmiri, Kazak, Kurdish, Kyrghyz, Malay, Morisco, Pashto, Persian/Farsi, Sindhi, Tatar, Turkish (before the reform of Ata Turk), Uyghur (in the Xinjiang Uyghur autonomous region of China and also in Afghanistan), and Urdu.

Also present are the following consonant alphabets: ancient Berber, Divehi Akuru (Maldivian Indo-Aryan language—"island letters" that were replaced, after the conversion of the Maldives to Islam in 1153, by a new Arabic-influenced alphabet known as *Thaana*), Hebrew, Mandaic, Middle Persian, Nabatean, Parthian, Phoenician, Proto-Hebrew, Psalter (a variant of Persian script), Sabean, Samaritan, South Arabian, Syriac, Tifinagh, and Ugaritic. Tifinagh is thought to have derived from ancient Berber script; it could mean "Phoenician letters," or it may come from the Greek *pinaks* (writing tablets). Since September 2003, the Tifinagh alphabet has been taught in primary schools in Morocco; it is also used by the Tuaregs, particularly the women, for private notes and decoration.

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AMIR KHUSRAW (1253–1325)

Nasir al-Din Abu 'l-Hasan, the son of a Turkish soldier and Indian mother, was born in Patiala in the Punjab in 1253. Perhaps the greatest Persian poet of pre-Mughal India, he took great pride in his Indian origins and was recognized as being the "Parrot of India" for singing its praises. As a boy, his grandfather encouraged his poetic talents; once in Delhi, he found patronage with Sultan Balban and his son Boghra Khan. Amir Khusraw joined the prince on campaign to Multan, which was promptly sacked by the invading Mongols in 1284. The prince was killed, and Amir Khusraw was taken prisoner. Once released, he found favor with the Khalji sultans of Delhi, especially 'Ala' al-Din (d. 1315), under whose patronage he wrote most of his compositions. Like other medieval poets, he moved from one royal patron to another; this occurred quite often given the vicissitudes of political life in the Delhi sultanate.

Amir Khusraw wrote a cycle of five epic poems (khamsa) in imitation of Nizami, odes to the conquests of his patrons, and Hindi love poems and riddles; he is credited with the invention of Hindustani music. He was also a close disciple of the great Chishti Sufi of Delhi Nizam al-Din Awliya'. Throughout his work, Amir Khusraw stressed his Indianness and even wrote a poetic work in nine meters entitled *Nuh Sipihr* that was about nine spheres of existence, with India elevated above all others. Amir Khusraw died in 1325, shortly after his beloved Sufi master and was buried next to him.

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See also Delhi; Chishti; Epics, Persian; Poetry, Persian; Sufism

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AMULI, Al-

Al-Amuli, Al-Sayyid Haydar al-Husayn (d. after AH 787/1385 CE) was an early proponent of the close association between Sufism and Imami Shi'ism and of the notion that the Imams had been guides for their own followers but also for travelers along the mystical path. He was also one of the earliest Imami thinkers to have incorporated the thought of Ibn al-'Arabi (d. 638/1240) into his writings.

Al-Sayyid Haydar initially studied in his hometown of Amul, in Mazandiran, which was long known for its Shi'i proclivities, and then later in Astarabad and Isfahan. Having returned to Amul, he became close to and served the local ruler, whose assassination in 750/1349 coincided with Haydar's abandonment of life at court for Sufism. He visited different Shi'i shrines and also traveled to Jerusalem and the Hijaz, and thereafter he settled in Iraq. In Baghdad he studied with such prominent Shi'i figures as Fakhr al-Din Muhammad ibn al-Hasan al-Hilli (d. 771/1370) (son of the famous Twelver scholar al-Hasan ibn Yusuf, al-'Allama) and Ibn al-Mutahhar al-Hilli (d. 726/1325). He later resided in the Shi'i shrine city of Najaf.

Of the more than forty works authored by Amuli, seven have survived, and some have been published. Perhaps the most famous is *Jami' al-Asrar (A Compendium of Secrets)*, which was completed in 752/1351. His *Asrar al-Shari'a*, which was mentioned in the *Jami'*, has been translated into English as *Inner Secrets of the Path* (1989) and includes Muhammad Khajavi's 1982 essay about Amuli and his thought.

Amuli insisted on the common origins of Shi'ism and Sufism, understanding all knowledge as having derived from the Imams. His project involved an effort to transcend both the normal literal/juridical approach to Islam, especially Shi'i Islam, and those dimensions of Sufism that rejected the grounding of its doctrine and practices in those of the Imams.

The *Compendium* is especially noteworthy for Amuli's efforts to reconcile aspects of Ibn al-'Arabi's thought with Twelver Shi'ism, particularly his reference to pure monotheism and inner/ontological monotheism; in addition, he postulated that the former was taught by the prophets and the secrets of the latter by the awliya' (sing. wali). 'Ali was the seal of the universal walaya, and the Mahdi—who, for Amuli, is the twelfth Imam—was the seal of the Muhammadan walaya. By contrast, for Ibn al-'Arabi, Jesus was the seal of the former.

Amuli's efforts to establish a synthesis between Sufism and Shi'ism were continued by Mir Damad (d. 1630), Mulla Sadra (d. 1640), Hadi Sabzavari (d. 1873), and the Ayatollah Khomayni (d. 1989).

Khajavi's contribution and Corbin's recently translated 1981 lecture remain the only English-language essay-length studies of Amuli's legacy. Kohlberg offers a list of non-English editions of Amuli's published works.

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AMULETS

See Talismans and Talismanic Objects

AL-ANDALUS

Al-Andalus is the name used to refer to the Iberian peninsula territories that were ruled by Islamic regimes between 711 and 1492; scholars have yet to reach agreement about the origin of this name. For some, the meaning of al-Andalus is "the land of the Vandals"; others suggest "the Island of the Atlantis," whereas some believe that it comes from the German expression *Landahlauts,* which means "land allotment."

The expressions *Muslim Spain* and *Andalusia* are inaccurate renditions of al-Andalus and should therefore be rejected, because they reflect neither the historical nor the geographical reality of al-Andalus. The territorial limits of al-Andalus varied over time, although they diminished steadily from the eleventh century onward. The political control of the territory also varied significantly from urban centers to rural areas and to the territories on the border with the Christian kingdoms. However, certain elements were constant, including the following:

1. Al-Andalus constituted an Islamic Mediterranean society (which meant a disruption with the previous Hispano-Roman and Visigoth society), and it was distinct from the feudal societies of Christian Medieval Europe. Another important characteristic was its "frontier society" character.
2. Al-Andalus has to be set in the wider context of the premodern Islamic West. The discontinuity with the previous historical reality is evident in the new forms of government, territory organization, production, fiscal system, legal system, religious life, and generational and patrimonial transmission within the family. In addition, a significant aspect of Andalusi collective identity was its majority ascription to the Maliki juridical school.

From the second half of the eighth century (after the arrival of the Umayyad prince 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Mu'awiya), al-Andalus became an Umayyad emirate. During this period, all kinds of exchanges with the rest of the Islamic world occurred. At the beginning of the tenth century, one of 'Abd al-Rahman's descendants, 'Abd al-Rahman III, proclaimed himself caliph. When the caliphate collapsed at the beginning of the eleventh century, al-Andalus was fragmented into a series of independent kingdoms (ta'ifas) that were unable to face the growing strength of the Christians of the North. At the end of the eleventh century, al-Andalus was under the ruling of the North African dynasties of the Almoravids and Almohads. Lastly, Andalusi political power was

limited to the kingdom of Granada (thirteenth–fifteenth centuries), which continued in a precarious fashion until 1492.

Political power fluctuated between the two sides of the Strait of Gibraltar, being marked by the supremacy of al-Andalus during the first stage, whereas the Maghrib had priority over al-Andalus after the end of the eleventh century.

The Romance language was preserved in al-Andalus. The Andalusi population spoke Romance along with Arabic, although it is impossible to determine the actual scope of its use. However, the written production that has been preserved had Arabic as its main language of use. Andalusis' input into the development of Islamic culture was derived from Eastern influences, sometimes advancing their Oriental sources. Al-Andalus also played a significant role in the transmission of classical thought and Islamic science to the medieval Christian West. The end of the Islamic state did not put an end to the presence of Islam in the peninsula. Muslim communities, known as *mudejars*, continued to be present in some of the territories conquered by the Christians until the sixteenth century. After the conquest of Granada, their inhabitants were obliged to convert to Christianity. Many of these neoconverts, known as *moriscos*, secretly kept their faith until they were finally expelled from the peninsula at the beginning of the seventeenth century. By this time, some of these moriscos (mainly the elite classes) had already migrated, with the Maghrib as their main destination. To this date, an Andalusi origin in the Maghrib is an important identity mark of their descendants.

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ANGELS

The Arabic word for angel is *malak* (pl. *mala'ika*; Persian, *firishta*). The Arab lexicographers and exegetes consider it original to Arabic, but in fact it dates back to early north–west Semitic. In Ugaritic, *ml'k* means "messenger" (Hebrew, *malak*; Aramaic, *mal'ak*). Some Western scholars believe that the

approximate source of the word in Arabic was the Ethiopian *mal'ak* (pl. *mal'eket*), which is presumably a loanword into Ethiopic from Aramaic or Hebrew. According to some scholars, it is more likely that the word *mal'ak* had already crept from Abyssinia and was known to the people of Mecca before Muhammad used it.

To believe in angels is an article of Muslim creed. The following is from the first article of one of the Creeds that is attributed to Abu Hanifa:

> "The heart of the confession of the unity of God and the true foundation of faith consist in this obligatory creed: I believe in God, His Angels, His Books, His Apotels, the resurrection after death, the decree of God the good and the evil thereof, computation of sins, the balance, Paradise and Hell; and that all these are real."

The angels play a role in three major themes of the Qur'an (creation, revelation, and eschatology), and they play a still greater role in hadith and Qur'anic commentary and in special books about them and about eschatology. The imagination of Muslim scholars with regard to angels seems to have no limit. In the Qur'an, the angels are called the "heavenly host" or "multitude" (al-mala' al-a'la) (37:8; 38:69). They are supposed to guard the walls of heaven against the "listening" of the jinns. The Qur'an stresses the absolute submission of the angels to God (21:19–20).

Some of the angels are named in the Qur'an. The Meccan Qur'an mentions the spirit Gabriel that was sent to Mary to announce the conception of Jesus (19:17). Later in Medina, however, Muhammad gave the name Gabriel (Jibril) as that of the messenger by whom the Qur'an was communicated to him (2:97). Muhammad possibly learned this name from the Jews of Mecca, among whom was his secretary Zayd b. Thabit (who knew Aramaic and/or Hebrew before Muhammad came to this town, according to al-Ka'bi [Abu l-Qasim al-Balkhi, d. 319/931]). *Mika'il* (or *Mikal;* i.e., *Michael*), which is a word that may have come directly from the Hebrew or the Syriac, is mentioned together with Gabriel, also in the Medina Qur'an (2:98). Commentators claim that the two are contrasted: Gabriel is the opponent of the Jews, and Michael is their protector.

In the same sura (2:102), Harut and Marut meet. Muhammad probably became acquainted with the names of these mythical figures in the form in which they are found in the *Avesta* (i.e., Harvotat and Amurtat—Perfection and Deathlessness). In the Slavonic Book of Enoch, they appear as Orioch and Marioch. The Syriac (Aramaic) Marut (Mastery, Lordship) may have been known by the Jews of Medina, and especially by Zayd b. Thabit, the "Secretary of Revelation" and one of the redactors of the Qur'an.

In sura 32:11, the mythical Angel of Death (malak al-mawt) appears, but not by name; he is identified in traditional Muslim literature as *'Izra'il ('Azra'il)*.

Special books were written about the angels, including *al-Haba'ik fi Akhbar al-Mala'ik (The Orbits of the Stars: On the Stories of the Angels),* by Suyuti (d. 911/1505). This is a collection of legendary and mythical stories taken from Prophetic hadith or from early Muslim scholars.

CLAUDE GILLIOT

See also Al-Suyuti

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ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

Animal husbandry was critical to medieval Islam because of Islamic dietary laws. Some animals, such as pigs, for example, were forbidden (haram) to eat because they were scavengers. However, shellfish and most animals that lived underwater were lawful (halal) and could be eaten, save for those that breathed both air and water (i.e., amphibians and crocodiles). This exception allowed for industries like the ancient pearl fisheries in the south of the Persian Gulf. Although what an animal ate determined its appropriateness for consumption, some animals were set outside of food purposes regardless. Dogs were considered unclean, although not so much as pigs. Other animals, such as cats, were favored by the Prophet and therefore forbidden as food.

Aside from the statutes in the Qur'an, some early Islamic sources discussed the subject, showing a keen, scientific interest in the raising of camels, horses, and sheep. Ya'qub ibn akhi Hizam wrote about veterinary matters in his book on horsemanship in 785 CE. 'Abd al-Malik ibn Quraib al-Asmai (740–828), a philologist from Basra, wrote about zoology, human anatomy, and animal husbandry. His books *Kitab al-Ibil (The Book of the Camel), Kitab al-Khail (The Book of the Horse), Kitaba al-Sha (The Book of the Sheep)*, and *Kitab al-Wuhush (The Book of Wild Animals)* had great influence in the field through the ninth and tenth centuries. During the same period, Jabril Ibn Bakhtyshu (d. 828–829), a Christian physician, wrote a book about animal husbandry called *Manaeh al-Hiwan (The Uses of Animals)*. Their contemporary, Abu 'Uthman Al-Jahiz (776–868), wrote a book about zoology called *Kitab al-Hawayan (The Book of Animals),* which discussed the effects of diet on animals.

The early Islamic Meccan economy prized herd animals like camels, horses, cattle, sheep, and goats. In a dry environment in which agriculture was not possible in many places, raising herd animals could maximize the use of marginal land. Even then, pasture land needed to be close to sources of good water. The Qur'an stated that animals had as much right to life as humans and that humans were only more important than animals because of humans' role as stewards of the earth. According to Islamic law, animals should not be deprived of water where it is available (an important consideration in a desert environment), nor should an animal be forced to witness another animal being slaughtered before it or to see the knife used to kill it sharpened before it. In Islam, animals should be slaughtered as painlessly as possible, with a single cut to the throat that would bleed out most of the blood. Blood, carrion meat from dead animals not slaughtered properly, and meat taken from live animals were also forbidden; this derived from the pre-Islamic Arabian practice of cutting the humps off of camels or the tails off of sheep so that the animals could be eaten yet kept alive for further use. Muhammad condemned the practice and forbade meat taken from living animals as carrion.

Islamic law also forbade the unnecessary caging of birds and animals. The Qur'an frowned on the unnecessary killing of animals (i.e., for sport rather than food) and favored kindness toward them, especially cats. One early story states that a man who killed a bird would answer to the creature at the Last Judgment; another story put a woman who starved a cat to death in Hell.

However, hunting was popular enough to make hawk raising an important part of animal husbandry. Hawks were used to hunt other birds, but only for sport. Pigeons had the more useful function of carrying messages. These usages, like the keeping of zoos, indicate that practice could differ widely from law.

Camels were especially important for use in transportation in addition to the production of milk, meat, and hides, with early Meccan caravans including up to 2,500 camels. Cattle also appeared repeatedly in the Qur'an as an important commodity, providing—like camels—milk, meat, and hides. Oxen also pulled plows and provided the power for other agricultural machinery. Sheep and goats provided milk, meat, wool, and hides. Horses were prized and carefully bred for racing, war, and transportation. By 1285, Muslims were practicing artificial insemination on these animals.

Animal husbandry was sufficiently lucrative to be one of the commodities covered under the zakat (alms) tax, specifically herds of camels, cattle, sheep, and goats (but only over a certain number). This tax was paid in kind. Animal husbandry represented the management of a critical source of movable wealth, especially among the more nomadic elements of Islamic society.

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See also Ayyubids; Camels; Hunting; Tulunids; Zoological Parks

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'ANTARA IBN SHADDAD

'Antara Ibn Shaddad, the Historical Character

'Antar ("the valiant one"), also known as 'Antara ("courage in war"), was a member of the 'Abs tribe who lived in Arabia shortly before Islam (c. 525–615 CE). 'Antar composed one of the seven famous "suspended odes," which were known individually as mu'allaqa. 'Antar's factual and fictional exploits are recorded in the *Sirat 'Antar*, the most important romance of chivalry in Arabic literature; it is for his exploits as recounted in this epic that he is best known today.

Verifiable historic facts about 'Antar are sketchy. Classical Arab scholars such as al-Tibrizi (d. 1109) and Ibn Qutayba (826–889) agree that 'Antar was the son of Shaddad, born a slave of a black African mother. He is portrayed as a great knight and pre-Islamic poet. Both literary and historical sources mention that 'Antar participated in the battle known as *Dahis wa al-Ghabra'* between the 'Abs and Fazara tribes. The most widely accepted account of 'Antar's death is that he was killed by al-Asad al-Rahis, a knight from the Tayyi' tribe, with a poisoned arrow.

'Antara Ibn Shaddad, the Poet

Ibn Qutayba recounts how 'Antar composed his mu'allaqa in response to an insult about his skin color. Respected scholars attribute various numbers of verses to this poem; al-Tibrizi says it consists of 74 verses. The poem's tripartite structure is common to the highly stylized form of classical Arabic poetry: the nasib (opening section) describes the poet's beloved 'Abla and the ruins of her nomad camp; the second section, known as the journey section, describes 'Antar on his horse and then describes a camel, the pre-Islamic Arabs' most important animal; the third section is the poet's "warrior's boast," which praises his own nobility and generosity, his prowess in battle, and his heroic deeds. 'Antar's mu'allaqa is his most famous poem.

The *Sirat 'Antar*

Many other poems are also attributed to 'Antar in the *Sirat 'Antar,* the epic story of his life. This work was discovered by Europeans in 1801, when the Austrian Joseph Von Hammer-Purgstall came across a manuscript of it in Cairo. In 1820, Terrick Hamilton partially translated the work into English. No European-language translation of the 5,300-page work exists.

The *Sirat 'Antar* paints a striking portrait of the Arabs before Islam and the qualities that the Bedouins admired. Some of the epic's highlights are Shaddad's capture of the beautiful Abyssinian slave Zabiba; his later recognition of 'Antar as the legitimate son of this union; 'Antar's rise in importance in the 'Abs tribe; his adventures while seeking a dowry to marry 'Abla; his voyages to far-flung kingdoms; and the hero's death. The last volume of the *Sirat 'Antar* touches on Islam and Muhammad's miracles. Thanks to the *Sirat 'Antar,* 'Antar remains alive as an eternal hero in the popular mind throughout the Arabic-speaking world.

DRISS CHERKAOUI

See also Abyssinia; Adab; Folk Literature, Arab; Heroes and Heroism; Historical Writing; Ibn Qutayba; Ibn Shaddad; Ka'ba (Kaaba); Names; Poets; Popular Literature; Sira; Slaves and Slave Trade, Western Islamic World; Women Warriors

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APOSTASY

Apostasy (irtidad) is the abandonment of Islam by either a declared desertion of Islam in favor of another religion or a clandestine rejection of Islam that is often combined with secretly practicing another religion. From the earliest time of Muslim law in the seventh century, Muslim jurists agreed that apostasy from Islam bears the death penalty. During the early period, jurists also developed institutions to circumvent this harsh punishment; these institutions set the standard for what counts as apostasy from Islam so high that before the eleventh century, practically no judgment of apostasy could have been passed. This changed during the eleventh century, when jurists lowered the criteria that prevented the death penalty from being executed. During the following centuries, judges could interpret the law in various ways, setting either high or low criteria for apostasy from Islam.

The Qur’an does not mention the case of explicit rejection of Islam after conversion. However, it does address the assumed clandestine apostasy of a group of people at Medina called the hypocrites (almunafiqun). No worldly penalty is ordained for them so long as they refrain from rebellion, but harsh punishments are proclaimed for them in the afterlife. In Qur’an 49:14, a group of Bedouins is described as Muslims but not believers. This led to heated discussions of the criteria for being a Muslim, understood in terms of legal membership in the Islamic community, versus being a believer (Mu’min), understood as someone deserving otherworldly salvation.

The dispute about the meanings of *Muslim* and *Mu’min* is one of the subjects that led to the First Civil War (656–662). One party, the Kharijs, claimed that committing a capital sin (kabira) constitutes unbelief (kufr). A group of radical Kharijis felt justified to kill grave sinners as unbelievers and thus legitimized the killing of the second caliph, ‘Uthman (644–656). At about the same time, Muslims agreed on the death penalty for apostasy from Islam; this judgment is based on the authority of a report (hadith) of the Prophet that said, “whoever changes his religion has his head cut off.” After the Kharijis lost the First Civil War, the various groups of their enemies, who dominated the early development of Muslim law, were terrified by the prospect of Muslims killing each other over accusations of apostasy and worked to abate the harsh punishment the Prophetical hadith provides.

Muslim jurists agreed that actions other than the explicit rejection of belief in Islam could not constitute apostasy. In other words, committing a sin could not be an act of apostasy. Apostasy was regarded as the declared rejection of Islam and could only be sufficiently established after a person accused of apostasy had been invited three times to repent and return to Islam. The legal institution of the invitation to repent (istitaba) is mentioned neither in the Qur’an nor in the Prophetical hadith; in early Muslim law, it nevertheless became a necessary condition for convicting an apostate. It safeguarded the ability of an accused apostate to have a chance to return to Islam, fully avert punishment, and be reinstated in all rights as a Muslim. Subsequently, only those Muslim apostates could be punished who openly declared their breaking away from Islam and who maintained their rejection in the face of capital punishment.

Most early jurists understood that the general application of the invitation to repent effectively ruled out any penalty for apostasy. They allowed persons accused of apostasy to declare their return to Islam, even when it was understood to be nominal; this became the accepted position in the early Hanafi and Shafi‘i schools of law. Their views fit well into a situation during the eighth and ninth centuries, when conversion to Islam happened collectively and often only nominally. Malik ibn Anas (715–795), the founder of the Maliki school of law, ruled differently, saying that zanadiqa should not be given the right to repent and could thus be killed straightaway. *Zanadiqa* here means clandestine apostates, but later jurists interpreted the term more widely. This ruling meant that the Maliki school of jurisprudence was, in practice, less tolerant toward heterodox Muslim views than the others, and it allowed Maliki jurists to apply the death penalty to accused apostates who had never explicitly broken with Islam. In these cases, heterodox views were regarded as evidence of clandestine apostasy.

During the eleventh century, the consensus of the Hanafi and Shafi‘i jurists regarding the general application of the invitation to repent broke down. Hanbali jurists had already argued that some points of religious doctrine were so central to the Muslim creed that a violation should be regarded as apostasy from Islam and punished by death. During the middle of the eleventh century, scholars from all schools argued that, in the case of the political agents of the

Isma'ili counter-Caliphate, no invitation to repent should be granted, and the agents could be killed as apostates. This view was shared by the influential Shafi'i jurist al-Ghazali (1058–1111), who wrote systematically about the criteria of apostasy. Whoever held the views that the world was not created at one point in time, that God is not omniscient, or that the resurrection in the afterlife does not extend to the body was, according to al-Ghazali, an apostate and could be killed.

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See also Hadith; Heresy and Heretics; Fatimids; Ibn Hanbal; Kharijs; Malikism; Schools of Jurisprudence

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APPRENTICESHIP

Defined by a variety of terms (mubtadi, terbiye, nazil, yiğit, şagird), an apprentice was the lowest member of a guild in the medieval Islamic world. He was always initiated into a guild along with others who would work under a master teacher (üstad, usta) and the founder of the individual guild (pir). The apprentice's place in the hierarchy was indeed small; his master and the guild founder were themselves part of a greater hierarchy in which masters would form their own councils to select a founder, and the founders of a city's individual guilds played a prominent part in representing the urban social order. At the top of the order were a series of local judicial officials (naib, muhtesib, kadi) who were in charge of keeping the social and moral order of the town.

Although the apprentice was at the bottom step of this urban social order, he immediately gained important privileges. As a member of the guilds, he was likely to live in the town or city itself, and he had much less of a fiscal burden than many peasants in the countryside. Peasants were often tied to the land and forced to deliver a variety of customs and dues. The apprentice was particularly privileged if he was a Muslim urban resident, because only non-Muslims were subject to a special poll tax (haraç, cizye).

The apprentice also had the chance to work his way up the social ladder, changing from a novice to journeyman and, if fortunate, becoming a master of a craft. He could likewise participate in the various social councils, and he might be able to represent his trade, city quarter or even his whole town, if the situation occurred. The role of guildsmen as manufacturers was confused at times with both religious and military hierarchies. Beginning in the tenth century, apprentices—like all guildsmen—tended to be associated with Sufi orders, and they could play a role in the formation of these institutions; sometimes they could even rise to the level of sheikh (a head of a Sufi organization and/or an urban district). During the sixteenth-century Ottoman Empire, guildsmen were often associated with the janissaries (the slave elite that had dominated the sultan's army until the seventeenth century). Association with the military meant that guildsmen were even more autonomous from central control, having the theoretical right to practice arms, if need be.

These opportunities for an apprentice's advancement and social privileges created tensions within the guilds. On the one hand, most apprentices were themselves sons of guild members who wished to carry on the trade of their fathers. The urban hierarchy typically favored this succession and often created legal measures to ensure it. For instance, there are a variety of injunctions in the rules and regulations of guilds that were drawn up in elaborate regulatory documents (fütüvvet-name). Eventually, by the sixteenth century, the Ottomans gave many guildsmen the right to pass on their place in the guild to their sons (gedik). Nevertheless, many had ambitions to enter the guilds despite all obstacles. Indeed, it is interesting that the first mention of guilds after the Arabic conquest refers to apprentices as *fityun*, a term that also meant "young ruffians." Such apprentices were allowed by authorities in towns that were starved for working populations; this was particularly true in frontier societies, where the rulers themselves felt threatened and needed a subject population that would support their cause. The clearest examples of this phenomenon can be seen in fifteenth-century Andalusia and in the Ottoman outposts in the Magreb and the Balkans during the mid-sixteenth century.

Scholars have also tended to see apprentices as part of the stagnant urban order that characterized the Islamic city. Apprentices were supposedly new generations of Muslims who carried the ideal of a noncompetitive social order, who promoted public welfare, and who contended with one's place at the expense of competition, profit, and commercial

authority. Although it is true that religious orders played a prominent role in the guilds, there were also times when the guilds would act according to the needs of the market and the society around them. This was demonstrated by the participation of apprentices and guildsmen in the military-item market and pious foundations in the emerging market town of Sarajevo during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The guild members played a critical role not only in supplying the empire's military needs but also in helping establish cash-credit institutions that could give credit to parties independently of the will of the central government. Thus, at least in some cases, apprentices appeared to be the youngest members of emerging Islamic civil societies.

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AQSA MOSQUE

The Aqsa mosque (al-Masjid al-Aqsa) and the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem constitute the area known as al-Haram al-Sharif (the Noble Sanctuary), which corresponds to the Temple Mount area and which is regarded by large numbers of Muslims as the third Islamic sacred sanctuary after Mecca and Medina. The Aqsa mosque is located on the southern side of al-Haram al-Sharif, and it has been identified in medieval and modern Islamic scholarship as the place referred to in the chapter of the Qur'an known as "Al-Isra"' ("The Night Journey") (17:1): "Praise be to Him who made His servant journey in the night from the sacred sanctuary (al-masjid al-haram) to the remotest sanctuary (al-masjid al-aqsa) which we have surrounded with blessings to show him of our signs." It is primarily this identification of the Aqsa mosque as the location of the Prophet Muhammad's night journey that has bestowed on the site its most significant religious importance in Islam; the legend describes how the Prophet Muhammad rode the heavenly creature al-Buraq and was transported by night from Mecca to Jerusalem, where he led the prophets in prayers on the spot of the Aqsa mosque. It is not clear when the association between the Qur'anic reference and the Aqsa mosque in Jerusalem was first established, but it is almost certain that it was made some time after the building was erected. Early Qur'an commentators were in disagreement about the location of the Qur'anic al-masjid al-aqsa; some located it near the town of Mecca, whereas others associated it with the Temple in Jerusalem. Gradually the association with the Temple became cemented in Islamic scholarship and popular imagination.

Another equally fundamental religious belief that Muslims in later centuries have employed in explaining the sanctity of the Aqsa mosque is that it was erected by Caliph 'Umar ibn al-Khattab (r. AH 13–23/634–644 CE) when he visited Jerusalem. This tradition is questionable as well, being another likely case of later projection; the mosque built by Caliph 'Umar, if he actually made it to Jerusalem, was adjacent to or part of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. One can ascertain, however, that a small mosque built by the Umayyad Caliph Mu'awiya ibn Abi Sufyan (r. 41–60/661–680) stood on the site, and it was destroyed to make room for the Aqsa mosque, which was built by orders from the Umayyad Caliph al-Walid ibn 'Abd al-Malik (r. 86–96/705–715), the son of Caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwan (r. 65–86/685–705), who had ordered the erection of the Dome of the Rock a few decades earlier.

The structure has been subjected to a number of major renovations and even reconstructions over the years, largely because of devastating earthquakes. For instance, it is very likely that the dome was added to the mosque in one of the reconstructions undertaken by orders from the 'Abbasids. The form of the current structure, however, dates to the middle of the eleventh century, because the Aqsa mosque was rebuilt by the Fatimids after a devastating earthquake that leveled most of the city of Jerusalem.

During the early Crusader period, the Aqsa mosque was occupied by the Knights of the Templar order, who used it as a residence and transformed part of it into a chapel. Usama ibn Munqidh (d. 584/1188) reports how his close friendship with some of the Templars earned him permission to pray in the Aqsa mosque, which was otherwise inaccessible to Muslims.

The centrality of Jerusalem and the significance of the Aqsa during the Crusader period are also attested to by the efforts of Sultan Nur al-Din (d. 569/1174) to employ them in his ideological and

religious propaganda to rally the Muslims of Syria around him when fighting the Christian invaders. In preparation for the liberation of Jerusalem, he ordered a masterpiece minbar to be built in the hope that he would transport it himself to the mosque. However, it was left for his successor Sultan Saladin (r. 569–589/1174–1193) to bring the minbar, when he reconquered Jerusalem in 1187 and ordered minor renovations to the Aqsa mosque; the minbar in question was unfortunately destroyed in the fire of 1967, which destroyed parts of the mosque.

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See also Jerusalem; Muhammad, the Prophet; 'Umar ibn al-Khattab; al-Walid ibn 'Abd al-Malik; Usama ibn Munqidh; Nur al-Din; Saladin

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AQUEDUCTS

An aqueduct (L. *aquaeductus*) is a structure for artificially conveying a constant supply of water; it consists of a channel that passes underground, that continues on the surface (where topographical conditions are not suitable), that is usually covered to prevent evaporation and/or pollution, and that is supported on piers over valleys, roads, and so on and cut through hills. Numerous remains of aqueducts from the medieval Islamic civilization survived, with the most impressive ones being in Istanbul.

Knowledge of water supply to the urban settlements and irrigation of agricultural areas was based on the ancient civilization. The shadouf, noria (na'ura), quanat, saqiya, and hafirs are the inventions of the Middle East. Besides these, available water sources were utilized by transporting water under pressure and over long distances with aqueducts during the Roman period to supply the heavily populated cities, which were one of the features that shaped the urban landscape during the Roman times in the Middle East; this was continued in some areas during medieval times. Traces of these aqueducts exist in almost all areas that were once under Roman rule.

These pre-Islamic aqueducts did in fact need maintenance, and soon after most of them collapsed. Two aqueducts in Ceasarea built during the reign of Herod were such examples. The more monumental of the two was renovated under Hadrian, and it is now partially freed from the sand that buried it for so long. Several other aqueducts were constructed during the early Islamic period in the Middle East and Europe. One notable example is the system that was built for the holy city of Mecca by Princess Zubaida, wife of the 'Abbasid Caliph Harun al-Rashid (786–809 CE). This aqueduct was later repaired with the addition of cisterns and bends (reservoirs/dams) and extended into the city by Mihrimah Sultana (br. 1522), daughter of Süleyman the Magnificent. The king Al-Mansur Ya'qub Ibn Yusuf also built an aqueduct to supply the capital city Marrakech in Morocco in 1190. The Magra–El-Oyon Aqueduct is another important Islamic monument in Cairo, and it extends between El-Saida Zeineb and Misr–El Kadima. Many quanat (underground canals) discovered in Jordan, Syria, and Iran are also connected to or built in connection with the aqueducts. Noria (paddle wheels) that were powered by either wind or animals, or water-driven ones mounted vertically in front of an aqueduct, were also commonly used in medieval Islamic countries. Aqueducts were also used to supply power to the wheels of wheat or olive-oil mills in the rural areas.

Istanbul is one of the most important cities in the world, and aqueducts from both Roman and Ottoman times can be encountered there. There were four main systems built during Roman times: (1) the aqueduct built by Hadrian (117–138), although there is no sign of a definite route it followed; (2) another major line that came from the Stranca Mountains (Yıldız Dağlari) in Thrace and that was most probably begun by Constantine between 324 and 357; (3) one built by Valens (364–378) that is thought to cross over the Mazul Kemer Aqueduct; and (4) one built by Theodosius I that runs through Belgrade Forest to the north of the city.

When the Ottoman Turks conquered Istanbul, they stopped using the Byzantine cisterns, for both religious and hygienic reasons. Therefore, Mehmet the Conqueror immediately ordered the restoration of the old and damaged water-supply systems; this was done, and new ones were also built to supply water to the city. Monumental aqueducts, as well as smaller ones, were used commonly throughout the empire, with the most imposing ones being those that supplied water to Istanbul. Uzun Kemer (710 m), which had two tiers with fifty upper arches and forty-seven lower arches, and Maglova Aqueduct (258 m in length and 25.30 m in height) are the two aqueducts

of the Kirkçesme water-supply system that were built during the reign of Süleyman II (Süleyman the Magnificent) by Sinan, the great architect.

The main sources of water in Istanbul were the bends (reservoirs) that were fed by the springs of the Belgrade Forest. These waters were conducted to the city by aqueducts; the grandest, which was two tiered, was built by Justinian. This aqueduct and others carried water to the taksim (distribution point) at Egrikapı, where the main flow reached the Aqueduct of Valens in the middle of the old city between the mosques of Fatih and Shehzade. These aqueducts were repaired by the Ottomans and properly maintained. However, the Valens Aqueduct was considerably rebuilt by Sinan, the great architect, during the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent in the 1560s, which resulted in the increasing number of fountains. It is easy to distinguish the Turkish stonework, but it is difficult to date some sections of the work, because Mustafa II also ordered extensive repairs to the same aqueduct. The Uzun Kemer (Long Aqueduct) on the Belgrade Forest follows the Byzantine pattern of tiers of tall arches that are pointed but not rounded, and these may have been built in accordance with Sinan's plan; however, the short Kavas Aqueduct, which has only eleven arches, is likely to date from soon after the conquest.

The aqueducts of both Roman and Byzantine origin were usually of equal widths at both the bottom and the top. For this reason, only very thick ones survived, Valens being one of these. The aqueducts built by Sinan demonstrate more engineering calculations. Unlike a normal aqueduct, over which water is transported via an enclosed conduit that consists of a series of arches supported on massive piers, the system used in the Maglova Aqueduct shows further technical solutions. Sinan designed the width of the arches to be even smaller, and he enlarged the piers perpendicular to the arches and extended them in pyramidal shape, like buttresses, toward the ground, thereby forming three-dimensional rather than two-dimensional forms. For this reason, these aqueducts are more durable against the horizontal friction forces, and they retain the equilibrium force to remain at a 1:3 ratio. In addition, on each of these piers Sinan constructed three discharging arches to prevent any damage during flooding; these, when incorporated into the main piers, gave a sense of streamlined unity. The structure is uniquely successful and almost expressionist in nature; vertical, horizontal, and diagonal stresses are uniformly absorbed. The expressionist effect is most obvious in the way in which the static forces are distributed throughout the structure and visibly expressed on that structure. This work of Sinan represents the most important departure from the traditional form of the aqueduct, which had shown little change up to that point since classical Rome.

There are several aqueducts in Balkan and African countries that were under the Ottoman sovereignty, some of which are attributed to the Roman times. There is an aqueduct that is located two kilometers northwest of Skopje (Yugoslavia) that is built of stone and bricks and that has fifty-five arches supported on massive pillars; this structure used to be attributed to Romans or Byzantines, but it was recently discovered that it had in fact been built by İsa Bey during the sixteenth century. Several aqueducts were built in Cyprus during the Ottoman period, the most notable being the Bekir Pasha Aqueduct in Larnaca, the harbor town in which the holy shrine of Hala Sultan (Umm ul Haram bint Sultan) is also located.

It has become clear through written records inherited from medieval times and through manuscripts and inscribed stone tablets that water systems of the Islamic societies were built by local people as charitable works of waqf. Three important sources about the aqueducts constructed by Sinan during the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent and others are the books *Tezkiretü'l Bünyan* (1583–1584), *Tezkiretü'l Ebniye* (1586–87), and *Tuhfetü'l Mimarin* (1590). Several inscription tablets still attached to the monuments, in addition to manuscripts about deeds performed by pious foundations, mention the aqueducts.

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See also Irrigation; Mehmet, the Conqueror; Sinan; Water

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ARABIA

The Arabian peninsula lies in southwest Asia, with Syria to the north, the Indian Ocean to the south, the Persian Gulf to the east, and the Red Sea to the west. Its highest elevations stand in the west, with the peninsula sloping downward to the east, except for the Hajar Mountains of Oman. Most of Arabia is desert, although there is ample vegetation in mountainous areas.

Arabs of the peninsula are traditionally said to be descendants of the tribes of 'Adnan and Qahtan, originating, respectively, from the north and the southwest of the peninsula. The most important groupings were as follows:

In the 'Adnan group:

1. Rabi'a: Bakr, Taghlib, 'Abd al-Qays
2. Mudar: Tamim, Huthayl, Asad, Quraysh, Qays Aylan

In the Qahtan group:

1. Kahlan: Tayyi', Hamdan, Kinda, Azd
2. Himyar: Quda'a(?), Tannukh, Kalb, Juhayna

Enmity existed between the Rabi'a and the Mudar, which often led the former to forge alliances with Arabs of the southwest against the latter. Tribes emerged on the basis of what was believed to be genealogical origin, and tribalism ('asabiyya) became an essential factor in social life. This tendency facilitates understanding of many historical events before and after the rise of Islam, along with much of Arabia's poetry and literature.

Two important commercial routes crossed the peninsula. One ran between Syria and Yemen; the other linked Yemen to Bahrain, crossing through Yamama and terminating in Iraq and Persia. Urban settlements were established along these routes and thrived when commerce flourished. This contributed to the diffusion of foreign cultures and of Judaism and Christianity during the pre-Islamic era.

Competition for leadership was common, and, during the early history of the Arabs, a number of powerful figures emerged; this was accompanied by numerous wars. The people were known for their courage and generosity and for their close attachment to their tribal affiliations. The character of the Arabs was shaped by their physical environment. The influence of the desert was evident in their lifestyle and their means of expressing themselves. This can be seen in early Arab poetry, with its frequent reference to the sands and to the flora and fauna of the desert, and in the ethics, traditions, and beliefs that governed all aspects of life. Poetry was an important aspect of Arab culture in both the pre-Islamic and Islamic eras, together with the oral stories ("ayyam al-'Arab") that people shared in social gatherings.

People ate simple food and wore simple clothes, and medical knowledge was limited to herbal remedies. The lunar calendar was observed, and it was adapted to approximate the solar year to fix dates for the religious and trading seasons.

The Rise of Islam

Islam had a powerful impact on the Arabs of the peninsula, uniting them for the first time and enabling them to conquer vast areas. The new religion helped to eradicate tribal fanaticism, because it classed all Muslims as equal, regardless of race. In addition, the Arabs rallied in the belief that it was their duty to spread the religion throughout the world, because Islam was the last of the divinely revealed faiths. This conviction inspired them to venture to the lands of older civilizations, as far away as China and Spain.

The conquests stimulated massive migrations out of Arabia. This weakened the peninsula itself, dissipating the unity that had been established during the early years of Islam. Spectacular victories by the Muslims in the Ridda wars, together with the initial confrontations against the Byzantine and Sasanian Empires, led Arabs to flock to take part in battle and then migrate to the newly acquired territories.

Once there, the ideas and beliefs of the immigrants were influenced by the culture of the local populace. Persian converts to Islam, for example, did not abandon their traditions, and over time the melding of cultures affected the doctrines and practices of

Islam, along with Arabic language and literature. The Arabs also built on the heritage of the Greco–Roman past, particularly in the domains of philosophy and the sciences. All of these influences were transmitted back to the peninsula. As a result, the people of Arabia came to be intimately connected with a wider Islamic world. The most tangible link was the annual pilgrimage (hajj), which drew thousands of Muslims to Mecca and Medina.

During medieval times, the most important provinces of Arabia were Hijaz, Yamama (or Najd), Yemen, Oman, and Bahrain.

The Hijaz

With the emergence of Islam, the Hijaz became the center of the new community and the destination of the hajj. During the lifetimes of Muhammad the Prophet and the Rashidun Caliphs (622–660 CE), Medina was the capital of the Islamic state, and it was from there that the first armies of conquest set out.

Even after the seat of government moved outside of Arabia, Mecca and Medina remained the loci of the conflicts that raged throughout the Umayyad and ʻAbbasid periods. These included activities by sects whose ideas contravened the policies of the Umayyad and ʻAbbasid authorities as well as violent rebellions that depleted the economic and military capacities of both states.

The Hijaz during the Umayyads (661–749 CE)

During 680–692 CE, ʻAbd Allah ibn al-Zubayr rose against the Umayyad government in Damascus and, from Mecca, gained control over most of the territory of the Islamic state. He was killed in Mecca in 692 CE. Traces of his movement continued to influence the Muslim community in Mecca, which became the symbol of Sunni opposition to the central authority.

In 746, Abu Hamza al-Khariji, a member of the Yemeni movement led by Talib al-Haqq, was briefly able to take control of Mecca and Medina.

Leading figures among the sons of the Companions of the Prophet, such as Ibn ʻAbbas and Ibn ʻUmar, concentrated on religious matters and set up, in two mosques of Mecca and Medina, religious groups that laid down the basis of the schools of Fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence) that later emerged, becoming the well-known Sunni schools of law.

During the Umayyad era, poetry, song, and literature flourished in the Hijaz, with the salon of Sakina bint al-Husain being the best-known gathering. Intermingling among men and women was commonplace in such salons, and strict rules regarding women's apparel had not yet emerged.

The Umayyads rebuilt the two grand mosques of Mecca and Medina and introduced a number of new facilities for residents and pilgrims alike.

Hijaz during the Abbasid Period (741–1258 CE)

When the ʻAbbasids assumed power, the leaders of the ʻAlawites refused to pledge allegiance to them. In 762 CE, Muhammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya rose in rebellion in the Hijaz, which became a major center of ʻAlawite opposition. Al-Husain ibn al-Hasan rebelled in 785, followed by Ibrahim ibn Musa al-Kazim in 817, Isma'il ibn Yusuf in 865, and Muhammad ibn Sulayman in 913. Although these rebellions were suppressed, the ʻAbbasids failed to eradicate ʻAlawite political and religious influence in the region.

In 929, the Qarmathians invaded Mecca under the leadership of Abu Tahir al-Qurmuti, carrying the Black Stone to Bahrain, where it remained for twenty-two years. From 942 to 968, the Ikhshidids of Egypt controlled the Hijaz.

During the ʻAbbasid period, the Hijaz attracted religious students and collectors of the traditions of Muhammad the Prophet (hadith), the most renowned of whom was Imam Malik. The influx of scholars generated a tendency toward asceticism in local society. At the same time, many of the region's singers, poets, writers, and merchants migrated to the more congenial atmospheres of Baghdad and Egypt.

By the end of the ʻAbbasid era, the Shafi'i school of law replaced the Maliki school as the dominant body of legal interpretation in the Hijaz.

The Hijaz during the Fatimids (909–1171 CE)

The coming of the Fatimids to Egypt in 969 CE opened the door for the ʻAlawite Sharifs of the Hijaz (969–1924 CE), who declared their own state during the same year that the Fatimids founded Cairo. ʻAbbasids and Fatimids competed to win the loyalty of the Sharifs, hoping thereby to enhance the legitimacy of their respective caliphates. This competition, however, prompted power to shift from one ʻAlawite family to another.

Fatimid influence affected religious and social life more profoundly, and Shi'ism spread widely during the years of Fatimid dominance. Meanwhile, trade with Egypt became more active, and Jeddah's harbor thrived.

The Hijaz during the Ayyubids of Egypt (1171–1250 CE)

Sharifian rule over the Hijaz persisted despite the fall of their Fatimid allies and renewed efforts by the 'Abbasids to destroy them. Competition for hegemony over the Hijaz continued until the end of the 'Abbasid state in 1258. Throughout these years, education was restricted to the study of religious doctrine and jurisprudence. The influence of Shi'ism was reduced, and the Shafi'i school of law prevailed once again. Ibn Jubayr, who visited Mecca in 1183, left lively descriptions of social life and economic affairs.

The Hijaz during the Mamluks (1250–1517 CE)

During their long rule in Egypt, the Mamluks intervened in the Hijaz, forcing the Sharifs to recognize their spiritual authority over Mecca and Medina. Persistent tension marked the relationship, and this was accompanied by many wars. In addition, the rulers of Yemen moved in at the end of the thirteenth century.

Mamluk influence peaked during the fifteenth century, when the authorities in Cairo appointed and removed the Sharifs at will. They paid great attention to the pilgrimage and the ritual covering of the Ka'aba, which was sent from Cairo each year. Widespread cultural and social exchange cemented relations between the Hijaz and the rest of the Muslim world.

Religious teaching remained the area's most salient activity, and the Hanbali school of law began to spread.

Yamama

Yamama, which is now a term used for central Najd, was applied during the medieval period to the whole area between Bahrain and the Hijaz. It was a center for Arab migration both northward and eastward. In pre-Islamic times, Yamama's capital was Hajr, and the area was known for its abundant water and fertile soil.

During the sixth century, the Hanifa tribe replaced the Kinda as the dominant power, deriving its strength from commerce and wheat cultivation. The Hanifa chief, Huda ibn 'Ali, was closely allied with the Sasanians. Other tribes included the Tamim, the Amir ibn Sa'sa'a, the Bahila, the Dabba, the Numair, and the Quda'a. In struggles for pasture and water sources, weaker tribes generally allied with stronger ones.

Although Nestorian Christianity was strong in central and eastern Arabia at that time, pagan elements were also present. Yamama was one of three important religious centers, the others being Mecca and Ta'if.

Huda ibn 'Ali died before the death of Muhammad the Prophet in 632, and he was succeeded by Musaylima ibn Habib, who claimed to have received revelations from God. Musaylima resisted Islam and defeated two armies sent against him by Caliph Abu Bakr. His army of forty thousand men was eventually defeated at the decisive battle of 'Aqraba in 634 by an army led by Khalid ibn al-Walid. This was the most ferocious war yet fought by the Muslims, with many people killed on both sides.

After the war, the Qur'an was collected and written down for the first time. Yamama then lost its political importance, instead becoming a center for amassing armies to send against Iraq. During the Umayyad period (660–749), the only event of importance in Yamama was the rise of the Khariji movement.

'Abbasid influence in Yamama weakened from the middle of the ninth century, and the area fell to the tribes and their neighbors in Bahrain.

During the ninth and tenth centuries, the tribes of 'Amir ibn Sa'sa'a increased their power in central and eastern Arabia. This coincided with the rise of the Qarmathians (c. 900–1076), with whom they shared political interests. Together they defeated the Yamama rulers and the Banu al-Ukhaydir in 928; the Banu 'Amir supported the Qarmathians in their wars in the peninsula, Iraq, and Syria.

The trans-Arabian land route declined with the growth of Red Sea navigation during the Fatimid period. When Nasir-i Khusraw visited Yamama in 1051, he found it to be of minor importance.

From the twelfth century C.E. onward, Yamama was intimately connected to Hasa (Bahrain).

HASAN M. AL-NABOODAH

See also Arabs; Islam; Bahrain; Oman; Yemen; Mecca; Medina; Poetry, Arabic; Hajj; 'Abbasids; Umayyads; Fatimids; Kharijis; School of Jurisprudence; Tribes and Tribal Customs

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ARABIC

Arabic language includes the formal medieval and modern written idioms (al-'arabiyya al-fusha; Classical Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic), past and present dialects (Neo-Arabic), and varying degrees of mixture between these two levels during the premodern period (Middle Arabic).

Following Akkadian and Aramaic, Arabic became the third Semitic lingua franca along the Eastern rim of the Mediterranean as a result of the Islamic conquests, and it extended its linguistic reach to Central Asia, North Africa, and the Iberian Peninsula, coinciding with most of the areas formerly served by Latin in classical antiquity. As the language of Islam, it was further used in liturgy and, in epigraphic form, in architecture by Muslim communities in Middle Africa, Central Asia, Western China, Northern India, and the Southeast Asian archipelago.

The basic grammar of Classical Arabic has remained stable over thirteen centuries. A language of prestige, it developed a rich intertextuality, conferred status on those who mastered it (irrespective of their ethnic background), and retained a unique bimodal transmission in which oral and written media complemented each other.

Successor to both the Byzantine and the Sasanian territories, Arabic–Islamic culture selectively incorporated part of its lexicon and written heritage, especially through the 'Abbasid translation movement from the eighth to the tenth century CE. Inversely, Arabic terms and genres played an important role in the flourishing of Medieval Hebrew, Old Spanish (Castilian), and New Persian (Farsi) literature.

A Semitic Language

Arabic belongs to the Semitic language family, itself forming part of the Afro-Asiatic phylum. Arabic exhibits the typical Semitic features of emphatic (velarized) sounds; a morpheme structure based on a triliteral root that conveys a basic meaning; a highly integrated system of inflection, derivation of word structures (internal flexion), and apophony, which adds semantic nuances to the root; a verbal system with prefix and suffix conjugation; a paratactic syntax; and a list of vocabulary cognates. Nevertheless, the specific place of Arabic within the Semitic family remains unresolved. Advocates of a genetic-tree model place it within the Central Semitic group, together with Canaanite and Aramaic, whereas proponents of natural language change and linguistic drift assign it to the Southwest Semitic group, together with the Ethiopian and South Arabian languages, the latter model being perhaps better suited to the close coexistence and succession of related tongues within the same geographical area, which characterize the Semitic family.

Proto-Arabic

Beginning with the ninth century BCE, Arabic names and terms are seen in Akkadian, Biblical, Greek, Coptic, and late Aramaic sources, whereas, from the sixth century BCE. to the fourth century CE, short epigraphic texts in Old North Arabian

(recorded in a derivative of the South Arabian alphabet) survive in the Arabian Peninsula and Syro-Palestine. Their language differs from later Classical Arabic in many ways; for example, the article *ha-* is seen, as opposed to later Classical Arabic *al-*.

Between the third and sixth centuries, five short inscriptions in Syro-Palestine show the adoption of a late Aramean (Nabatean) cursive by writers of Arabic. From Nabatean, the Arabic script inherits salient traits, such as the nondenotation of short vowels (abgad type) and inflectional endings and the lam-alif ligature. Sporadic positional variants and connections and the mergers of letters (e.g., *r* and *z*) in late Nabatean were fully systematized in Arabic, and merged letters were distinguished by diacritic markers.

Pre-Classical and Classical Arabic

The Arabian Peninsula was home to numerous Arabic dialects that were sporadically recorded by later medieval Arabic grammarians, which permits a rough subdivision into a western (e.g., Hudhayl, Tayyi'), an eastern (e.g., Tamim), and a southern group of tribes (e.g., Kinda, Hamdan). Highly complex heroic poetry was composed from the sixth century CE in a supratribal idiom and was notably characterized by inflectional endings (i'rab; literally "making Arabic"), which were absent in many dialects. Scholars still debate whether inflectional endings in the early dialects disappeared long before the onset of Islam or whether they were lost only during the early conquests and the massive adoption of Arabic by foreigners, with the former option being the more likely one. The most influential Arabic text was the Qur'an, which was revealed in 610–632 in a language that was close to the poetic idiom but that displayed certain Western traits.

The codification of Islam's holy book as well as communication within the rapidly expanding Arabic–Islamic state required a unified official tongue, which Arabic came to fulfill under the Umayyad caliph 'Abd al-Malik around 700. It then became the task of grammarians during the mid-eighth century to synthesize prestige literature (the Qur'an, prophetic tradition [hadith], and pre-Islamic poetry and prose) with data gleaned from qualified Bedouins, who were considered experts in the pure Arabic language ('Arabiyya). Grammarians selected core languages (e.g., those of the tribes of Tamim and Hudhayl), and, when these diverged, they chose features according to their prestige (e.g., the hamza [glottal stop]), frequency, or analogical derivation (qiyas). The result was a reduction and systematization of morphology, syntax, and lexicon, and this was completed with the works of al-Khalil (d. 793) and Sibawayhi (d. 791), the respective founders of Arabic lexicography and grammar. The grammarians, however, did not create Classical Arabic; however, through established principles and fieldwork, they homogenized and systematized its disparate and redundant ingredients into a codified common tongue. They then proceeded to link the varied phenomena of language (furu') to a few underlying principles (usul) to demonstrate the perfection of the language that God had chosen for His revelation.

Classical Arabic sounds consist of twenty-eight consonants and three short or long vowels. The noun (ism) is modified by genus (male or female), number (singular, dual, or plural), state (indeterminate, determinate, or construct), and inflection (subject, possessive, or object cases). The verb (fi'l) has both a prefix and a suffix conjugation and expresses time or aspect (perfect or imperfect), mood (indicative, subjunctive, or jussive), voice (active or passive), person, gender, and number. A third and indeclinable word type is the particle (harf); its syntax includes both nominal clause (topic or comment) and verbal clause (verb, subject, or object), which may be built into compound sentences, although the older language tends toward parataxis.

During the same period, Arabic script was made to more accurately reflect spoken Classical Arabic by the addition of (mainly) supralinear symbols for short vowels, hamza, long alif (madda), the doubling of letters (tashdid), and the elision of the initial vowel (wasla).

From contact with preceding civilizations on its territory and in particular the 'Abbasid translation movement, Arabic incorporated vocabulary from Aramaic, Greek, and Middle Persian (Pahlavi), among others. The foreign words entered the language as simple borrowings, or they were likened to Arabic morphological patterns (jins; "species" from the Greek *genos*), recreated by derivation (ishtiqaq; e.g., *kayfiyya,* which means "quality" or, literally, "how-ness"), or again reproduced as Arabic calques. A further method was to extend an existing Arabic root with a meaning it had in another Semitic language; for example, *darasa,* meaning "to be effaced," was thus acquired in addition to the root's Aramaic meaning of "to study" (e.g., *madrasa,* meaning "school; religious college").

Neo-Arabic

The inflective, synthetic language represented by Classical Arabic coexists with a noninflecting analytical

type called Neo-Arabic, thereby forming a situation of diglossia. No agreement has been reached about the date of the inception of Neo-Arabic, whether it was extant long before Islam or brought about by the Islamic conquests. Neo-Arabic has many regional dialects, although they share a number of features. Most of these may be subsumed under the analytical trend (fixed word order, expression of the verbal mood by prefixes and of the possessive and object cases by the particle *l-* rather than by inflection) and reduction of the paradigm (the loss of hamza and of the interdentals *dh* and *th*, the merger of the emphatic *d* and *z*, the loss of the dual and feminine plural forms, the merger of different types of defective verbs, and the loss of inflection of the relative pronoun), although some (e.g., the *i*-vowel in the imperfect verb) may derive from ancient Arabic dialects or contact with other Semitic languages. The common traits of Neo-Arabic are attributed to convergence, drift, and parallel developments and are no longer motivated by a koinè that supposedly evolved in the Islamic army camps, although the conquests undoubtedly propelled the development of Neo-Arabic. One medieval dialect that, although extinct (unlike most Arabic dialects, which survive today), has been preserved in written documents is Andalusi Arabic.

Middle Arabic

This label covers all texts whose writers strayed from the rules of Classical Arabic (thus denoting not a chronological period but a level of language). Middle Arabic is characterized by a mixture of dialectal and Classical Arabic forms and pseudocorrections (i.e., instances in which the writer aimed for and missed the more prestigious register and created a form that existed neither in Classical Arabic nor in his native [Neo-Arabic] dialect). Accordingly, Middle Arabic offers a wide spectrum, ranging from the informal level of the uneducated scribe to the grammatical nonchalance or dramatic purpose of the literary author. Middle Arabic is generally divided into three groups of Muslim texts (early papyri, scientific texts, and historiographical and popular literature since the thirteenth century CE), Jewish texts (or Judeo-Arabic, written in Hebrew characters), and Christian texts (occasionally written in Syriac script), although the evidence for the last group is limited.

Today Arabic is the official language of approximately two hundred million speakers in twenty sovereign nations, of the Arab citizens of Israel and the Palestinians, and of communities in Central Asia and East Africa; it is the liturgical language of approximately one billion Muslims.

BEATRICE GRUENDLER

See also Arabs; Arameans; Books; Bureaucrats; Education; Libraries; Folk Literature, Arabic; Greeks; Linguistics, Arabic; Persians; Qur'an and Arabic Literature; Qur'an and Manuscripts; Scribes

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ARABS

Arabs, who are considered to belong to Semitic tribes, are the biggest community of these tribes. Aside from where they may reside as a result of different unions, it is accepted that their homeland is Arabia. The word *Arab* came after Semite nations established various states with different names in Yemen and Mesopotamia. The oldest information we have about the Arab Peninsula and the communities that lived there is found in the tenth chapter of Genesis in the Old Testament of the Bible. *Arab,* which also means ''desert'' and which has an origin that is still not clarified, was first seen in an Assyrian document dating back to 853 BCE.

There had been a long period of contact between Arabs and Assyrians in the fields of politics and the military. Both Assyrians and north Arabian tribes were ruled by the Babylonian King Nabonidus. It is possible that, when Alexander the Great conquered Syria and Egypt, he also took north Arabia during his Asian expedition. Meanwhile, The Arab peoples, then a tribal society, and Persians had friendly relations.

Arab historians divide Arabs into two groups, Arab Ba'idah and Arab Baqiyyah. Ba'idah Arabs lived in ancient times and then disappeared. 'Ad, Thamoud, Madyan, 'Ubayl, Jasim, Tasm, Jadis, and Amaliqa are among the important branches of the Ba'idah. Information related to these groups is only found in the Holy Books and in Arab poetry. Arab Baqiyyah refers to still extant Arabic groups. These are divided into two groups: Arab 'Aribah and Arab Musta'ribah, which are mentioned in the Old Testament. Arab genealogists assume that all Arabs are descendants of Abraham; the Old Testament is the basis of this belief, and the Qur'an also states that Arabs are descendants of sons of Abraham. Again, according to the same genealogists, people of north Arabia are descendants of Samuel, and the inhabitants of south Arabia, who have a settled life, are descendants of Qahtan. The people of both regions were always migrating for economic reasons.

Arab 'Aribah, whose homeland is Yemen, are also called Qahtanis. The most famous tribes are Jurhum and Ya'roub. Ya'roub also has two branches, Kahlan and Himyar, and many tribes and branches descend from these.

Arab Musta'ribah (or Arab Muta'arribah) were comprised of tribes that were Arabized afterwards. These were the majority of nomadic Arabs who settled in the area in the central regions of Arabia extending from Hijaz to Badiyah al-Sham; Adnanis, Isma'ilis, Ma'addis, and Nizaris are included in these tribes. Among the main tribes belonging to Adnan, there are Adnan, Ma'ad, Nizar, Rabi'ah, Muzar, Qays, 'Aylan, Ghatafan, Ilyas, Kinanah, Quraysh, Qusayy, and Abd Manaf. The tribes called Adnanis are descendants of Adnan's son Ma'ad. Some tribes of Adnanis settled in the south, where they united with the Qahtanis and became the ancestors of today's Arabs. The states such as the Ma'in, Saba', and Himyari Kingdoms were found in Yemen, and the Nabati, Tadmur, Ghassani Hira, and Kindah Kingdoms were founded in northern Arabia during the tribal period.

The Arab Golden Age, during which a system based on the principles of freedom and equality (especially in the tribes during the Jahiliyyah period) was seen, started with Islam. During Caliph Abu Bakr's period, Damascus was conquered in 635 and Jerusalem was conquered in 638. Iraq was conquered after the Nihawand war in 642, opening the doors of Iran to Islam. In addition, two important encampment cities were founded in Iraq (Basra and Kufah), and these played an important role in the conquest of Iran. Meanwhile, Khalid Ibn Walid's victory in the war of Ajnadayn on July 30, 634, opened the doors of Byzantium to the armies of Islam. Actually, this war opened the doors of the Syrian and Palestinian states to the Arabs and ended the Ghassani state, which was founded as a buffer state of Byzantium.

In the Ajnadayn war, the Arabs defeated the Byzantines soundly; after this war, they started conquering the fortresses and cities in Jordan, Syria, and Palestine, and they finally conquered all of Syria during the period of Caliph Umar. Amr Ibn As conquered Egypt in 641 and Babylon in 641. Alexandria was conquered on September 17, 642. During this period, Arabs progressed from a small state to a major power. During this expansion period, Amr Ibn As controlled the general policies himself, and he determined policy for the conquered lands.

Caliph Othman also continued the expansion period that was begun by Caliph Umar, and conquered Tripoli, Cyprus, Rhodes, Malta, and Crete. During this time, important events such as the Jamal event and the Siffin war took place, and control of Egypt and Hijaz was lost. Afterwards he sent an army commanded by Abd al-Malik Hassan Ibn Nu'man to North Africa, and North Africa was completely conquered between the years of 697 and 703. During this period, the Berbers of Moroccan tribes accepted Islam.

Islamic conquests, which came to an end as a result of caliphate fights, began again after Mu'awiyah

dominated events in the country. In 647, Arab armies passed the Ceyhun river and reached Na Wara' al-Nahr. There was a temporary decrease in the conquests, but they accelerated again during the years 705 to 715, after Walid became the caliph.

The most important periods for Arabs were during the reigns of the Umayyids and the 'Abbasids, which enlarged their borders considerably. They faced a new page in their history after the 'Abbasids took over the caliphate. There were separations from the Islamic State during this era, and new states were formed. In the ninth and tenth centuries, new Islamic states were founded in Egypt, Syria, Yemen, and Palestine, and this breakdown continued until the reign of the Ottomans.

In 945, the occupation of Baghdad by Buwayhis resulted in power being transferred to Iranians; afterward, the caliphs did not have any power. In 1258, the occupation of Baghdad by the Mongols ended Arab domination in Iraq, and, beginning in the thirteenth century, Arabs withdrew from the political stage. The conquests that began in 1517 with Yavuz and that were continued by Kanuni resulted in the dominance of the Ottomans in all the regions except the inner regions of Arabia.

HÜSEYIN YAZICI

See also Arabia

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ARAMAEANS

Aramaeans are first mentioned in Akkadian texts of the late twelfth century BCE as dangerous enemies to the west of the Assyrian empire. Their territories were organized into independent city states that eventually fell under Assyrian domination, the last being Damascus in 732 BCE. Hostilities between these states and ancient Israel are recorded in the historical books of the Bible and in a fragmentary Aramaic inscription from Tell Dan. The Aramaeans were probably nomads who had settled along the Fertile Crescent and who also spread to the southeast to southern Iraq (Beth Aramaye in Syriac sources). Certain strands of the biblical traditions that concern Jacob point to Aramaean connections, most notably the following profession: "My Father was a wandering Aramaean..." (Deuteronomy 26:5; the passage has subsequently been given many different interpretations).

By the time of the Achaemenid Empire, "Aramaean" had largely lost its ethnic sense and was used instead to denote speakers of Aramaic. In the Hellenistic and Roman periods, "Aramaean" was understood as being synonymous with "Syrian" (i.e., an inhabitant of the general area of Syria). In both Jewish Aramaic and Christian Syriac sources, "Aramaean" also took on a new meaning of "gentile, pagan." In later vocalized texts in both languages, a distinction is made between *Aramaye* (Aramaeans) and *Armaye* (gentiles, pagans). The appearance of the personal name Aram in two different genealogies in the Bible (Genesis 10:22 and 22:21) gave rise in late antiquity to many different mythographic views of the origin and relationship of the Aramaeans to other ethnic groups. According to Strabo (*Geography*, I.2.34; XVI.4.27), the Aramaeans were also identified by Posidonius (early first century BC) as being featured in the works of Homer.

In the Middle Ages, Syriac writers continued to equate *Aramaye* and *Suryaye*. Muslim authors appear to have shown little interest in identifying the ancient Aramaeans, but they used the term *Nabat* to describe the Aramaic speakers of the conquered territories, especially the farmers and peasantry of Iraq.

The *Nabataean Agriculture (al-Filaha al-Nabatiyya)*, which was translated into Arabic from the ancient Syriac by Ibn Wahshiyya in the tenth century, is now thought to be based on reworked late antiquity writings that reflect local traditions. Besides agricultural lore, it contains much about pagan religion and magic. The latter materials were taken up by the Andalusian pseudo-Majriti (dates uncertain) in his *Ghayat al-Hakim (The Aim of the Sage)*. Translated into Latin as *Picatrix* (1256), this work greatly influenced Western magic.

During the late twentieth century, Aramaean has been taken up as an ethnic identity by parts of the Syrian Orthodox Diaspora.

SEBASTIAN BROCK

See also Aramaic; Syriac

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ARAMAIC

Aramaic, like Arabic, belongs to the central group of West Semitic languages and is within the Syro-Palestinian subgroup (with Ugaritic, Phoenician, Hebrew, and others). Its closest affinities are with Arabic. First seen in inscriptions of tenth/ninth century BCE, Aramaic still continues to be used in several modern dialects some three millennia later. The earliest evidence of Aramaic comes from inscriptions and documents on papyrus and skin, but, especially during the first millennium CE, it became an important literary language for three religious communities (Jewish, Christian, and Mandaean), and extensive bodies of literature survive. For well over a millennium, Aramaic (in different dialects) served as the main language of the Middle East, situated between Akkadian and Arabic.

Aramaic is known through many different dialects and scripts, several of which have their own designations (e.g., Palmyrene, Syriac, Mandaic). Different classifications of these dialects have been suggested, but the following seems to be the most satisfactory:

1. Old Aramaic (tenth/ninth–eighth century BCE): This is seen in inscriptions ranging from southeast Turkey to northern Iran.
2. Official Aramaic (seventh–fourth century BCE): Aramaic was already replacing Akkadian in the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian empires; under Achaemenid rule, it became the official language of communication. Besides inscriptions, there are archives of documents from Egypt and Afghanistan; those from Egypt include the oldest fragments of a literary text in Aramaic, the story of Ahiqar, which is a political fable followed by a series of wise sayings that subsequently enjoyed great popularity in many different languages.
3. Middle Aramaic (third century BCE–second century CE): Many dialects had by now developed their own scripts (Nabataean, Palestinian Aramaic, Palmyrene, Hatran, Old Syriac), and a fairly standard form of literary Aramaic was emerging. In addition to the Aramaic portions of the biblical books of Ezra and Daniel (which preserve older features), further fragmentary literary texts have come to light among the Qumran manuscripts.
4. Late Aramaic (third century CE onward): Several dialects were used for literary texts; of the western dialects, Jewish Palestinian Aramaic has the most extensive texts, whereas those surviving in Samaritan Aramaic and Christian Palestinian Aramaic are much fewer in number. By contrast, the eastern dialects have proved much more influential. Jewish Babylonian Aramaic features most importantly in the Babylonian Talmud, but many additional texts survive; Mandaic is the vehicle for the corpus of Mandaean religious texts, whereas Syriac provides by far the largest corpus of literary texts in Aramaic.
5. Modern Aramaic (seen in written form from the seventeenth century onward in both Jewish and Christian texts): The modern spoken dialects fall into three groups: (1) Western dialects, which are spoken only in a few villages in the Anti-Lebanon; (2) Central Aramaic, which consists of the dialects of Tur 'Abdin in southeast Turkey (collectively known as Turoyo); and (3) the much more numerous Eastern dialects (Jewish, Christian, and Mandaean).

Aramaic has had a certain influence on Arabic, and some Aramaic loan words are found in the Qur'an.

SEBASTIAN BROCK

See also Aramaeans; Syriac

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ARCHITECTURE, SECULAR: MILITARY

Islamic military architecture assumed a variety of forms—fortified city walls, citadels, castles, and palaces—that in general did not diverge significantly from the Roman and Byzantine fortifications that Muslim armies encountered in the eastern Mediterranean world or those in Sasanian Iran or Soghdian Central Asia. Many of the standard features of Islamic fortifications (towers, bent entrances, portcullises, machicolation, barbicans, and donjons or keeps) were found not only in pre-Islamic military architecture but in that of medieval Christendom as well. Evidence of early purely Islamic fortifications is scarce, perhaps because many preexisting fortified structures were simply occupied and reused by Muslim armies as a byproduct of conquest. As the Islamic world expanded, the need for new fortifications (especially on the frontiers) became paramount.

The earliest Islamic structures that might properly be considered fortifications are the isolated walled enclosures that were erected as rural or desert retreats by the Umayyad dynasty of Syria (r. 661–750 CE) in the eighth century. These structures (Qasr al-Hayr East and Qasr al-Hayr West in Syria and Mshatta and Qusayr Amra in Jordan) usually featured outer walls with half-round solid towers that are descended in form rather than function from pre-Islamic Roman, Byzantine, and local architectural traditions.

Among the earliest fortified cities in the Islamic world were Raqqa in Syria and the Round City at Baghdad, both dating to the eighth century and both largely the creation of the 'Abbasid Caliph al-Mansur (r. 754–775). The surviving walls at Raqqa are mud-brick rather than stone, and there are remnants of numerous towers on the inner wall of the city. The Round City is today known only through literary evidence, but it seems also to have had mud-brick outer and inner walls punctuated by towers and a moat between the two walls. One notable feature of the Round City was the use of bent entrances in the exterior gates, which forced anyone entering the city to make a series of repeated turns in close quarters that thus minimized the impact of frontal assaults. The bent entrance was later used in monumental gateways in many citadels and palaces (e.g., the Alhambra in Granada, Spain), although its origin is pre-Islamic.

More tangible evidence of military architecture survives from a later date in the walls and gates of Cairo and the remarkable citadel at Aleppo. Cairo was founded in 969 north of the old city of Fustat, and it was originally surrounded by mud-brick walls that were subsequently replaced with stone by the Fatimid vizier Badr al-Jamali between 1087 and 1092. From this same period survive three monumental stone gates (each more than twenty meters high): Bab al-Nasr (Gate of Victory), Bab al-Futuh (Gate of Conquest), and Bab Zuwayla. The masonry techniques here are thought to derive from northern Syria. These gates have straight rather than bent entrances and in general more closely resemble earlier Roman gates than, for example, the aforementioned Islamic examples at Raqqa and Baghdad.

The Ayyubid dynasty (r. 1169–1260) constructed fortified citadels at Cairo, Damascus, and Aleppo, the last of which is the most impressive and best preserved. The Aleppo citadel, which was built on an enormous, partly artificial mound, was established in 1209 and repaired in 1292 and again during the early sixteenth century. It stands nearly forty meters above street level and was preceded by a fortified gate, a bridge, a moat, and a massive barbican. Inside the enclosed citadel was a somewhat random arrangement of baths, living quarters, a mosque, and a royal audience hall—in essence a small city within the city.

One area in which Islamic fortifications differ from their European or pre-Islamic counterparts is the relative lack of isolated castles in the Muslim world. To be sure, these do exist in some areas (e.g., the mountainous regions of northern Iran), but castles in general functioned as adjunct structures to fortified (or soon-to-be conquered) cities. An example of the latter is the well-known Rumeli Hisar on the Bosphorus north of Istanbul, which was built in 1451–1452 by the Ottoman sultan Mehmed II (also known as Mehmed the Conqueror; r. 1445 and 1451–1481) on the site of an earlier Byzantine fortress. It was used (along with its earlier sister fortress Anadolu Hısar on the opposite Asian shore, which was begun by Bayazid I [r. 1389–1402]) to control water traffic and communication between Constantinople (as Istanbul was then known) and the Black Sea before the Ottoman conquest of the city in 1453. The changing nature of siege warfare during Ottoman

times is marked by the provisions for gun ports in both the barbican and the easternmost tower of Rumeli Hısar.

RICHARD TURNBULL

See also 'Abbasids; Agra Red Fort; Alhambra; Architecture, Secular: Ayyubids; Bayazid, Yıldırım; Conquest; Mehmet II, the Conqueror; Ottoman Empire; Palaces; Umayyads; Urbanism; Warfare and Techniques

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ARCHITECTURE, SECULAR: PALACES

Except for famous complexes—like the Topkapı Saray in Istanbul, the Alhambra in Granada, Fatehpur Sikri near Agra, the Fort at Lahore, and the Red Forts at Agra (all built c. 1565–1573 CE) and Delhi—extant palaces in Islam are few. Essentially used as settings for the ceremonial of princely magnificence, they were often as flimsy as stage scenery. The lack of information about this ceremonial (see "Marasim" and "Mawakib" in *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed.) and its relation to neighboring cultures (this information is enshrined in the *Liber de Ceremoniis* of the Byzantine Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus [Stern 1950; Canard 1951; Sourdel 1960]) complicates the interpretation of excavated remains; literary descriptions, which are frequently lacunary and misleadingly hyperbolic, are limited to the public areas.

Islamic palace architecture is often vernacular or domestic architecture writ large, but many palaces exhibit features that are derived from Western Asiatic cultures: a regular layout on built-up terraces, along an axis of symmetry, and a deep axial iwan, fronting, as in palaces of the first Sasanian ruler, Ardashir I (?–242 CE) at Firuzabad (Huff, *Encyclopaedia Iranica*), a central domed throne room, while the great iwan of the Taq (or Iwan)-i Kisra at Ctesiphon on the Tigris south of Baghdad (Kröger, *Encyclopaedia Iranica*), probably built by Khusraw I Anushiravan (r. 531–579 CE), became a topos for palace architecture throughout the Islamic world.

The Umayyad Caliphs in Syria and Palestine favored the villa rustica of late antiquity (a large-scale agricultural enterprise with baths, audience halls, and other amenities), and they progressed seasonally from one to another. More elaborate is Khirbat al-Mafjar, north of Jericho (Baer, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*), a winter residence with a rectangular arcaded courtyard fronting sets of apartments, a bath with rich mosaics, and a porch with a standing figure in Caliphal robes. Later Islamic rulers also made seasonal progresses, and the stations on their route (e.g., the early twelfth-century Seljuk Ribat-i Sharaf, between Tus or Meshhed and Sarakhs) were built like major caravansarays, with inner and outer courtyards. Residences like Madinat al-Zahra outside Córdova and the Seljuk palaces Kubdabad (c. 1220–1230 CE) on Lake Beyşehir (Arık 2000) in Anatolian Pisidia also spawned local satellites (i.e., hunting lodges, garden refuges from the heat of summer, race courses, and grandstands [Northedge 1991]). In addition, the palace of Topkapı (Eldem 1969–1973; Necipolğu 1991) expanded both seasonally and over time to include pavilions, gardens, and summer houses (yalı) all the way up the shores of the Bosphorus.

In palaces, space was ordered hierarchically, from the public to the private domain. The outermost areas included the King's Musick (tabl-khana, naqqara-khana), government offices, the archives, the mint, the armory and stables, and the kitchens, with the hall of public audience beyond. The private areas included halls of private audience, the women's quarters, libraries, treasuries for heirlooms or relics, an observatory, a menagerie, some luxury workshops, and architectural follies, often with glamorous names: Firdaws (The Paradise), Thurayya (The Pleiades), and Chihil Sutun (The Forty Columns, which is the traditional name for the ruins of Persepolis). These might also include belvederes, like those surmounting the towers of the Alhambra (Fernandez-Puertas 1977–1978), or apartments that were artificially cooled, employing running water with weirs and runnels to decorative effect (Rabbat, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*).

Palaces, as seen in Cairo and Aleppo, are often fortified, both for the ruler's security and for prestige (Behrens-Abouseif 1988; Rabbat 1995). Tamerlane's most famous palace, the Aksaray at Shahr-i Sabz (c. 1380 CE), had a colossal tiled entrance but no protective walls. At Samarqand (Clavijo/Sreznevskj, p. 244–45), he entertained in garden pavilions such as the Dilkusha and the Bagh-i Naw, which were set on artificial mounds that were approached by steps.

These were wooden, with tiled dadoes and lavishly painted and gilded ceilings that, as seen in Mughal India, may be transportable. For receptions and feasts, the pavilions were expanded by tents with hangings of cloth of gold and silver (O'Kane 1993). A typical Timurid pavilion is the Çinili Köşk in Istanbul, a two-story structure of brick and stone that was built for Mehmed II in AH 877/1472–1473 CE below the walls of the Topkapı Saray, with a tiled entrance iwan on a columned terrace. Its plan is cruciform, with rectangular rooms in each corner and a domed crossing on plaster fan pendentives, an axial apse providing a view of the palace gardens below. Under Tamerlane's descendants, the formal settings often included picture galleries (suratkhana).

In the Sasanian and Byzantine traditions, rulers presented themselves as magnificent collectors. The 'Abbasids' marble halls, magnificent thrones, lion fountains (e.g., the Patio de los Leones in the Alhambra [Fernandez-Puertas 1997–1998]), golden trees with mechanical singing birds and other automata, pools of mercury or polished tin, displays of arms and armor, and rich wall hangings were described in al-Khatib al-Baghdadi's account of the marvels (see Qaddumi 1996, paragraphs 161–64) encountered by an embassy from the Byzantine Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus that was received at Baghdad in 917 CE; these set a norm for palace decoration (Gabrieli 1959).

Audience halls in the Jawsaq al-Khaqabi at Samarra (after 836 CE), the palace of the Ghaznavid Mas'ud III at Lashkari Bazar in Afghanistan (Bombaci 1960), the Qarasaray built at Mosul by the Atabeg Badr al-Din Lu'lu' (d. 1259 CE), and the contemporary Qasr al-Dhahab of Baybars I in the Citadel of Cairo (Rabbat 1995) bore monumental painted friezes of the ruler's amirs. Sometimes inscriptional programs were also seen, as in the palace of Mas'ud III at Ghazni, where there are panels of verse from the *Shahnama* of Firdawsi (Bombaci 1960), and on the palace walls of 'Ala al-Din Kayqubad I's citadel (c. 1220 CE) at Konya in Turkey (Laborde 1836; Bombaci 1969). The elaborately displayed poetical inscriptions of the Court of the Lions in the Alhambra (Fernández-Puertas 1997–1998) paralleled those of the main iwan (Melikian-Chirvani, 1991) at Takht-i Sulayman in the mountains of northwest Persia, which was built around 1270 CE by the Ilkhanid ruler Abaqa and that included verses of Sufi poets as well as more extracts from the *Shahnama* (although there is no indication that his mastery of Persian was such that he could read it). Later palaces, like the Chihil Sutun at Isfahan (Luschey-Schmeisser, *Encyclopaedia Iranica*), which was begun under Shah 'Abbas I (996–1038/1588–1629 CE) and remodeled by Shah 'Abbas II in 1057/1647 CE, bore less intellectually taxing but more splendid paintings of victories and triumphal celebrations.

The Islamic palaces the Topkapı Saray in Istanbul, which were built in the later 1460s C.E. for Mehmed II, were inhabited for four hundred years, despite the discomfort caused by the heat of summer and the scanty protection against the savage winter climate (Davies 1970; Eldem and Akozan 1982; Necipoğlu 1991). To European visitors, the imposing view of it from a distance did not bear closer inspection; however, the interior plan exhibits a certain cumulative effect in a processional sequence and, with its intimate pavilions and belvederes that are named after conquered kingdoms (thus evoking the imperial pretensions of the Ottoman sultanate), it perhaps reproduces the effect of the great Byzantine palace of Constantinople.

Its three courtyards, each with a grand entrance, were progressively less accessible. The outermost housed the arsenal (the church of St. Irene) and the mint, the second held the Council of State (the Divan) and a large block of kitchens, and the third, with the private audience chamber (Arz Odası), was the sole preserve of the Sultan and his attendants, including the private treasury and a shrine complex, where the Mantle of the Prophet was preserved. On three sides there were landscaped gardens with fountains and splendid views that stretched down to the old Byzantine sea walls; in the late spring on a fine warm day, these views might—according to the praise of Ottoman chroniclers—be a reflection of paradise.

The Topkapı Saray is the only Islamic palace in which the history of the harem quarters—virtually a palace within a palace—is documented (Peirce 1993). Under Murad III, these quarters were reorganized and rebuilt (1578–1579 CE), with additional quarters for the Queen Mother and the eunuch guards and with permanent apartments for the Sultan, including a bedchamber in a two-story domed pavilion, a domed reception hall, two baths, and, from the late sixteenth century onward, schoolrooms and apartments for the princes.

MICHAEL J. ROGERS

See also Agra Red Fort; Alhambra; Gardens and Gardening; Painting, Monumental and Frescoes; Furniture and Furnishings; Ilkhanids; Mahmud of Ghazna; Sasanians; al-Khatib al-Baghdadi; Shahnama; Tamerlane (Timur); Timurids

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ARCHIVES AND CHANCERIES

Muslim tradition has it that the Prophet Muhammad used scribes for record-keeping and that the caliph 'Umar set up the divisions of diwan al-jaysh (bureau of revenues) and diwan al-insha' (chancery) in the central bureaucracy of the state. The ensuing Umayyad period saw the rise of professional writers *(katib*, pl. *kuttab)* serving as confidants of the caliphs and

playing a major role in shaping the institution of chancery. Under the 'Abbasids, the growing influence of the vizier resulted in the consolidation of the chancery under his direct supervision. The chancery also became one of the few institutions in the Muslim empire that provided career opportunities for non-Arab and non-Muslim civic professionals. It is from Egypt, however, that original archival materials emerged, shedding light on the organization, protocols, and activities of the chanceries. At the Fatimid court, the centrality of the chancery within the state bureaucracy was firmly established. The Ayyubids inherited many of the traditions. Of the preeminent chancery writers, some had honed their skills at the Persianate Sasanid court, whereas others had flourishing careers in the Fatimid chancery before serving the Ayyubid sultans. The Mamluk time witnessed the final phase of the evolution of the chancery, which was by now a complex of central bureaus and provincial branches. It was also during the Mamluk time that relatively comprehensive documentation of the chanceries was produced, in both archival and literary sources.

Very few Arabic Islamic archives of the pre-Ottoman era have survived (see Appendix). The ample evidence afforded by literary sources, on the other hand, attests to the sophisticated efficiency of the chanceries throughout Islamic history. Chief among these literary sources are chancery manuals, such as al-Qurashi's (c. twelfth century CE) *Kitab ma'Alim al-Kitaba*, al-Nuwayri's *Nihayat al-Arab*, and Ibn Nazir al-Jaysh's *Tathqif al-Ta'rif*. Particularly significant is al-Qalqashandi's *Subh al-a'Sha*, an encyclopedic work that offers detailed descriptions of the history of the chancery, the training of the katib, procedures and protocols, and the formulas and guidelines, along with samples of chancery writings.

Chronicles and royal biographies also form a significant source of chancery writings. By the Mamluk time, nearly all of the chronicles and royal biographies contained some chancery documents; however, many of these were edited later. Of these, some Mamluk treaties with the Ottomans may be collated with the originals that are preserved in the Ottoman archives.

According to al-Qalqashandi, two tasks were to be performed at the chancery: (1) diplomatics (al-mukatabat): communiqués, treaties, and decrees; and (2) personnel management (al-wilayat): certificates of hiring, firing, and promotion. Preparing legal briefings for the civil criminal court (al-mazalim) also fell into the responsibilities of the chancery. Guidelines and rules were developed to standardize the technical aspects of paperwork preparation and processing, and they ranged from the terminology of ranks, titles, and honorifics to the size of the paper used, the writing style, and the formulas of treaties, royal decrees (al-mukatabat al-sultaniyya), and personal correspondence (al-mukatabat al-ikhwaniyya). Administrative documents under the rubric of al-wilayat are further categorized into subtypes: appointment, dismissal, pledge of allegiance, leases and contracts regarding the iqta' land revenues, advisory memos regarding religious and public affairs (al-wasaya), and so forth.

The qualifications of a chancery writer were commonly defined as al-balagha wa-husn al-kitaba (''rhetoric eloquence and excellent writing skills''). Some chancery writers were among the finest in classical Arabic literature, such as 'Abd al-Hamid al-Katib, Ibn al-Muqaffa', and Ibn Zaydun. Accordingly, the adab al-katib (''the art and craft of chancery writers'') developed into an academic discipline that encompassed such pursuits as languages (Arabic and Persian); calligraphy and penmanship; rhetoric; phraseology and stylistics; poetry and proverbs; history; geography; architecture; and knowledge of commerce, weights, and measures.

Appendix: Medieval Arabic Archives

The Mount Sinai documents. This is the only extant archive of chancery documents from medieval Egypt, and it is made up mostly of decrees issued by sultans as edicts of protection and privilege to the Greek Orthodox Monastery of St. Catherine's.

The waqf deeds in Cairo. This collection includes some nine hundred deeds of waqf (religious endowments drawn up on behalf of the sultan and other officials); these are the only Egyptian ''state'' documents from before the Ottoman conquest.

Arabic documents from European archives. Certain European archives (Venice, Genoa, the crown archives of Aragon, Palermo) house a number of Arabic documents, mainly treaties and diplomatic correspondence of the Mamluk sultanates.

Arabic documents from Jerusalem. These are Mamluk chancery writings preserved in the Franciscan Custodia Terrae Sanctae in Jerusalem.

In addition, some non-archival collections—the Cairo Geniza, ''the Vienna papers,'' and the Haram al-Sharif documents in Jerusalem—contain random chancery documents (see Further Reading).

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ARISTOTLE AND ARISTOTELIANISM

The rise of philosophy and theology in Arabic Islamic civilization was accompanied by the reception of the Aristotelian canon of the rational sciences. Developing in close contact with Near Eastern Hellenism—at home in Syria and Mesopotamia—the urban culture of Islam not only received the practical arts and sciences of the Greeks from a continuous tradition of teaching and learned transmission but also adopted Greek concepts and methods of reasoning into the disciplines of theology and the law.

Early reports from Umayyad Damascus (seventh–eighth centuries CE) bear witness to the first exchanges of the arts, crafts, and practical knowledge and also a few translations in the fields of popular wisdom and political ethics (e.g., the correspondence of Aristotle with Alexander the Great). After the shift of power to Iraq and the Iranian East under the ‘Abbasid caliphate (from 750), the reception of the practical sciences and the progressive Arabization of the Near East under Islamic rule led to a massive translation movement from Persian, Greek, and Syriac–Aramaic sources into Arabic, first in Baghdad and the Eastern provinces and soon in all of the urban centers of the Near East. Initially, Iranian traditions in astrology, medicine, and popular ethics were

predominant. From the turn of the ninth century began the triumphant advance of the Greek authorities and their basic manuals, particularly the mathematics of Euclid, the astronomy and astrology of Ptolemy, and the medicine of Hippocrates and Galen and their schools. From the beginning, Aristotle accompanied the professional disciplines as a teacher of the encyclopedia of the sciences, the principles of rational deduction, and the scientific conception of the world. Foremost in the center of interest—and first translated—were Aristotle's writings about physics and natural science: *Physics,* about the principles of natural processes; *On the Heavens,* about the celestial cosmos; *On Generation and Corruption,* about composition and change of the elements; *Meteorology,* about sublunar phenomena, and the *Books on Animals*, about the natural history of the animate creatures.

In the milieu of rationalist theologians supported by the early 'Abbasid court and its administration, interreligious debate fostered a growing interest in hermeneutics and logic. Methods of syllogistic reasoning entered legal and dogmatic deduction. What is more, monotheistic theology sought solutions of its aporias—the antinomy between the absolute One and the multiple phenomena of created being, the chasm between the transcendent, ineffable First Cause and the possibility of knowledge via the sensible world—in the Aristotelian books about the principles of being and movement and of the soul. Aristotle's authentic *Metaphysics*—his exposition of a science of being *qua* being, and his philosophical theology (i.e., the doctrine of the First Unmoved Mover)—was read in Arabic from the first half of the ninth century. The book *On the Immortality of the Soul* was first read in a paraphrase that stressed the immortality of the rational soul, which was regarded as a substantial, intelligible form. On the other hand, the authentic writings of Aristotle, which were transmitted by the Neoplatonic schools of Athens and Alexandria and their Christian continuators, were accompanied by and harmonized with Neoplatonic texts, which were interpreted excerpts from Plotinus and Proclus published under Aristotle's name: the so-called *Theology of Aristotle* and the Proclean sources of the *Book of the Pure Good,* which was translated into medieval Latin under the title *Liber de Causis*. These connected the doctrine of the First Mover with the model of emanation: creation as an eternal pouring forth from the One, passed on by the Intelligences of the celestial spheres. The interpretation of the Arabic Aristotle identified First Cause, first being, and first intelligence and made this the efficient cause of creation: a creation from nothing.

In this understanding—and applied to the questions discussed in earlier Islamic theology—Arabic Aristotelianism served the philosopher–scientists of the early 'Abbasid society to legitimate rational science as a superior way to establish the true creed of monotheism. On this basis, the versatile al-Kindī (d. after 868) demonstrated the harmony between Islamic monotheism and philosophical principles. From al-Kindī to the branches of his school in Transoxania, from the natural sciences in Jābir ibn Hayyān's alchemy to the Gnostic cosmology of the *Book of the Sincere Brethren* (→ *Ikhwān al-Safā'* → Ismā'īliyya), the sciences of proportions, arithmology, and musical harmony led the rational soul on its way to a vision of the absolute: to the World of Intellect. The cosmic blueprint of this world, as depicted by the progression (creation) and regression (knowledge) of intellect through a cosmic hierarchy of ensouled spheres, was found in the teachings of late Neoplatonism, which harmonized with the Aristotelian and Ptolemaic models of celestial mechanics. Still in the same tradition, the Platonic ethics of knowledge was supplemented with Aristotelian catalogs of virtues and vices in tenth-century ethical handbooks by the Christian Yahyā ibn 'Adī (d. AH 363/974 CE) and by the Iranian Muslim → Miskawayh (d. 421/1030).

In a further phase of reception, Aristotle came to be the authority of an autonomous philosophy that was seen as a universal demonstrative science. The rise of Aristotelian metaphysics and epistemology among the scientific and administrative elite of Islam introduced a more strictly Aristotelian paradigm. Carried by the competitors of al-Kindī's circle inside and outside the 'Abbasid court and its administration—above all by the activity of Qustā ibn Lūqā, Thābit ibn Qurra, and those around Ishāq, the son of Hunayn, as translators and original authors encompassing all of the scientific encyclopedia—science was raised from empeiria to apodeixis. Until the middle of the tenth century, the *Organon* of logic was translated in its entirety, including the *Analytica Posteriora (Book of Demonstration)*, which was regarded as the crown of logic and the basis of epistemology. Finally, all commentaries on the *Corpus Aristotelicum*—from Alexander of Aphrodisias [c. 200 CE]) to the lecture courses of the late Alexandrian school (fifth–sixth centuries)—that could be traced in Syriac versions from the Greek were made accessible by the Christian translators of Baghdad, who taught logic as the leading art of all rational activity (most notably Abū Bishr Mattā and Yahyā ibn 'Adī).

On this basis, al-Fārābī (d. 345/950) founded the philosophy of Islam by integrating prophecy,

revelation, and religious language into the Aristotelian theory of the cosmos and of intellect. Aristotle's Active Intellect—the active momentum in the acquisition of knowledge by the rational soul—is seen as a cosmic entity in a Neoplatonic model, and it serves as a mediator conveying the universal forms in the process of abstraction from the sensible particulars and translating the universals—in the superior mind of the Prophet—into the representations of positive religion. Here the concepts of Aristotelian poetic and rhetoric are employed to build a theory of religious language: the symbols of revealed religion imitate the absolute. From the perspective of metaphysics as the ruling science of being *qua* being, the theoretical and practical sciences and the *Organon* of logic (interpretation and deduction) are integrated into a unified system of the rational sciences, together with their corollaries in the particular disciplines of the religious–linguistic community, theology, jurisprudence, and grammar.

Aristotle is, from this point forward, regarded by his Arabic followers (the falāsifa) as the guarantor of the way toward demonstrable truth, for both the rational sciences and the religious disciplines: the First Teacher, so called by Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna, d. 428/1037). Ibn Sīnā set out to rewrite the *Peripatetic* canon of readings according to the order and under the titles of the Aristotelian works: *Logica, Physica,* and *Metaphysica,* supplemented by the mathematical quadrivium and by the *Canon* of theoretical and practical medicine. His *Summa* of philosophy was based on a new metaphysics that was to supersede Aristotle's. It is Aristotelian in that the universals are bound up with real substances, but they can be abstracted by intellectual analysis, relying on self-evident principles and on demonstrative reasoning; it is Platonic in that the divine mind is given the role of the Active Intellect, conferring the divine illumination necessary for all true and necessary knowledge. Departing from the concepts of substance and accident, essence and existence, matter and form, potentiality and actuality, Ibn Sīnā specified the concept and proof of the divine cause under the terms of Kalām theology. He established the First Cause as the necessary existent that alone has being essentially and that is necessary by itself and not composite of essence and existence. All contingent, temporal being needs a first cause, which is necessary and eternal and confers being upon the creation; together with its eternal cause, the whole of the world coexists eternally. The hierarchy of creation is modeled in a Neoplatonic cosmology: descending from the First Cause over the celestial spheres to the sublunar world of form in matter. The emanation of the forms from the Giver of Forms, the Agent Intellect, into the genera and species of the material substances, corresponds with the Plotinian model of the return of the soul to its origin: to the vision of the intelligible cosmos.

For the religious community, however, this Aristotelian/Neoplatonic cosmology—which implied the eternity of the world—remained a stumbling block, even for those theologians who adopted Aristotelian logic as a basis of rational discourse. The refutation written by the jurist and theologian → al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), who was well versed in philosophy, contested the philosophers' claim that human reason was consistent with God's wisdom, but he nevertheless placed Aristotelian logic and hermeneutic into the service of the religious disciplines. Through al-Ghazālī's adoption of Aristotelian concepts and systematized by the schools of Sunnī Kalām that developed in his wake (→ Fakhr-al-Dīn al-Rāzī), Avicenna's new interpretation of Aristotelian metaphysics shaped the scholarship of later Islamic theology.

Meanwhile, the Aristotelians of the Muslim West (Andalusia and North Africa) took up the challenge of al-Ghazālī: Ibn Bājja (d. 533/1139) in the spirit of al-Fārābī; Ibn Tufayl (d. 581/1185) in an attempt to mediate between Avicenna and al-Ghazālī; and, finally, Ibn Rushd (Averroes, d. 595/1198) in his large-scale defense of the authentic Aristotle, based on extensive commentaries of his works and summaries of his doctrine. Against Avicenna, Averroes purged Aristotle from the elements of Neoplatonism and re-established metaphysics on the basis of Aristotle's physics of real substances, providing the demonstration of being that must precede the demonstration of the cause. The Latin and Hebrew translations of his commentaries became the main sources of Jewish and Christian Aristotelianism during the Middle Ages, lasting until the early Renaissance.

Syntheses of rationalist and religious discourse in the religious community created complex systems of legal demonstration, of speculative theology, and of mystical philosophy. The philosophy of illumination (ishrāq)—as established by Shihāb-al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī (d. 587/1198)—employed the formal epistemology of the *Peripatetics* (i.e., Avicenna) as a metaphor for the process of illumination, going forth from the First Cause, which is first light and highest reality (Avicenna's Necessary Being). Although the "divine Plato" is invoked as an authority, the concepts result from a chain of re-interpretations of Aristotle. For the vision of the cosmic hierarchy, mediating through monads of light between the First and the inner eye of contemplation, the spiritual metaphysics of the Arabic Plotinus provided a proven paradigm that was read by Avicenna as well as his successors until

the theosophy of Safavid Iran (Sadr-al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī, d. 1050/1640).

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ARWA

Daughter of Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Qasim al-Sulayhi and a celebrated Queen of Yemen of the Sulayhid dynasty, Arwa was de facto co-ruler with her husband, Sultan Ahmad al-Mukarram, from 467 AH/1074 CE and sole ruler from 477/1084 until her death in 532/1138, which marked the end of the Sulayhid dynasty. She exercised both political and religious leadership in Yemen on behalf of the Fatimid Isma'ili Caliphs of Egypt for almost sixty years. She became the founder of the Tayyibi Da'wa, independent of Egypt, in 526/1132 after the death of the eleventh Fatimid Caliph al-Amir in 524/1130. She is alternately known as Arwa and Sayyida in many sources and by the popular designation *hurra* (an independent lady) or, as Leila al-Imad would describe her, a "liberated woman."

Arwa was born in 440/1048 and was brought up by her mother-in-law, Asma' bint Shihab, herself a cultured lady known to people as *hurra.* She was married to al-Mukarram ibn 'Ali al-Sulayhi in 458/1066. Many sources, Isma'ili and otherwise, praise Arwa's knowledge of the Qur'anic exegesis, Prophetic hadith, history, and poetry, and her personality and prowess are widely admired. No doubt, they would dare not refer to her by her first name Arwa.

When her husband died, Arwa's minor son 'Ali 'Abd al-Mustansir was named as ruler; however, Arwa exercised complete authority. She was served by several prominent leaders and army commanders. The Qadi 'Imran ibn al-Fadl, who had been 'Ali al-Sulayhi's envoy to the Fatimid Caliph and the Commander of the Sulayhid army but had later fallen out of grace, nevertheless fought for her against the Najahids and was killed in battle in 479/1086. Two Amirs, Abu Himyar Saba' ibn Ahmad al-Sulayhi and Abu 'l-Rabi' 'Amir ibn Sulayman al-Zawahi (both bitter rivals who fought several battles against each other), served Arwa nevertheless and carried out her bidding. Saba' contrived to get the Fatimid Caliph's permission to marry her. She obeyed; the marriage was contracted but never consummated. Saba' remained loyal to her in any case. Both Amirs died around 492/1098. Arwa's two sons, 'Ali and al-Muzaffar, also died near this time. In her sorrow, the Queen turned to yet another, 'Amir al-Mufaddal ibn Abi 'l-Barakat ibn al-Walid al-Himyari, to whom she entrusted her treasury at Mount Ta'kar near Dhu Jibla. He was not able to withstand the inroads made in her realm by the Zuray'ids of Aden, who owed tribute to her but were now falsely claiming to be da is.

The affairs of the Da'wa occupied Arwa. Imam al-Mustansir had appointed her as the Hujja of Yemen, which was the highest rank in the region; in a letter to her in 481/1088, he asked her to supervise the Da'wa in India. Lamak b. Malik al-Hammadi was the Da'i Balagh under her. On his death, also around 492/1098, his son Yahya took charge of the Da'wa. On Yahya's death in 520/1126, the scholar Dhu'ayb ibn Musa al-Wadi'i was entrusted with the affairs of the Da'wa.

In the meantime, Al-Afdal, son of Badr al-Jamali and the dictator in Egypt under the Fatimid Caliph al-Must ali (487–495/1094–1101), had sent, in 513/1119, Ibn Najib al-Dawla as an administrator and Da'i of Yemen, sensing the power vacuum that prevailed after 'Amir al-Mufaddal's death in 504/1110. His conflict with Queen Arwa's Da'wa and the local Amirs prompted the Queen to contrive to get him drowned in the Red Sea. However, she patched up the problem by giving a member of her own Sulayhid family, 'Ali ibn 'Abd Allah, the title of Fakhr al-Khilafa to please the Fatimid Caliph, who now was al-Amir (495–524/1101–1130). By now Arwa had tired of the Fatimid connection. The opportunity for independence came when, on al-Amir's death in Egypt in 524/1130, his minor son al-Tayyib's right to succeed was usurped by his uncle al-Hafiz li-din Allah.

The Queen and her Da'wa under Dhu'ayb declared for Tayyib and severed their relationship with the last Fatimid Caliphs in 526/1132. Dhu'ayb al-Wadi'i was declared the first Da'i Mutlaq of the new Tayyibi Da'wa of Yemen and India, and he was assisted by a valiant Sultan of Jurayb, al-Khattab ibn al-Hasan ibn Abi 'l-Haffaz al-Hamdani, a warrior and a poet. When the enemies pointed out that a woman could not have religious leadership, al-Khattab defended

Arwa's position with the argument that her womanly form is only an outward cover. He stated that one had to look to her inner essence, and he compared her to Maryam, the mother of Jesus; Khadija, the wife of the Prophet Muhammad; and Fatima, the wife of 'Ali.

The power options of the old Queen had now run out. The last Fatimids were supporting the Zuray'ids of Aden and the Hamdanids of San'a'. There were other rivals, such as the Najahids and Mahdids of Zabid, the Sulaymani Sharifs, and the Banu Akk. Arwa realized that the end of her dynasty had come. She died in 532/1138, leaving a long list of her treasures in a will and bequeathing them to the absent Imam Tayyib (i.e., the Da'wa that now continued to exist in Yemen, not as a state but as a community, and which proliferated in India).

Arwa's last supporter, 'Amir al-Khattab, died the next year, in 533/1139, and Yemen was soon inundated by the Ayyubid invasion and conquest in 569/1173.

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See also Sulayhids; Women Rulers

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ASCETICS AND ASCETICISM

The terms *ascetics* and *asceticism* refer first to deliberate austerity as part of a life of devotion. This discussion will chiefly address the ascetics (zuhhad, nussak) of the eighth century CE, who are widely regarded as the forerunners of the Sufis of the later ninth century and after. Some did wear wool (suf), which was scratchy, smelly when wet, and liable to become ragged. However, the term *Sufi* did not appear until the later eighth century, and few of the ascetics whom later Sufi writers regarded as their forebears were expressly called "Sufis" during their lifetimes.

As for austerity, many early exemplars of piety were notable for their poverty. When some Basrans went to visit al-Hasan al-Basri (d. 728) on his sickbed, they found that "there was nothing in the house: no bed, no carpet, no pillow, and no mat except a bed of palm fronds that he was on." His fellow Basran Malik ibn Dinar (d. late 740s) thought the only necessary furniture for one's house was "a prayer mat, a copy of the Qur'an, and a stand for ritual ablutions." The Kufan Dawud al-Ta'i (d. ca. early 780s) would move from room to room of his house as it gradually fell into ruin.

More than particular austerities, early Muslim ascetics had in common their devotion of extraordinary amounts of time to Qur'anic recitation and prayer. *Qari'* ("reciter") became another term for *ascetic.* The Basran Thabit al-Bunani (d. ca. 744–745) recited the whole Qur'an daily and fasted throughout the year (i.e., he abstained from food and drink during daylight hours). The Kufan al-Hasan ibn Salih ibn Hayy (d. 814–815), his brother 'Ali (d. ca. 768–769), and their mother used to recite the Qur'an nightly in shifts; the two brothers continued to do this in shifts after their mother died, and finally al-Hasan performed this task alone after his brother died. 'Amr ibn Dinar, a Meccan jurisprudent (d. 743–744), divided his nights into a third each for sleeping, studying hadith, and performing the ritual prayer. Nighttime devotions had the advantage of taking place outside of most people's observation, and hence they were less likely to be performed merely to impress others. Makhul of Damascus (d. 730s) asserted, "There are two eyes that will not be touched by Hellfire: an eye that has wept for fear of God and an eye that has stayed awake out of sight of the Muslims."

Morally, the early ascetics cultivated sadness and fear—sadness especially over past sins and fear of judgment to come. They interpreted the Qur'an as enjoining such sadness and fear. The chief point of austerity was to keep one's attention on the important things, mainly God and future judgment. When

someone suggested to al-Hasan al-Basri that he wash his shirt, he replied, "I cannot but see that the matter is more pressing than that." Malik ibn Dinar gave away a pot because it made him fear its being stolen. Practically, it was probably difficult to make a good living if one stayed up every night to recite and pray.

Disparagement of outward austerity seems to have arisen during about the last third of the eighth century. Ascetics such as al-Hasan al-Basri had called for inward dispositions to match the outward ones, but Sufyan ibn 'Uyayna, a Kufan, who was active mainly in Mecca (d. 814), went further, calling for inward detachment alone: "Renunciation means shortness of hope, not eating poorly." Al-Shafi'i (d. 820) and Ibn Hanbal (d. 855) likewise considered poverty no necessary part of an ideally righteous lifestyle. At the same time, there arose more extreme forms of asceticism. Shaqiq al-Balkhi (d. 809–810) rejected all deliberate pursuit of gain, teaching that the pious should live on alms alone. Tawakkul (dependence [on God]) came to be practiced with such recklessness that ascetics would set off on journeys across the desert without carrying food or water, expecting to be sustained accidentally; that is, by divine provision alone. As it crystallized around al-Junayd (d. ca. 911), Sufism repudiated the most extreme forms of austerity in favor of inward dependence on God. Moderate asceticism remained an important part of ideal religious deportment among Sufis and non-Sufis alike until modern times.

Sociologists have used the term *asceticism* to refer to the piety that stresses obedience to the transcendent deity. They contrast it with *mysticism,* which is defined as the piety that stresses communion with the immanent deity. Islamic law is a major expression of Islamic asceticism in this sense (i.e., Sufism or Islamic mysticism). A predominantly mystical piety seems to emerge in the literary record during the mid-ninth century, in the generation before al-Junayd.

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See also Al-Hasan al-Basri; Hadith; Sufis

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ASKIYA MUHAMMAD TOUARE

After the death of Sunni Ali in 1492, his son Abu Bakr succeeded him as the ruler of the Songhay Empire, for which Sunni Ali's father had laid the foundations. However, Abu Bakr was soon overthrown by one of Sunni Ali's generals, a person of mixed Soninke/Songhay origin. This ruler took the title of Askiya, and he ruled from 1493 until 1529. Under his rule, the Songhay Empire gained territory and increased its hegemony throughout its territory as well as its vassal states; the empire's influence stretched from Hausa-land (present-day northern Nigeria) to present-day Senegal. Several of Askiya Muhammad's conquests were, however, temporary, and debate surrounds which areas were dominated and to what extent. Askiya Mohammad is said to have gone on a pilgrimage to Mecca, launched a series of military campaigns to expand the empire, and spread the word of Islam throughout the region; he was deposed by his son Askiya Musa, who exiled him.

Currently Askiya Muhammad and his empire are considered to be the historical predecessors of the Republic of Niger, and they are extensively celebrated in oral tradition. These oral accounts, which suggest his downfall resulted from his policy of following both Islam and pagan tradition, appear to be modeled on modern themes of interest, and they do not provide information about the historical figure of Askiya Muhammad.

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See also Sunni Ali; Songhay Empire

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ASSASSINS: ISMAILI

Assassin is a name that was applied originally by the Crusader circles in the Near East and other medieval Europeans to the Nizari Ismailis of Syria. From the opening decade of the twelfth century, the Crusaders had numerous encounters with the Syrian Nizaris,

who reached the peak of their power under the leadership of Rashid al-Din Sinan (d. 1193 CE), their most famous dai and the original "Old Man of the Mountain" of the Crusaders. It was, indeed, in Sinan's time (1163–1193) that the Crusaders and their European observers became particularly impressed by the highly exaggerated reports and rumors about the daring behavior of the Nizari *fidais,* who were devotees who selectively targeted and removed their community's prominent enemies in specific localities. As a result, the Nizari Ismailis became famous in Europe as the Assassins, the followers of the mysterious "Old Man of the Mountain."

The term *assassin,* which appeared in European languages in a variety of forms (e.g., assassini, assissini, and heyssisini), was evidently based on variants of the Arabic word *hashishi* (pl. *hashishiyya, hashishin*). The latter was applied by other Muslims to Nizaris in the pejorative senses of "low-class rabble" or "people of lax morality," without any derivative explanation reflecting any special connection between the Nizaris and hashish, a product of hemp. This term of abuse was picked up locally in Syria by the Crusaders and European travelers and adopted as the designation of the Nizari Ismailis. Subsequently, after the etymology of the term had been forgotten, it came to be used in Europe as a noun meaning "murderer." Thus, a misnomer rooted in abuse eventually resulted in a new word, *assassin,* in European languages.

Medieval Europeans—and especially the Crusaders—who remained ignorant of Islam as a religion and of its internal divisions were also responsible for fabricating and disseminating (in the Latin Orient as well as in Europe) a number of interconnected legends about the secret practices of the Nizaris, the so-called "assassin legends." In particular, the legends sought to provide a rational explanation for the seemingly irrational self-sacrificing behavior of the Nizari fidais; as such, they revolved around the recruitment and training of the youthful devotees. The legends developed in stages from the time of Sinan and throughout the thirteenth century. Soon, the seemingly blind obedience of the fidais to their leader was attributed, by their occidental observers, to the influence of an intoxicating drug like hashish. There is no evidence that suggests that hashish or any other drug was used in any systematic fashion to motivate the fidais; contemporary non-Ismaili Muslim sources that are generally hostile toward the Ismailis remain silent on this subject. In all probability, it was the abusive name *hashishi* that gave rise to the imaginative tales disseminated by the Crusaders.

The assassin legends culminated in a synthesized version that was popularized by Marco Polo, who combined the hashish legend with a number of other legends and also added his own contribution in the form of a secret "garden of paradise," where the fidais supposedly received part of their training. By the fourteenth century, the assassin legends had acquired wide currency in Europe and the Latin Orient, and they were accepted as reliable descriptions of the secret practices of the Nizari Ismailis, who were generally portrayed in European sources as a sinister order of drugged assassins. Subsequently, Westerners retained the name *assassins* as a general reference to the Nizari Ismailis, although the term had now become a new common noun in European languages meaning "murderer." It was A.I. Silvestre de Sacy (1758–1838) who succeeded in solving the mystery of the name and its etymology, although he and the other orientalists continued to endorse various aspects of the assassin legends. Modern scholarship in Ismaili studies, which is based on authentic Ismaili sources, has now begun to deconstruct the Assassin legends that surround the Nizari Ismailis and their fidais—legends rooted in hostility and imaginative ignorance.

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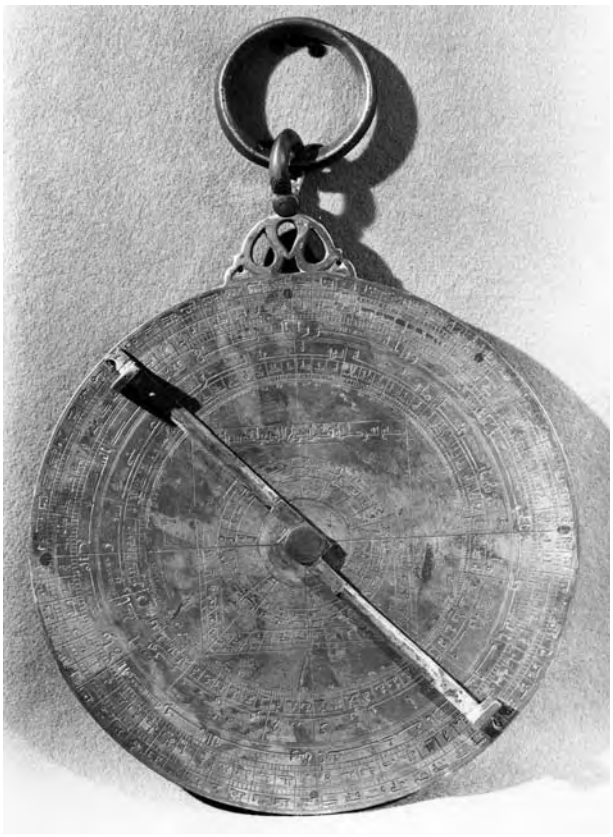
ASTROLABES

The astrolabe is a two-dimensional representation of the three-dimensional celestial sphere, a model of the universe that one can hold in one's hand. The representation is achieved by a mathematical procedure known as stereographic projection. There is a "celestial" part called the *rete,* which is a cutout frame with star pointers for various bright stars and a ring for the ecliptic (the path of the sun against the background of the stars). Next, there is a "terrestrial" part that consists of a set of plates for different latitudes, with markings for the local horizon and altitude circles up to the zenith and azimuth circles around the horizon. The rete is placed on top of the appropriate plate, and the ensemble fits in a hollowed-out frame called the *mater.* On the back of the mater is a



Astrolabe. From Cordoba. Moorish, 1154. Engraved with the Latin Julian calendar in Italy during the fourteenth century c. Credit: Bridgeman-Giraudon/Art Resource, NY. Jagellon Library Museum, Cracow, Poland.

viewer called the *alidade* that is used for measuring the altitude of any celestial body, and there are also scales for finding the position of the sun using the date, for measuring shadows, and often for obtaining additional information. If one rotates the rete over one of the plates, one can simulate the apparent daily rotation of the sun or the starry heavens above the horizon of the observer. The passage of time is measured by the rotation of the rete (360 degrees corresponds to 24 hours). In addition, one can investigate the position of the ecliptic relative to the local horizon and meridian; these are configurations of prime importance in astrology.

The astrolabe is a Greek invention that was inherited by the Muslims during the eighth century and much developed by them thereafter. It was the favorite instrument of the Muslim astronomers, and hundreds survive, although only about 150 of them are from before 1500. Below are some of the most historically important examples.

- An astrolabe that was preserved until recently in the Archaeological Museum in Baghdad can be dated to the late eighth century. It has a Hellenistic design for the rete and plates for each of the climates of antiquity. The star positions are wrong (they are based on Greek coordinates updated with the incorrect Greek value of precession), proving that the instrument predates the Baghdad observations of the early ninth century.
- One of a dozen astrolabes surviving from 'Abbasid Baghdad and Buwayhid Isfahan was made by the astronomer al-Khujandî in 984. Already the astrolabe is a scientific work of art; it is richly decorated with a quatrefoil and zoomorphic star pointers, and it has highly accurate markings. (The so-called Astrolabe of Pope Sylvester II, which has featured in several exhibitions, is nothing more than an unsigned, undated astrolabe from 'Abbasid Baghdad with some dubious nineteenth-century Italian additions on the back.)
- Of some dozen and a half astrolabes from al-Andalus, all from the eleventh century, one made in Cordova in 1054 bears later additional markings in Hebrew on the plates for Cordova and Toledo, and another bears later medieval Catalan additions. The study of the second and further layers of inscriptions is particularly rewarding for investigating the later fate of individual instruments.
- Some two dozen astrolabes survive from Ayyubid and Mamluk Egypt and Syria, and their variety reflects the colorful tradition of astronomy there. Of these, the remarkable universal astrolabe of Ibn al-Sarrâj (made in Aleppo in 1328) is the most sophisticated astrolabe ever made. It can be used for any latitude in five different ways. An astrolabe with numbers in Coptic alphanumerical notation has been dated to 1282 and comes from Cairo.
- An astrolabe signed by the Yemeni Prince al-Ashraf in 1291 was deemed suspicious until (1) it was established that there was a vibrant tradition of astronomy in Yemen from the tenth to the nineteenth century (which was confirmed by the finding of many Yemeni manuscripts about astronomy) and (2) that there is a manuscript in Cairo of a treatise on the construction of the astrolabe authored by and penned by the prince himself. Appended to this are some notes of approval (ijâzas) in the handwriting of the prince's teachers describing six astrolabes that he made under their supervision and authorizing him to continue making the instruments.
- Alas, none of the instruments made for the fourteenth-century Delhi Sultan Fïrûz Shâh

Tughluq [q.v.], which are described in a historical work, survive. Some were made in silver and others in gold and silver; others were very large. The earliest surviving astrolabe from Muslim India, which is half a meter in diameter, can be associated with Maqsûd Hirawî in Lahore (c. 1550). He is known from a contemporaneous chronicle to have made astrolabes and globes for Humâyûn "in such a manner that the observers of his work were wonderstruck."

- On an astrolabe signed by Jalâl al-Kirmânî and dated 1426, the name on the dedication to the throne has been eradicated, although the person it was made for was obviously a prince of some importance. Special plates serve Samarqand and Herat; Jalâl al-Asturlâbî is named as the instrument maker at the observatory of Ulugh Beg in Samarqand, and that ruler commuted between the two cities. A solitary unsigned rete obviously by the same maker is fitted to a magnificent thirteenth-century Syrian astrolabe (damaged booty from the Mongol attack on Damascus, perhaps) and is dated a few years earlier. Of the dedication to a sultan on the new rete, only the letter's title remains intact; the name of Shâhrukh has been broken off.
- An astrolabe now in Cairo is dedicated to the Ottoman Sultan Bayazid II, who was particularly interested in astronomy. The maker is named as Mukhlis al-Shirwânî, so it is not surprising that the instrument is in the Iranian tradition.
- Perhaps the most colorful example is a quatrefoil astrolabe that has inscriptions in Hebrew, Latin, and Arabic. It was made around 1300, probably in Toledo, and the bare instrument was made by a Jewish craftsman, who left scratches in Hebrew alphanumerical script for the latitudes on each of the plates. The design of the rete is European, with strong mudéjar influence. The inscriptions on the rete and the plates are in a scholastic Latin, with very distorted Arabic names for the stars and some regional peculiarities that could eventually localize the engraver. However, the back was never completed by the scholar, and the piece fell into the hands of a Muslim Arab, who put his name, Mas'ûd, on the shackle of the throne. He also had plans to emigrate to more hospitable climes: he replaced one of the plates with one of his own that served Algiers and Mecca. He seems to have been at least partly successful, because there is an Ibn Mas'ûd who was born in Tlemcen at the right time who later wrote on instruments. In any case, the creator's father's astrolabe ended up in Northern France by the sixteenth century, according to a fourth layer of markings.

Arabic treatises about the construction and use of the astrolabe abound. The earliest surviving one was written by al-Khwârizmî (now published), but those by al-Farghânî and al-Bîrûnî (still unpublished) are the most important.

The second most popular astronomical instrument of the Muslims was the quadrant, of which several varieties were available. Below three types of quadrants are considered: (1) horary quadrants; (2) trigonometric quadrants; and (3) astrolabic quadrants.

The horary quadrant is essentially a device for keeping time using the sun. It bears a set of markings that are graphical representations of the altitude of the sun at the hours throughout the year. The user holds the quadrant vertically with one axis toward the sun, and a movable bead on a thread with plummet, set to the appropriate solar longitude, falls on the appropriate markings to determine the hour of the day. The horary markings are either for a specific latitude or for all latitudes, with markings of the latter variety being necessarily approximate. Both types of quadrants were invented in Baghdad during the ninth century. Quadrants for a fixed latitude are known to exist for Rayy and Cairo (both from the thirteenth century), and they are also found on the backs of two astrolabes from Baghdad (tenth century). However, tables displaying the altitude of the sun as a function of the time of day for, say, each sign of the ecliptic (which one needs to construct the markings on such a quadrant) are known to be from ninth-century Baghdad. Quadrants for all latitudes are much more common, not least because they were often included on the backs of astrolabes. They provide a quick means of finding the time in seasonal hours for any latitude, whereas, with the front of the astrolabe, one can—with more effort—find the time in equatorial hours or seasonal hours for any latitude represented by the plates.

Another Islamic invention was the trigonometric quadrant, with which one can solve trigonometric formulae without any calculation. The simplest kind was developed for timekeeping in ninth-century Baghdad, and the most sophisticated kind, with markings resembling modern graph paper, was known already in the tenth century. Quadrants with such markings were often included on the backs of astrolabes or on the backs of astrolabic quadrants. This last type, which was developed in Cairo around 1200, essentially consists of half of the markings on a standard astrolabe plate (necessarily serving a single latitude), with an ecliptic scale and a thread with a movable

bead. With such a handy device, one can perform most of the standard operations that are possible with an astrolabe. It replaced the astrolabe as the most popular instrument in the Ottoman world.

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ASTROLOGY

Astrology as it was practiced in the Muslim world is divided into two types: judicial astrology (ahkam al-nujum) and popular astrology. The former type seeks to use the Ptolemaic understanding of the cosmos and to find patterns in it that can be helpful for prognosticating the future of a given individual or group. Although judicial astrology as such is a pseudoscience, the tables used by Muslim astrologers—who were often undifferentiated from astronomers (both being referred to as *munajjim*) until approximately the twelfth to fifteenth centuries—were remarkable achievements of mathematics and gematria. Popular astrology combined the lore of judicial astrology with Sufi teachings and continues to this day to be part of mystic literature.

The Muslim attitude toward astrology is somewhat ambiguous. One statement concerning the subject reads: "The [pre-Islamic] Arabs specialized in (several) faculties: in soothsaying, in prognostication *(qiyafa)*, augury by the flight of birds *('ayafa)*, astronomy–astrology, and gematrical calculations; Islam destroyed soothsaying and confirmed the rest of them." (al-Zubayr ibn al-Bakkar. *Akhbar al-Muwaffaqiyyat*, 300 [no. 213].) Most of the paradigmatic astrologers, such as Abu Ma'shar (d. AH 273/886 CE), held prominent positions in society and were frequently advisors to rulers and elites. Many of the most famous astrologers were non-Muslims, such as the Jewish figure Masha'allah (c. third/ninth centuries). In addition to this proximity to power, many famous scientists and astronomers, such as Abu Rayhan al-Biruni (d. 440/1048–1049), either practiced astrology on the side or at least wrote books on the subject. However, starting in the tenth century, Muslim religious scholars began to cast doubt on the religious acceptability of astrology. Their task was a difficult one, because astrologers seemed to have access to genuine knowledge. Al-Sharif al-Murtada (the famous Shi'i theologian of Baghdad, d. 436/1044–1045), stated the following:

> ...how can we say that the astrologers are guessing [about their predictions] when their dictions are almost invariably right? They predict solar eclipses—their time and extent—and it happens exactly as they say it will. What is the difference between their prediction of the happening with this effect up that body [the sun] and their prediction of the happening with its effect upon our bodies?
>
> (Rasa il, vol. 2, pp. 301–2.)

This dilemma and the fact that astrologers commanded a good deal of social prestige during the Umayyad and 'Abbasid periods made it more difficult for religious leaders to deal with the subject of astrology.

The most successful method of polemicizing with the astrologers was ridicule. Because most of Muslim history was written by religious leaders, there are abundant examples of their attempts to discredit the astrologers. Occasionally astrologers made verifiably incorrect predictions, the most famous of which was a deluge of fire and water that was supposed to occur on August 17, 1186. The Ghaznavid historian al-'Utbi writes the following:

> In the year 582 [1186–1187] the sign Libra had assembled within itself the seven planets; and it had been for a long time reported in men's mouths and in their books, that the astrologers had averred their judgment that at this time there would be a deluge of wind three kos [about two miles] long, and as some said ten kos wide, which would extend over twenty kos of ground, which would carry off high mountains, so that neither men nor beasts would remain, and at this time would be the season of the judgment, which according to the glorious Qur'an, to histories and by investigation is to come.
>
> (al-'Utbi, Ta rikh-i Yamini, transl. James Reynolds, p. 489)

This prediction was recorded all over the Muslim world from Ghazna in the east to Spain, and it reached Europe as well. The disconfirmation of their

prediction was cause for the appearance of a large number of treatises attacking astrology, including that of the Jewish philosopher and community leader Maimonides.

However, astrology continued to be important for the Sufi mystical systems, especially those that were based on the thought of Muhyi al-Din Ibn al-'Arabi (d. 638/1240). This construction of astrological spirituality promoted the idea that there was a close correlation between the seen cosmos and the unseen spiritual cosmos. On the basis of this idea, one could ascend spiritually to the upper realms and experience them while still bodily upon the earth. These ideas continue to be influential in Sufi circles, although astrologers as a whole suffered from diminishing prestige after the Mamluk period. However, it was rare to find a court without an astrologer before modern times.

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ASTRONOMY

Islamic astronomy grew out of conditions in the Umayyad and 'Abbasid Caliphates. The Umayyads had initially preserved the preexisting administrative apparatus of the lands they conquered. However, when the caliph 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan (d. 705 CE) decided to translate the administrative apparatus of the Empire into Arabic, information about surveying and calendar calculation also had to be translated into Arabic for the benefit of ministers and scribes who could not read Persian or Greek. The 'Abbasids, after coming to power in 750, invoked the pre-Islamic Sasanian cultural heritage to stabilize their rule. Original research in astronomy was part of an ongoing dialectic with translation, not merely its subsequent effect.

Although the Hellenistic influence would eventually predominate in Islamic astronomy, the earliest translations, under the Umayyads and 'Abbasids, involved ephemerides (zij, pl. azyaj) of Indian and Persian provenance. An ephemeris contained tables of planetary positions and the necessary theoretical explanations of how to use the tables. A zij was designed for applications such as calendar calculations and astrological forecasting, and the caliph al-Mansur consulted astrologers to great public effect when he commenced the construction of the new 'Abbasid capital at Baghdad. Al-Khwarizmi's (d. 833) original Zij al-Sindhind was the first complete text of Islamic astronomy to survive, although only in a Latin version of the original Arabic. Although most of the parameters in the zij were of Indian origin, the text was influenced by Ptolemy's (fl. 125–150) *Handy Tables.* First, al-Khwarizmi's *Zij al-Sindhind*, the source of which was the Sanskrit work of Brahmagupta, demonstrated that, although Islamic astronomers knew of Ptolemy's work, they would never accept it uncritically. Second, little time elapsed between Islamic astronomers' awareness of Ptolemy's parameters and the ninth-century translations of Ptolemy's *opus magnum*, *Almagest*.

Astronomers translated *Almagest* into Arabic during the beginning of the ninth century, and it would prove to be the most influential Greek text for Islamic astronomers. Two different Arabic translations survive, and reports exist of two others. As these translations were occurring, astronomers reassessed important parameters, and they found, notably, that the aphelion (the point of the sun's greatest distance from the earth) moved. In addition, Islamic astronomers criticized Ptolemy's views about how orbs could move. Specifically, during the ninth century, Muhammad ibn Musa argued that one orb could not move another with which it is concentric. By the eleventh century, Islamic astronomers detected the most famous physical inconsistency of *Almagest:* the equant problem. In the models for Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn, Ptolemy's mathematical analysis showed that the planet's mean motion, which he attributed to a single orb, was not uniform about the center of that sphere. Nor was that motion uniform about the center of the universe: instead it was uniform about another point, called the *equant.* The discovery of the equant posed a problem from a physical standpoint, because spheres had to move about axes passing through their centers. Ibn al-Haytham's (d. c. 1040) *al-Shukuk 'ala Batlamiyus (Doubts Concerning Ptolemy)* enumerated the problems associated with the equant.

In addition, by the eleventh century, religious scholars and philosophers questioned the metaphysical assumptions of astrology, in part because of their threat to God's absolute unity and in part because astrological predictions could be wrong. As a result, a new field of astronomical study was generated, known as 'ilm al-hay'a (''science of the configuration''), whereas astrology came to be known most frequently as 'ilm ahkam al-nujum (''science of the judgments of the stars''). The genre of 'ilm al-hay'a became the locus for most of Islamic astronomy's subsequent achievements. Beginning during the mid-thirteenth century, Islamic astronomers proposed new models that preserved Ptolemy's models' correspondence with observations and that yet did not suffer from the physical inconsistencies of the equant. In other words, these astronomers all retained the equant, because it was the point about which the planet's mean motion was uniform; however, they no longer posited that the axis of any orb's uniform motion would pass through the equant. The early figures in this line of research who wrote 'ilm al-hay'a texts—such as Mu'ayyad al-Din al-'Urdi (d. 1259), Nasir al-Din al-Tusi (d. 1274), and Qutb al-Din al-Shirazi (d. 1311)—were associated with the Maragha observatory in Azerbayjan. Later figures, such as Sadr al-Shari'a (d. 1347) and Ibn al-Shatir (d. 1375), are said to belong to the Maragha school of thought. Recent research has shown that the construction of non-Ptolemaic models continued at least into the sixteenth century, when Shams al-Din al-Khafri (d. 1525) proposed multiple mathematically equivalent models for the complicated motions of the planet Mercury.

Astronomers in Andalusia, too, produced works of significance. Before the twelfth century, widely circulated contributions of theirs were the Toledan Tables and models for variations in the precession and retrocession of the equinoxes, known as *trepidation.* During the twelfth century, philosophers such as Ibn Bajja (d. 1138) and Ibn Rushd (d. 1198) advocated a reading of Aristotle's *Physics* that led one astronomer, al-Bitruji (fl. ca. 1217), to propose astronomical models based solely on homocentric orbs. That constraint meant that al-Bitruji's models could not approach the predictive accuracy of the Maragha astronomers' models or of those of Ptolemy. A fourteenth-century attempt to improve on al-Bitruji departed from his strict insistence on homocentric spheres. 'Ilm al-hay'a texts were also distinctly Islamic inasmuch as they contained sections about locating the qibla (the direction of prayer). Back in the ninth century, the need to determine the qibla spurred new developments in spherical trigonometry. During the eleventh century, al-Biruni's (d. 1048) *Exhaustive Treatise on Shadows* explained the calculation of prayer times according to the shadow cast by a gnomon. The relationship between astronomy and religious scholarship became closer during the thirteenth century, when information about astronomy began to appear in texts of *kalam* (speculative investigations about God) and in Qur'an commentaries. Besides the famous example of Ibn al-Shatir being employed as a timekeeper in the Great Mosque of Damascus, Qutb al-Din al-Shirazi, Sadr al-Shari'a, and Shams al-Din al-Khafri were all religious scholars of note. The research of David King, in particular, has shown that not only did astronomers develop highly sophisticated applications of astronomy to religious problems but that there was also a parallel popular literature that answered the same questions in a less exacting—but no less complex—manner.

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See also Mathematical Geography; Astrology; Intellectual History; Translation, Pre-Islamic Learning into Arabic

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'ATTAR, FARID AL-DIN

A celebrated Persian poet and Sufi hagiographer, 'Attar lived during the second half of the twelfth century CE and the first two or three decades of the thirteenth century in or near Nishapur. According to the most commonly received scholarly opinion, he died during the Mongol sack of Nishapur in April 1221, but 1230 also remains a possibility. Reliable biographical information about him is scarce, and many supposed autobiographical indications derive from works that have turned out to be spurious. It is nevertheless clear that he was known as an expert pharmacist. He appears to have had close ties with the well-known Sufi of Khwarazm, Majd al-Din Baghdadi (d. 1209 or later) or with one of his disciples, Ahmad Khwari, in Nishapur. However, 'Attar generally had very little to say about the Sufis of his own time, and he never mentioned anyone as his own Sufi master,

whereas he obviously admired the great Sufi saints (awliya’) of the past. Unlike his famous counterpart among the Sufi poets, Mawlana Rumi (d. 1273), he does not seem to have played any active role in organized Sufism. The oft-repeated story of ‘Attar meeting young Rumi in Nishapur belongs to the realm of succession myths (F.D. Lewis, 2000). The literary historian Muhammad ‘Awfi, who visited Nishapur around 1200, describes ‘Attar as a pious, withdrawn Sufi and a fine mystical poet. ‘Awfi cites examples from ‘Attar’s lyrical poetry but does not comment on his mathnawis (narrative poems). Another early account comes from the Shi‘i scholar and philosopher Nasir al-Din al-Tusi (1201–1274), who visited ‘Attar personally when he was a student in Nishapur. Tusi was impressed with the old poet’s ‘‘eloquence’’ and his way of interpreting the ‘‘discourse of the [Sufi] masters, the knowers [of God] and the spiritual guides,’’ as he later put it to his student Ibn al-Fuwati (d. 1323). The latter, in his report, adds a reference to ‘Attar’s complete collection of lyrical poetry (his ‘‘great *Diwan*’’) and to one of his mathnawis, the ‘‘Mantiq al-Tayr.’’

A number of works attributed to ‘Attar were in fact written by a later poet using the same pen name or have otherwise turned out to be falsely attributed to the famous ‘Attar. This applies not only to those works portraying him as a fervent Shi‘i but also to the so-called *Khusraw-Nama* (also known as *Gul-u-Hurmuz)*, a romance that was regarded as authentic until recently, and the spuriousness of which has been convincingly demonstrated by contemporary Iranian scholarship (M.R. Shafi‘i-Kadkani, 1996 and 1999). ‘Attar’s authentic works include, in addition to the *Diwan* and a selection of quatrains titled *Mukhtar-Nama,* four great mathnawis that are mentioned in the introduction to the latter work in the following order: ‘‘Ilahi-Nama’’ (properly called ‘‘Khusraw-Nama’’), ‘‘Asrar-Nama,’’ ‘‘Mantiq al-Tayr’’ (or ‘‘Maqamat al-Tuyur’’), and ‘‘Musibat-Nama.’’ It is not clear whether this sequence also reflects their relative chronological order; references to the poet’s advanced age in the first two would rather speak against such an assumption. ‘Attar’s prose work about the saints, *Tadhkirat al-Awliya’,* is nowhere mentioned by the poet himself, but there is no good reason to question the authenticity of its first part (i.e., the part ending with the entry about al-Hallaj).

The most famous among the mathnawis is the ‘‘Mantiq al-Tayr.’’ This is the tale of the mystical journey of the birds through seven valleys in search of their mythical king, Simurgh, a cosmic bird of ancient Iranian lore, who turns out to be their real Self. The theme of the journey of the birds had been used long before ‘Attar as a symbol for the soul’s attempt to approach God in philosophical (Ibn Sina) and Sufi (Ghazali) literature; however, ‘Attar’s adaptation is by far the most poetic and mystical. The main theme of the ‘‘Musibat-Nama’’ is also a mystical journey, but this time the wayfarer is thought itself (fikrat), guided by a master who is not of this world, although he must be found in this world. This journey leads the wayfarer through forty encounters with fantastic angelic, human, and purely physical beings to the recognition that he has to submerge himself in the Ocean of the Soul: only then can the ‘‘journey *in* God’’ begin. In the ‘‘Ilahi-Nama’’, a king/caliph teaches his six sons how to transform their worldly desires into related spiritual aims. The ‘‘Asrar-Nama’’ is, despite its mathnawi form, not really a tale but rather a meditation on the themes of death and resurrection.

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See also Rumi; Saints; Nishapur; Mystical Poetry; Nasir al-Din al-Tusi; Ghazeli; Al-Hallaj

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AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL WRITINGS

Extended first-person narrative was a recognized and frequently practiced form of writing in premodern Arabic, Persian, and Turkish. The earliest known example in Arabic is the autobiography of the physician Burzoe, translated from Sanskrit into Pahlavi in Sasanian times and later from Pahlavi into Arabic by Ibn al-Muqaffa' (d. ca. 759 CE). The author describes his search for a satisfactory belief system, his rejection of formal religion, and his adoption of asceticism. More directly influential, however, were translations from Greek. The self-bibliographies of the Roman physician Galen inspired the Nestorian translator Hunayn ibn Ishaq (d. 873 or 877) to write a similar catalog of his own works and possibly to also write—or have written for him—a defense against the accusations of iconoclasm brought against him by his coreligionists. Similarly, the life of Socrates served as a model for al-Razi (also known as Rhazes, d. 925 or 935), who wrote a defense of his own pursuit of the philosophical life. The tradition of philosophical autobiography was later followed by Ibn Sina (also known as Avicenna, d. 1036) and Ibn al-Haytham (also known as Alhazen, d. ca. 1039). The related genre of autobiographies by physicians is exemplified by the work of Ibn Ridwan (d. 1061), who includes details about his humble birth, his struggle for recognition, and his unhappy family life, along with a description of a typical workday.

Another productive strand of first-person narrative was that of the mystics. The first such texts to have survived are those of al-Muhasibi (d. c. 857) and al-Hakim al-Tirmidhi (d. between 905 and 910). The former is a brief account of the author's conversion experience, whereas the latter begins with the author's birth and ends with the revelation of the sublime Name of God—not to the author but to his wife. The most famous example in this genre, the autobiography of al-Ghazali (d. 1111), combines the philosophical and mystical modes of self-presentation. The author describes the crisis of faith brought on by his study of philosophy, his subsequent search for truth among representatives of different Muslim traditions, and his final decision to join the Sufi mystics. Later Sufi biographies include those of Ruzbihan al-Baqli (d. 1209), who describes the mystical visions that he received beginning at the age of fifteen; Rukn al-Dawla al-Simnani (d. 1336), who served as a companion to a Buddhist prince before undergoing a conversion experience on the battlefield; and 'Abd al-Wahhab al-Sha'rani (d. 1565), whose extensive autobiography offers a detailed account of his personal and professional life. There are also autobiographical accounts of conversion to Islam, including that of the Jew Samaw'al al-Maghribi (d. 1174) and the Christian Anselmo Turmeda (d. 1432?).

To be included among works of an autobiographical character are memoirs, which combine descriptions of the author's own experience with accounts of contemporary events. Examples include the works of Ja'far al-Hajib (d. ca. 954), a partisan of the first Fatimid caliph; al-Mu'ayyad al-Shirazi (d. 1077), a Fatimid missionary and holy warrior; Ibn Buluqqin (d. ca. 1090), the last Zirid ruler of Granada; Abu Bakr al-Baydhaq (d. after 1164), a companion of Ibn Tumart, the founder of the Almohad dynasty; Umara al-Yamani (d. 1175), a poet executed by Saladin for his Fatimid sympathies; Usama ibn Munqidh (d. 1188), who provides a description of the European crusaders; and 'Imad al-Din al-Isfahani (d. 1201), whose account of Saladin's reign emphasizes his own role in the events he describes. Works of this type are sometimes difficult to separate from the autobiographies of historians, such as those by Abu Shama (d. 1268), a historian of Damascus, and Ibn Khaldun (d. 1406), whose autobiography—originally an appendix to his work on history—records his meeting with Tamerlane.

Aside from autobiographies that appear as more or less independent works, there are many examples that take the form of entries in biographical dictionaries. In some cases, biographers interviewed their subjects and produced entries of an autobiographical character. In other cases, subjects prepared accounts of themselves to be used by their biographers. An example of both cases is the entry about Ibn al-'Adim (d. 1262) by Yaqut al-Hamawi (d. 1229), which combines extracts from the subject's autobiography with oral testimony taken during the course of an interview with the author. Biographers and historians commonly included an entry about themselves in their works. Many of these entries are concise accounts of the author's education, but some—such as that of the Shi'i jurist Yusuf al-Bahrani (d. 1772)—contain information of a more personal character. Occasionally a religious scholar would abandon the

convention of self-restraint and write an extended account of his career. The best-known example is the autobiography of the Hadith scholar, linguist, exegete, jurist, and historian al-Suyuti (d. 1505), which is organized thematically rather than chronologically.

The convention of writing autobiographies was carried from Arabic into Persian and Turkish. Persian examples include the autobiography of Shah Tahmasp (d. 1576) and the poet Mir Muhammad Taqi (d. 1810). The most famous example in the Turkic languages is the lively autobiography of Babur (d. 1530), the founder of the Mughal dynasty. There are also many examples of first-person narratives in Ottoman Turkish, including the autobiography of the historian Mustafa Ali (d. 1600).

Premodern Muslim scholars came to recognize self-narrative as a distinct genre. In the preface to his autobiography, al-Suyuti lists eight predecessors who had written similar accounts of themselves. For al-Suyuti and many of his predecessors, the pretext for writing such an account was "to speak of the bounty of God" (an allusion to Qur'an 93:11). Authors freely list their honors and achievements, because doing otherwise would be a sign of ingratitude. They were also willing to admit their failures and shortcomings, because doing so only emphasizes God's mercy in having guided them to the right path. However, their works differ from those written in the confessional mode that is common in the Christian tradition, where the author exposes his transgressions in the hope of gaining absolution for himself and providing a lesson for others. Muslim autobiographers are often forthcoming about themselves, albeit in different ways. Personal characteristics commonly appear in anecdotes about childhood, in stories of dreams, in reflections about the onset of old age, and, above all, in poetry.

Until the late twentieth century, Western scholarship tended to assume that there were relatively few premodern first-person narratives in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish. Until recently, Western scholarship has argued that these texts—with certain exceptions, such as the self-narratives of al-Ghazali or Babur—were not genuine autobiographies, because they were insufficiently personal in character. The assumption of relative paucity is now being revised: a recent study of the genre has found more than eighty pre–twentieth century examples in Arabic alone. Similarly, growing familiarity with non-Western traditions has led scholars away from the search for "genuine autobiography" and toward a reexamination of the strategies of self-presentation in different times and cultures.

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See also Babur; Ibn al-Muqaffa; Hunayn ibn Ishaq; al-Razi, or Rhazes; Ibn Sina; Mystics; Samaw'al al-Maghribi; Anselmo Turmeda; Usama ibn Munqidh; Ibn Khaldun; Yusuf al-Bahrani; al-Suyuti

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AYA SOPHIA

The first Aya Sophia was built in 326 CE and was an aisled basilica linked to its palace by corridors and stairs. It was destroyed and rebuilt twice, and it finally acquired its present form during the Justinian period. The first church was begun during the reign of Constantine (324–337), and it was completed by Constantinus (337–361). It was set on fire during the banishment of St. John Chrysostom. However, the rededication of the second church took place in 415, under Theodosius II (408–450). The earlier church on the site was destroyed by fire during the Nika riot of 532; unfortunately, no description of either of the pre-Justinian churches has survived. Justinian ordered a new church to be built, and five years later it was solemnly inaugurated. Justinian's church, which was designed by the architects Anthemus and Isidore, was dedicated in 537.

The general plan of the building is a near square that is divided into a large central nave and two side aisles. The central nave is covered by a colossal dome that is supported on the east and west by half domes. However, the ground plan of the building is not of prime importance; the essential features of this architecture are the great central dome and the piers, arches, and subsidiary vaults that hold it up. The central nave is flanked by side aisles and preceded by a narthex and atrium on the west side, providing a gradual transition from the street to the interior of the church. The side aisles and narthex were surmounted by a U-shaped gallery. The longitudinal axis of the nave terminated in an apse, which formed the visual focus of the interior. The sanctuary, containing the altar, lay just before the apse and extended into the nave. The great dome, which is the dominant theme of the building's design, rises above the nave. To place a dome above a rectilinear plan of a basilica required some transition. A square central bay is defined by four great piers, and, above, the pendentives (spherical triangles) appear at the corners to bridge the transition from square to circle. It is actually the

four great arches that are most significant in the structural system, and, along with the pendentives, they adjust the weight of the dome to the four piers. The present dome rises about fifty-five meters above the floor.

When seen from the outside, the great church seems to rise up harmoniously from level to level to the very top of the central dome; however, its soaring lines are by no means free from a somewhat excessive ponderousness. Inside, on the other hand, everything conspires to produce the impression of an immense space that is ideally organized. From the main door to the nave, looking along the axis of the church toward the apse, the beholder can appreciate the noble sweep and majestic proportions of the vast interior, with its supporting columns and walls covered with polychromatic marble.

Much damage has been inflicted on the building by several earthquakes. The dome collapsed in 557, and it was partially repaired in 989. In 1346, another earthquake damaged the dome, and this time it was restored by Astras and the Italian Giovanni Peralta. The present dome thus represents these three periods of reconstruction.

The church of St. Sophia was converted into a mosque soon after the conquest of Constantinople. What makes the monument an Islamic building (a mosque) are the additions to the interior and exterior from all periods of the Ottoman Empire. A marble mihrab has been erected, and several mahfils were built during different periods. Of the four minarets, that at the southeast corner represents an original construction of Mehmed II. The northeast minaret was then erected by Bayezid II, and the one at the southwest corner was begun during the reign of Selim II, but it was unfinished at his death in 1574; it was completed by Murad III on his accession to the throne. The latter minaret at the northwest corner had the architect Sinan as its designer. Other structures of significance outside of the main building are the sultans' tombs to the south of the building.

Significant restorations and repairs were carried out during the Ottoman period. In 1573, the entire building underwent a thorough renovation, because various buttresses were in need of repair. In 1847, another extensive restoration was undertaken with the supervision of the Fossati brothers. Between these major phases there were various minor repairs and consolidations, both within and outside of the mosque. In November 1934, the Turkish Ministry of Education, acting on the proposal of Atatürk, converted the monument into a museum.

SUAT ALP

See also Istanbul; Ottoman Empire

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'AYN JALUT

'Ayn Jalut ("The Spring of Goliath"), located in the Jezreel Valley in northern Palestine at the foothills of the Gilboa range, is the site of an indecisive encounter between Saladin and the Franks (September 1183 CE) and, more importantly, of a crucial battle between the Mamluks and Mongols on September 3, 1260.

The Mongols under Hülegü, the grandson of Genghis Khan, had taken Baghdad at the beginning of 1258 and put Caliph al-Musta'sim to death, thereby effectively ending the 'Abbasid dynasty. From there, Hülegü, who was also known by the title *ilkhan*, moved to Azerbaijan. After desultory negotiations with the Ayyubid sultan of Syria, al-Nasir Yusuf, the Ilkhan advanced with a large army into Syria at the end of 1259 and put Aleppo under siege at the beginning of the following year. It was taken within a week (although its citadel held out for another month before it capitulated). Hülegü himself first remained in the northern part of the country, but he sent south a forward division numbering some ten thousand horsemen under his trusted general Kitbuqa. The latter gained control of Damascus without opposition and set about subjugating the surrounding area. Mongol raiders advanced as far as Gaza and Hebron, entering Jerusalem and the area north of Karak in trans-Jordan. Hülegü, meanwhile, had withdrawn from Syria, and he returned to Azerbaijan with the remainder of his army, perhaps as a result of news

about the death of his brother, the Great Khan Möngke, and the resulting political disorders, or perhaps as a result of logistical reasons (i.e., a lack of pastureland and water for his cavalry-based army in Syria during the dry summer months).

The Mamluk Sultan Qutuz, who had acceded to the throne only at the end of 1259, decided during the summer of 1260 not only to reject Hülegü's demands for unconditional surrender but to set out for Syria to take advantage of the presence of a now relatively small Mongol force. In this he was supported by Baybars, his hitherto bitter opponent. The Sultan succeeded in cajoling the recalcitrant Mamluk officers (as a result of fear of the Mongols) out of Cairo, and on July 15, 1260, the Mamluk army set out for Syria. After crossing the Sinai Peninsula, the Mamluk advanced guard, under Baybars, encountered a small Mongol force at Gaza, which withdrew and alerted Kitbuqa to the unexpected appearance of the Mamluks. Qutuz and his army advanced northward, bypassing Crusader-held cities, until they reached Acre. The Franks wisely decided to maintain neutrality in the upcoming battle, but they did give supplies to the nearby Mamluks. From Acre, the Mamluk advance guard (again under Baybars) entered the Jezreel Valley. Meanwhile, Qutuz gathered his officers and gave them an inspiring pep talk, emphasizing the need to defend Islam, their families, and their position in Egypt.

The Mongols, however, had not been idle. When they received word of the Mamluk advance, Kitbuqa—still in Damascus—moved south to meet the enemy. He took up a position at 'Ayn Jalut, some fifteen kilometers northwest of Baysan (Beth Shean), which was well watered and provided with pasturage. Kitbuqa also sent out scouts, who encountered the Mamluk advance force. Skirmishing commenced, and it seems to have been fairly wide ranging. In the end, Baybars came upon the Kitbuqa's force near 'Ayn Jalut. He withdrew a bit and was soon joined by Qutuz with the main Mamluk army. Final preparations were thereupon made for the battle by both sides.

The battle commenced on the morning of Friday, September 3, 1260 (AH 25 Ramadan 658). The Mamluks, who appear to have had a certain numerical advantage, advanced first, but they were preempted by a Mongol attack. Both armies were composed mainly—if not exclusively—of mounted archers, and the battle settled into a series of attacks and counterattacks of waves of these troops. The leadership and pluck of Qutuz, who was found at the head of his troops, is mentioned in the Mamluk sources. He did not lose his head when the left wing of the Mamluk army began to waver, but rather organized his troops and led a counterattack that supposedly won the day. No less important was the death in battle of Kitbuqa, whose bravery is lauded in the pro-Mongol sources. He was shot down during the fighting, and this probably led to a disintegration of the Mongol army. Also important was the sudden withdrawal of a group of Muslim Syrian troopers who had been pressed into the Mongol army, thereby leaving a gap in the Mongol line. The relative numerical superiority of the Mamluks (whose exact numbers are not clear) also had its effect as the battle wore on. The Mongols fled the battle, and the Mamluk squadrons under Baybars—as well as local farmers and nomads—killed many in the confusion. The remaining Mongols and their supporters withdrew from Syria across the Euphrates River.

The Mamluk sources note the importance of the similarity between the two forces: only soldiers of similar provenance, fighting with comparable methods (masses of mounted archers), had a chance of beating the Mongols. The effects of the battle were significant: Syria became an integral part of the centralized Mamluk Sultanate based in Cairo; the fledging Mamluk state (founded in 1250) was given an important basis for its legitimization; and the myth of the invincible Mongols was weakened, if not shattered. The Mamluks were aware that they had defeated only a small part of the Mongol army, and they soon began preparations for meeting a more serious threat. In any event, Qutuz was not to enjoy his victory for long: he was soon assassinated by Baybars, who assumed the throne and inaugurated one of the longest and most successful reigns in the history of the Mamluk Sultanate.

REUVEN AMITAI

See also Baybars I; Genghis Khan; Ilkhanids; Mamluks; Mongol Warfare; Mongols; Slavery, Military

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AYYUBIDS

The Ayyubid confederation was established by al-Malik al-Nasir Salah al-Din Yusuf b. Ayyub (Saladin), a Kurdish military commander in the service of Nur al-Din b. Zangi. Saladin took control of Egypt in 1171 CE, and, from this Egyptian base, brought much of Bilad al-Sham (Syria) and the Jazira (upper Mesopotamia) under his rule. After his death in 1193, control of the many cities and provinces of Saladin's empire was divided between his sons, his brother, his nephews, and their respective descendants. Although these princes owed allegiance to whomever was recognized as the Ayyubid Sultan, within their own territories they were autonomous. Ayyubid history after Saladin is thus characterized by complex and shifting webs of alliances and rivalries between these various Ayyubid princes, and these webs were complicated by the presence of the Crusader states, whose forces were occasionally drawn into intra-Ayyubid conflicts. (As R.S. Humphreys recently put it, the Ayyubids were "reluctant warriors" against the Franks.) Nevertheless, the political history of the post-Saladin era was usually dominated by the Ayyubid who ruled Egypt. For most of the first half of the thirteenth century, this role was filled by Saladin's brother al-Malik al-'Adil Sayf al-Din Abu Bakr Muhammad and his descendants.

Al-'Adil (d. 1218), who was known to the Crusaders as Sephadin, was supreme within the Ayyubid dominions from 1200 to 1218. He was in Egypt when the armies of the Fifth Crusade arrived in the Nile delta in May 1218. After al-'Adil died in August 1218, his son al-Malik al-Kamil Muhammad (d. 1238) assumed the sultanate, although not all of the other Ayyubids acquiesced. Al-Kamil's dealings with the Crusaders over the course of his reign were tightly interwoven with his relations with his relatives. Al-Kamil's lifting of the Crusader occupation of Damietta (1219–1221), for example, was accomplished with the assistance of his brothers al-Malik al-Ashraf Musa in the Jazira and al-Malik al-Mu'azzam 'Isa in Syria. However, in 1227, when the armies of Emperor Frederick II threatened Egypt, al-Kamil was engaged in a power struggle with al-Mu'azzam, and he therefore offered Jerusalem to Frederick to avoid an invasion of Egypt. The emperor refused. Al-Kamil's position was subsequently strengthened by Al-Mu'azzam's death in late 1227, but al-Kamil continued negotiations with Frederick after he arrived in Acre in 1228. These negotiations led to the establishment of a limited truce, signed in February 1129, that restored an unfortified Jerusalem to the Franks for ten years, five months, and forty days. Both the emperor and the sultan were severely criticized by their respective co-religionists for this agreement.

Al-Kamil died in 1238, and two years later his son al-Malik al-Salih Ayyub assumed control of Egypt. Al-Salih was schooled in the ways of Ayyubid rivalry. To strengthen his position, he purchased and trained a corps of military slaves (mamluks). Called the Bahri Mamluks because their barracks were on an island in the Nile (bahr al-nil), this 800- to 1,000-man force was the core of al-Salih's military forces. The Bahri Mamluks played a significant role in fighting and eventually defeating the forces of King Louis IX of France when the Fifth Crusade invaded the Egyptian Delta (1249–1250). Al-Salih died in November 1249 in the midst of that invasion, and control of Egypt soon passed to his son, al-Malik al-Mu'azzam Turanshah. Turanshah quickly alienated his father's mamluks, who, fearing loss of position or even life, revolted against Turanshah and murdered him in April 1250.

The events of the ten years after the murder of Turanshah are complex, but they resulted in a complete Mamluk takeover of Egypt by 1260. The Ayyubids in Syria and the Jazira subsequently fell to either the Mamluks or the Mongols, although the Ayyubid principality in Hamah was maintained until 1341 by the Mamluk Sultanate.

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See also Fatimids; Mamluks; Mongols; Saladin or Salah al-Din; Sultan

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AZHAR, AL-

Located in Cairo, Al-Azhar is one of the earliest Jami' (mosque/university) complexes in the Muslim world. It was founded by the Fatimid Ismaili dynasty; the

dynasty's Caliph, Imam Muizz li-Din Allah, established Cairo as his capital in 969–970 CE. The complex is so named in memory of the title *al-zahra* (''the luminous''), which is associated with Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet and the wife of the first Shia Imam, Ali, from whom the Fatimids claimed direct descent.

Although it served initially as a congregational mosque for Friday prayers, it soon developed into a seat of learning. It has continued to exercise this role throughout Muslim history, attaining recognition first as the foremost center for Shi'i Ismaili learning and then, after the twelfth century, as a major Sunni educational institution.

During the Fatimid period, it developed into a center for higher learning and was richly endowed to support students, teachers, and one of the largest libraries of the time in the Muslim world. The curriculum was diverse; among the sessions offered were dedicated classes for women on topics including law and Qur'anic studies, and there were special sessions devoted to advanced hermeneutics and religious interpretations in Ismaili intellectual contexts.

After a period of neglect under the Ayyubids, who supplanted the Fatimids and ruled Egypt from 1171 to 1252, Al-Azhar was revived by the Sunni Mamluks (1252–1517) and became a center of Qur'anic teaching and Shafi'i jurisprudence. The subjects traditionally associated with the Sunni madrasas of the time came to predominate, although Al-Azhar remained open to influences, including Sufism. During the Ottoman period (1517–1805), Al-Azhar continued to be a major center, attracting Sunni ulama and students from across the Muslim world. Theology and law remained the main foci of study and research.

With the end of Ottoman rule and the onset of European occupation and influence, Al-Azhar's role began to change. Under French occupation, it became a seat of resistance and was bombarded by the French army. With the rise to power of Muhammad Ali in 1811 and his policies of centralized state control, Al-Azhar was forced to accept changes to its traditional autonomy, and it responded by bringing about internal changes in its organization, requirements, and regulations. It also developed a network of preparatory schools all over Egypt from which it could recruit students as well as extend its influence on religious education in the state.

During the early part of the twentieth century, Al-Azhar became the locus for reformist views of Islam, mainly under the influence of Muhammad Abduh (1849–1905), who taught there. Although some of his views did not gain acceptance, a change in the intellectual climate had begun to take hold. During the 1930s, Al-Azhar was granted university status and reorganized into academic units. It started to publish a journal, added new disciplines to its curriculum, and established women's colleges. Its influence in the wider Sunni Muslim world expanded, and many future international religious leaders and teachers received their training there. During the 1990s, there were approximately six thousand international students enrolled at Al-Azhar, and they represented seventy-five countries. From time to time, the institution has taken controversial positions on issues that affect Muslims and Muslim societies, as well as on international affairs. With the rise of other religious institutions and centers of Muslim learning in the Middle East and the Sunni world, Al-Azhar lost many of its best faculty members to these institutions. Having recently entered the world of the Internet, Al-Azhar continues its influential role as a place of learning and leader of opinion on Muslim issues and affairs in a more globalized environment.

AZIM NANJI

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B

BABAR [BABUR]

Born in 1483 CE in the Farghana region of Central Asia, Babar, the founder of the renowned Mughal dynasty in India, claimed an illustrious pedigree by virtue of descent from two important rulers—Timur (Timurlane) (through his father, Umar Shaikh Mirza) and Chingiz Khan (through his mother, Qutluq Nigar Khanum). His father was one of several princes, all descendants of Timur, who engaged in constant rivalry and battles for control over territory in fifteenth-century Central Asia. In 1494, as a result of a fall from a collapsing wall, Babar's father died, leaving the eleven-year-old boy to succeed him to rule the kingdom of Farghana. Like his father, Babar, too, spent much of his early political career engaged in endless wars and intrigues contending with his Timurid cousins for suzerainty over territory in Transoxiana and Khurasan, particularly the cities of Samarqand, Bukhara, and Herat. In these internecine Timurid struggles, his fortunes were mixed. He found it difficult to assert his authority over any city in the region for a sustained length of time. For example, by age 30, he had won and lost Samarqand three times. Particularly intense were his conflicts with Shaibani Khan, an Uzbeg prince, whose armies managed to drive Babar and his followers out of Transoxiana to territories farther to the south. There, Babar was eventually successful in establishing control over Kabul, Ghazni, and Badakshan.

It was in Kabul, conquered in 1504, that Babar established a home base, away from the turmoil of Transoxiana. The relatively stable life there allowed him to establish a cultured court on the Timurid model and pursue his hobbies, particularly gardening. However, because Kabul was rather poor in terms of its economic resources, the wealth of India tempted Babar to look eastward. He organized several raiding expeditions into the region, bringing back with him much booty. Success encouraged him to penetrate even deeper into Indian territory, eventually threatening the Lodis, an Afghan dynasty that ruled from Agra. In 1526, in the course of his fifth expedition into India, he defeated Sultan Ibrahim Lodi at the battle of Panipat; in the following year, he defeated a coalition of Rajput forces led by Rana Sanga. Although these victories marked the beginning of his control over substantial territory in India, the task of consolidating and strengthening what eventually came to be called the Mughal empire was not to be completed until the reign of his grandson, Akbar (ruled 1556–1605).

In India, although military expeditions continued to make considerable demands on his time and energy, Babar found more opportunity to take up leisurely pursuits. He commissioned several beautiful Timurid-style gardens in North India, personally supervising their development. These gardens were intended to remind him of Kabul, providing a respite from the heat of the summer months. Babar also had literary talents, being a particularly gifted poet in Turkish. Once, during an illness, he occupied himself by reorganizing the words of a couplet in 504 ways. He is particularly renowned for his remarkable autobiography, *The Baburnama*. Written in Chagatay

Turkish, these memoirs not only record his early struggles for power in Central Asia but also contain detailed descriptions of his newly acquired Indian territory and various aspects of the social, cultural, and economic life of its inhabitants. The memoirs reveal his passion for nature through his keen observations of India's fauna and flora, which he describes with the precision of a naturalist, obviously delighting in attention to minor details. Aside from his horticultural and literary pursuits, Babar was also interested in mysticism and spirituality, as evidenced by his translation into Turkish verse of *Risala-i walidiyya*, a treatise by the venerated Naqshbandi sufi teacher, Ubaidullah Ahrar, whom Babar admired greatly. Victory in Hindustan did not, however, mean that Babar, and later his descendants, gave up hope of one day conquering their ancestral homeland of Farghana, and the city of Samarqand. Babar disapproved of much of what he saw and experienced in India and, notwithstanding the power and wealth he enjoyed there, he always longed for Kabul. The climate of India, the hardships he had experienced in his youth, and the heavy use of alcohol and drugs all took their toll on Babar's health, for he was frequently sick as he grew older. He died December 26, 1530, after a short illness, and was temporarily buried in Agra. His longing for Kabul was fulfilled posthumously when, several years after his death, his body was returned to that city for burial in his favorite garden.

ALI ASANI

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BACKGAMMON

The game of backgammon is first mentioned in Bhartṛhari's *Vairāgyaśataka* (p. 39), composed around the late sixth or early seventh century CE. The use of dice for the game is another indication of its Indic origin, since dice and gambling were a favorite pastime in ancient India. The rules of the game, however, first appeared in the Middle Persian text *Wīzārišn ī Čatrang ud Nihišn ī Nēw-Ardaxšīr (Explanation of Chess and Invention of Backgammon)*, composed in the sixth century during the rule of the Sasanian king Khousro I (530–571). The text assigns its invention to the Persian sage Wuzurgmihr (Arabic/Persian) Buzarjumihr/Buzorgmihr, who was the minister of King Khousro I, as a challenge for the Indian sages. According to the Middle Persian text, the name that Wuzurgmihr gives the game of backgammon is *Nēw-Ardaxšīr,* ("Noble is Ardaxšīr"), in memory of Ardaxšīr I (224–240), the founder of the Sasanian dynasty. *Nēw-ardaxšīr* (Middle Persian) > *nard* or *nardašīr* (Persian and Arabic), also found in *nrdšyr* (Babylonian Talmud), has had popular etymologies among Arab lexicographers, composed of *nard* and *šīr*.

According to the *al-Fihrist* of Ibn Nadim, Wuzurgmihr is also said to have written a commentary on astronomy, the *Anthologiae* of Vettius Valens, which is lost, but fragments of the Arabic translation of the Middle Persian version exist. The reason for mentioning the preoccupation of Wuzurgmihr with astronomy and astrology is the cosmological explanation of the game of backgammon in the Middle Persian text. Wuzurgmihr's explanation of the game is analogous to the processes of the cosmos and human life. He makes fate the primary reason for what happens to mankind, and the roll of the dice in the game performs the function of fate.

Wuzurgmihr explains that the pieces of the game represent humans and their function in the universe, which is governed by the seven planets and the twelve zodiac signs. The shape of the game board is likened to *spandarmad zamīg* (the goddess of the earth). The pieces represent the thirty nights and days. The die represents the *axtarān* and *spihr* (constellations and firmament), which by their turn and position (number) decide one's movement and predict human life. The "one" on the die, according to the text, represents Ohrmazd's omnipotence and his oneness. The "two" on the die represents *mēnōg* and *gētīg*, the spiritual and the material world. The three represents the three stages of heaven in Zoroastrianism, *humat and hūxt and huwaršt,* preceding paradise. The four represents another cosmological expression, *čahār sōg ī gētīg*, "the four corners of the world." The five represents the five luminaries according to the text, which are the divisions of the heavens. According to the *Avesta*, the heavens had four stations, which were the stars, the moon, the sun, and the eternal light. Here we have in a disorderly fashion the divisions of the heavens into the following stations: the sun, the moon, the stars, fire, and, finally, the heavenly brightness (Pananio 1995, 205–226). Finally, the six represents the *šaš gāhānbār,* or the six seasonal feasts, according to the Zoroastrian religion. The hitting of pieces is likened to killing, and when the pieces come back to the game it signifies the act of resurrection according to Zoroastrian cosmology.

A silver-gilded hemispherical bowl housed at the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery depicts several important

scenes from the Sasanian period. They include a scene of marriage, a wrestling scene, and several other scenes, including a scene of two people playing backgammon. One can conclude that this bowl represents the things that mattered in the courtly life (Harper 1978, 75). One can suggest that the bowl represents the activities in which a noble should engage or have knowledge of. These include wrestling, being informed in religious precepts and ritual, marrying and having offspring, playing instruments, and being able to play board games, that is, backgammon (Daryaee 2002, 292). The other pictorial evidence for the game of backgammon comes from Central Asia, from the city of Panjikent. Among the wall paintings from Panjikent, which are now housed in the Hermitage museum in St. Petersburg, Russia, there is a scene of what can be called court activity. The painting shows two people playing a board game, which in all probability is a backgammon game, along with several other personages beside them (Bussagli 1963, 46–47). A nimbus appears to encircle the head of one of the players, who has his right hand raised as a gesture of victory. The man seated on the left has his left hand raised, showing the bent forefinger. A figure behind the victorious person also appears to be pointing to the loser with the bent forefinger. A fourteenth-century manuscript of the *Šāhnāme* contains two scenes, one at the court of King Khousro I and the second at the court of the Indian ruler Dēwišarm. In one of the scenes, Wuzurgmihr is seated on the floor with three other Persians, all with white turbans. In front of the Persian sage is a backgammon board. The Indian king is seated on his throne and is surrounded by Indian sages who are painted darker and have darker turbans. Wuzurgmihr has his right hand pointing to the backgammon board, which probably means that he is either challenging the Indian sages or explaining the rules of the game after the Indian sages have been dumbfounded (Wilkinson 1968, xii). It is particularly interesting to note that one of the two older Indian sages, who have white beards, has his hand by his mouth, symbolizing his amazement or perplexity.

The Arabs were familiar with backgammon as early as the time of the Prophet Muhammad and know that the game was popular (Rosenthal 1975, 88). Tha'ālibī relates a popular story that when the Arab Muslims conquered the Sasanian capital of Ctesiphon, they found a set of backgammon pieces belonging to Khousro II (CE 590–628), pieces of which were made of coral and turquoise. There were those opposed to the game, especially the companions of the prophet, such as Abu Ḥurayra (d. 676), who refused to meet Muslims who had played backgammon. He is also thought to have said, "One who plays *nard* with stakes is like one who eats pork; one who plays without stakes is like one who puts his hand in pig's blood; and one who watches the game is like one who looks at pork meat" (Al-Būkhārī 1375, 326–328). By the eighth century C.E., the four schools of Islamic jurisprudence considered the game of backgammon *ḥarām* (illicit). We, however, have many textual references to the game being played at the court in many regions of the Islamic Near East, which means that the game may have been played by the masses as well, and, in fact, its popularity confirms this suggestion.

During the early 'Abbasid period (750–900), the game of backgammon was popular both at the court of Harun al-Rashid and that of his son, al-Ma'mun. It is said that Ma'mun liked to play backgammon, because if he lost, he could place the blame on the dice, meaning fate (Falkner 1892, 115). The same may be said of the game of chess, which was seen by many Muslims as a form of gambling. Medieval authors justified the game by stating that as long as it was played for mental exercise it would be beneficial. The *Qābūs-nāme* dedicates a chapter to the games of chess and backgammon, where the proper etiquette of playing and when and to whom one should lose or win is discussed. It is strictly stated that one should not make bets on the games, and only then does playing the game become a proper activity (Yusefī 1375, 77). During the Seljuk period, it is reported that Alp Arsalan was also fond of backgammon (Gazvini 1331, 68–69).

In Persian poetry there are many references to the game by Anwarī, Asadī, Ferdowsī, Khāghānī, Manūčehrī, Mas'ūd Sa'd, Mokhtārī, Mowlavī, Sa'dī, and Sanā'ī (Mo'īn 1972:421–422). Several of the poets place the game in its original cosmological function, which means they have stayed faithful to Wuzurgmihr's description of the game. Manūčehrī gives the following couplet in regard to human fate and the cosmos: "The firmament is like the victorious looking backgammon (game), Its pieces from coral, and the quality of pearl."

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BADR AL-JAMALI

Badr al-Jamali was wazir and virtual dictator of Fatimid Egypt for more than twenty years, from 1074 to 1094 CE. Once in that position, he ruled with an iron fist, controlling all aspects of government save only the caliphal throne itself. Ethnically an Armenian, Badr was originally purchased in his youth for a relatively small sum, becoming thereafter a *mamluk* (slave) of the Syrian amir Jamal al-Dawla, hence his name al-Jamali, which indicates that he once belonged to this Jamal. When he arrived in Egypt, he was nearly sixty years old; he was over age eighty at his death in 1094. The date of his birth must accordingly be around the year 1015.

Prior to his arrival in Egypt, Badr had risen in military service over a long career to twice become governor of Damascus on behalf of the Fatimids. Over much of the same period Egypt suffered a series of internal disorders and revolts, leading to the near-total breakdown of the central government. The caliph al-Mustansir steadily lost ground against the encroaching chaos; by 1074, many parts of the country were run independently by tribal forces and renegade troops. Finally, al-Mustansir asked Badr to come to his rescue. Then the governor of Acre, Badr insisted that he bring with him his own army. In the winter of 1074, he crossed to Egypt by sea with that same army and began to rid the country of all opposition, both to the caliph and to himself. In rapid succession, he conducted a purge in the capital and a campaign in the Delta against Bedouin and various other rebels there, then marched through Upper Egypt for a similar purpose, and finally returned to the Delta to face an invading force of Seljuks intent on occupation and the overthrow of the Fatimids. In each of these separate conflicts he was victorious. In the process he restored the power of the caliph, resurrected the caliphate, and gave it new life in place of almost certain imminent death. Thanks almost solely to these decisive actions by Badr, it was to last yet another century.

As ruler, Badr brought calm and prosperity and, though noted at the time for harsh repression of all dissent, he is best known for numerous buildings, including the memorial shrine *(mashhad)*—the Juyushi—now visible on the plateau above the modern city of Cairo. He was also responsible for expanding the size of the medieval city enclosure and fortifying its walls, putting in place in the process a number of monumental gates—four of them survive—three of which, the Bab al-Futuh, Bab al-Nasr, and Bab al-Zuwayla, are easily recognized today.

At his death, just months before that of the caliph al-Mustansir, his favored son, al-Afdal Shahinshah, successfully claimed his legacy and control of the private militia that had sustained him. The son was therefore in a position to ensure that the new caliph would be approved by him, a transition he appears to have engineered to his liking, although it set in motion a major schism among the Isma'ilis, both in Egypt and elsewhere. Even so, the Fatimids survived and al-Afdal himself ruled Egypt as its military wazir (Amir al-Juyush) for almost three decades.

PAUL E. WALKER

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BADSHAHI MOSQUE, LAHORE

The late-twelfth-century Qutb mosque in Delhi was based on a well-established pillared model widely used in Islam to the west. The fourteenth-century Tughluq sultans were patrons of a variety of mosque types, including mosques built around a single courtyard with a single- or multi-aisled qiblah prayer chamber covered by three domes. It was this latter type, seen in mosques in Delhi, Jaunpur, and Gujarat, that formed the basis for the classic Mughal mosque from the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries.

The most striking early example is the 1571–1574 mosque in Fatehpur Sikri, the emperor Akbar's citadel. Built of red sandstone with marble accenting structural elements, the mosque consists of single-aisled trabeate arcades on the north, south, and east sides that frame a great open courtyard. A four-aisled prayer hall crowned with three domes marks the

Badshani Mosque (Imperial Mosque). Exterior. Built by Aurangzeb. Moghul dynasty. 1673–74. Red sandstone and marble. Credit: Bridgeman-Giraudon/Art Resource, NY. Lahore, Pakistan.

qiblah on the west. The central dome is the largest and is preceded by a massive arched niche (pishtaq) that projects into the courtyard. The mosque's aesthetics are characterized by clarity, order, and the grandeur of its controlled interior space.

In the great imperial cities of Lahore, Agra, and Delhi, the Mughals oversaw the construction of mosques of this type adjacent to the central citadel. These giant houses of worship accommodated huge numbers of the faithful and emphasized the power of Islam and the Mughal state. Where the Delhi sultans had experimented with a wide array of types, the Mughal rulers eschewed eclecticism and focused on a single, classic form.

The largest of the great imperial mosques, the Badshahi mosque in Lahore, is also the last. It was constructed under the aegis of the emperor Awrangzeb (1658–1707). Much of his reign was spent in military campaigns to suppress revolts and conquer southern India, and his attention to architecture was much more limited than that of his father, Shah Jahan (1627–1658), who had spent vast sums of money building forts, palaces, tombs, and mosques. The son was neither a great patron of palace construction nor a ruler inclined toward the royal rituals to which Shah Jahan had paid so much attention.

The strategically important city of Lahore in the northwest was an ancient center of commerce and culture and was strategically vital because it protected the Mughal empire from potential invaders to the west. Akbar had established it as one of the Mughal capitals, and the massive citadel he built there, like the forts in Agra and Delhi, was substantially embellished by Shah Jahan. Lahore had a marked regional tradition of architecture, and the surfaces of the 1634 Mosque of Wazir Khan are decorated in colorful glazed tiles reflecting strong Iranian influence.

The supreme achievement of Awrangzeb's architectural patronage is Lahore's Badshahi Mosque (Imperial Mosque). It commemorated military campaigns to the south, particularly against the Hindu insurgent Shivaji in Maharashtra. However, Awrangzeb's efforts weakened the state and exhausted the treasury. When he died in 1707, he left to his successor a truncated and bankrupt empire. Built between 1673 and 1674 under the direction of Fidai Khan Koka, Awrangzeb's master of ordinance, the Badshahi Mosque combined the functions of mosque and

idgah (a building for the celebration of the religious festival of the Id). On its east side is an imposing entrance stairway that leads through a great vaulted entrance made of red sandstone. The single-aisled arcades enclose an enormous central space open to the sky, and this courtyard can accommodate sixty thousand worshippers. At each corner of the mosque is a three-story, octagonal, red sandstone minar topped with an open, marble-covered canopy. Framed by four smaller minars and projecting from the west side into the courtyard, the prayer chamber is dominated by a central arched niche flanked on each side by five arches, each one-third the size of the central niche. Three bulbous marble domes on high drums divide the roofline, and the largest dome is directly behind the central arch.

On the exterior, floral and geometric decoration is inlaid in white marble; the interior is ornamented in polychromed stucco. Formerly appearing only in imperial palaces, stucco baluster columns appear like tall slender vases holding ornate, delicate floral decorations. Still one of the largest mosques in the Islamic world, the Badshahi Mosque projects great size with balanced proportions and clarity.

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See also Agra Red Fort; Akbar; Architecture, Religious; Babar; Beauty and Aesthetics; Dara Shikoh; Delhi; God; Hadith; Hindus; Imam; India; Islam; Lahore; Mosques; Mughals; Persians; Prayer; Qur'an; Qur'an: Reciters and Recitation; Taj Mahal

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BAGHDAD

The origin of the name Baghdad, clearly pre-Islamic, is undetermined. Few physical traces remain of the original Arab–Islamic site founded (c. 762 CE) by the 'Abbasid caliph Abu Ja'far al-Mansur (r. 754–775). The written accounts by geographers and historians—these include al-Ya'qubi, al-Tabari, al-Muqaddasi, and al-Khatib al-Baghdadi—are thus essential to any reconstruction of the city's early history. Designated officially *Madinat al-Salam* ("the City of Peace"), al-Mansur's project was built in the round, hence its nickname *al-Mudawwara* ("the Round City"). Completed (c. 777) at great expense, it surrounded the caliph's massive domed residence and a congregational mosque. The Khurasani regiments—the forces that had brought the 'Abbasids to power—were quartered in al-Harbiyya to the northwest.

Designed initially as an administrative center—it became, in this sense, the prototype for later Near Eastern dynasts—it was soon transformed, through population growth, private construction initiatives, and other factors, into a dynamic and sprawling urban hub. By the mid-tenth century, the markets and residential neighborhoods of Baghdad were vast, both in number and in variety of population. Security demands played no less a part. Al-Mansur and his immediate successors, faced with threats in outlying districts, particularly from Shi'i and Khariji opponents, along with restive elements within Baghdad itself, completed large-scale projects, including the palace complexes of al-Khuld and al-Rusafa in the 770s. The Round City ceased to function as the official caliphal residence by the early ninth century. Its large mosque retained its congregational function into the premodern period.

The city's subsequent political history was often troubled. A civil war (809–819) between the designated heirs of Harun al-Rashid (r. 786–809)—his sons Muhammad al-Amin and 'Abd Allah al-Ma'mun—led to years of war in and around Baghdad, a collapse of central authority in most provinces, and the demise of the Khurasani army as the imperial mainstay. Al-Ma'mun, as governor of Khurasan, waged a successful campaign against al-Amin (r. 809–813). Only partly through his own reign (813–833) did al-Ma'mun take up residence in Baghdad (819). His brother and successor, Abu Ishaq al-Mu'tasim (r. 833–842), largely in an effort to accommodate a complex Turkish, Iranian, and Central Asian military, created a new center at Samarra, located north on the Tigris River. Samarra replaced Baghdad as the imperial hub for some sixty years (836–892). Developments in Samarra over ensuing decades, particularly the political interference of the Turkish high command, exacted a grim toll upon the caliphate. In Baghdad, the Tahirid family wielded considerable influence, highlighted during a brief but costly siege by Samarran forces in 865–866. The return of the 'Abbasids to Baghdad in the 890s did little to restore their early authority.

Entry into Baghdad by Ahmad ibn Buya, who reigned as Mu'izz al-Dawla (945–967), initiated roughly a century-long period of Buyid suzerainty over the city and the Iraqi hinterlands. The Buyids, a north Iranian clan, established a base of power in Fars, from which they controlled Iraq into the mid-eleventh century. The city's fortunes in the tenth century were mixed. The flow of tax revenue slowed

Mosque, Baghdad, Baghdad was the seat of the 'Abbasid caliphate and the center of the Islamic world of its time. Credit: Werner Forman/Art Resource, NY. Kadiomin mosque, Baghdad, Iraq.

markedly due to the degradation of the Iraqi agrarian infrastructure; the autonomy of most provinces, notably Egypt and Khurasan; and the shift of much political and economic energy to Fars. Ordinary crime increased, as did religious and military factional violence. In addition, by the end of the century, the new Fatimid capital of Cairo began to overshadow Baghdad on the political and economic fronts. The Buyids, however, devoted themselves to urban renovation and large-scale construction (palaces, congregational mosques, and markets). Baghdad retained its highly "decentered" character in this period: It remained a city of disparate quarters and neighborhoods with little municipal integration or centralized authority. Patterns of sectarian and social tension from the ninth century on are understood largely in these terms (see below).

The city's internal sociopolitical and physical divisions sharpened with the arrival of the Seljuks in the mid-eleventh century. A Turkish clan of the Oghuz (or Ghuzz) people, the Seljuks had overrun the Ghaznavids and thus established authority over Khurasan and Iran before seizing Baghdad from the Buyids. The Seljuk leader Toghril Beg (d. 1063) formed diplomatic ties with the 'Abbasid caliph al-Qa'im (r. 1031–1075) in 1050. He led forces into Baghdad, initially in 1055, then again in 1058, at which point the caliph granted permission for his use of the title "Sultan." The Seljuks spent relatively little time in Baghdad, preferring to govern from afar through local officials. Relations with the Abbasid caliphate remained uneasy throughout. However, their deep impact on the history of Baghdad had much to do with their promotion of Sunni Islam, a position the Seljuks largely defined in terms of anti-Shi'ism. In this sense they found a willing ally in the 'Abbasids, already engaged against their various Shi'i detractors. For both the Seljuks and the 'Abbasids, it was especially important to resist the authority and military ambitions of the Fatimid/Isma'ili caliphate in Egypt.

Baghdad's significance in Islamic history as a nexus of intellectual and religious activity is difficult to exaggerate. Scholarship (literary, religious, and scientific) was tied, though by no means exclusively, to shifting political currents. Due in part to 'Abbasid patronage, particularly that of a dynamic administrative elite (the *kuttab*), ninth-century Baghdadi literary culture flourished. 'Amr ibn Bahr al-Jahiz (d. 869), a

towering figure, contributed key works of *adab* (belles-lettres) and Mu'tazili theology. Ninth-century religious scholarship, including Qur'anic exegesis, *hadith*, law, and theology, was no less dynamic, as shown by the work of Abu Ja'far al-Tabari (d. 923) (see al-Tabari). The work of Arab/Muslim scientists benefited considerably from the translation movement of works from Persian, Greek, Syriac, and Sanskrit into Arabic, which began under al-Mansur and then flourished under al-Ma'mun.

Subsequent developments in the city's religiopolitical history proved critical to the formation of the two foremost branches of Islam. The maturation of "Twelver" (Imami) (see Shi'ism) scholarship and devotional life is dated to the Buyid period. Due in part to the foundational work of such scholars as al-Kulayni (d. 941) and al-Shaykh al-Mufid (d. 1022), and in part the patronage of the Buyid court, Twelver doctrines on the occultation of the Imam and related ideas emerged. So too did Twelver ritual, notably that associated with Ghadir Khumm and mourning rites for al-Husayn ibn 'Ali. It is also to the Buyid period that one must date the crystallization of Sunnism, this in good measure a response to the assertion of Shi'ism. A hardening of Sunni-Shi'i loyalties, often played out violently over subsequent centuries, divided the city physically as well. The Seljuk period, as previously noted, was critical to Sunni history. Of particular note were the careers of Nizam al-Mulk (d. 1092), chief vizier and Seljuk regent, and Abu Hamid al-Ghazali (d. 1111), theologian, jurist, and Sufi (see Sufis and Sufism); both men associated with the Nizamiyya *madrasa* in Baghdad. This was among the first such institutions founded in Iraq and a significant facet in the spread of Sunni thought and practice.

Baghdad's history as a commercial hub was no less significant. As a critical link in a complex trade network connecting the Indian Ocean, eastern Europe, the Asian steppe, and the Mediterranean, the city housed a large multiethnic and religious merchant community. Evidence for the tenth century indicates important strides in the development of banking and related areas within the city. In good part, the activity of Baghdadi merchants was driven by the needs of the court and elite society. The caliphs and, in time, Buwayhid and Seljuk interlocutors, after all, required all appropriate displays of luxury. Written sources indicate the availability of fabrics (silks, brocades, linens); jewelry of gold, silver, and gems; carpets; intricate metalwork; weaponry; fine musical instruments; and an array of exotic foodstuffs. Baghdad was also home to a busy commerce in slave trade.

The wealth of the Iraqi merchant class was tied as well to trade in manufactured goods, such as textiles and paper. Papermaking had spread into the Islamic world, from China through Central Asia, in the eighth century and rapidly became an important industry. The Suq al-Warraqin ("the Stationer's Market") is said to have included, at its height, more than one hundred shops. Trade in more ordinary goods flourished as well. To feed a large population, Baghdad drew on the agricultural production of the Sawad, the highly fertile lands located between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, as well as regions farther afield that produced rice and sugar, among other widely consumed products. New types of fruits and vegetables, produced in the Near East from at least the early Islamic period on, also came available in the markets of Baghdad. It follows, of course, that the relationship between the large urban centers and the countryside was crucial to the 'Abbasid economy. The 'Abbasids, like the Umayyads before them, were fortunate in having inherited from the Sasanians a long-established and well-functioning irrigation system. High levels of agricultural production were maintained in the early 'Abbasid period. As 'Abbasid authority waned (by the late ninth century), however, maintenance of the agricultural infrastructure suffered as well.

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BAHRAIN

The term *Bahrain* was used during medieval times to describe the coastal area extending from Kuwait down to Abu Dhabi on the southern shore of the Gulf. Its population centers included Hajar (in Islamic times, Hasa), Qatif, and Awal (Bahrain Island). Before Islam, Bahrain was inhabited by Arab tribes, mainly the 'Abd al-Qays and groups from the Banu Tamim and Bakr ibn Wa'il. These tribes shared common interests with the Sasanians, although tensions

were common. Small Persian and Indian communities also lived along the coast.

Due to its geographical position and its links with Persia and Iraq, Bahrain was prosperous. Nestorian Christianity was strong in the area, while Bahraini poets such as al-Mutalammis and al-Muthaqqab used to attend the court of the Mundhir dynasty in Iraq.

After the emergence of Islam in the seventh century CE, Bahraini tribes played an important role in the Arab conquests and also in political events in Iraq during the Umayyad era (660–749). The spread of war damaged commerce, and many Bahraini tribes migrated to the newly founded Iraqi cities of Basra and Kufa. As a result, Bahrain declined in importance and was ruled by the governor of Basra, creating an important vacuum that led the area to become one of the centers of opposition to the Umayyad caliphate, in which the Kharijis played a prominent part.

During the ʻAbbasid period (749–1258), the rise of Basra as a commercial center, along with Siraf, Qays, and Hormuz, led to the further decline of Bahrain. Groups opposed to the ʻAbbasids, such as the Zanj (c. 868–883) and the Qarmathians (c. 900–1076), gained strength. These movements eventually subsided, while Shiʻism spread in Hasa and Awal.

New migrants from Central Arabia arrived, and an independent state was founded by Abd Allah bin Ali. The dynasty that followed, the ʻUyunids, lasted from c. 1076 to 1228. Supported by the Seljuk rulers of Iraq, this dynasty relied on the power of the Banu ʻAmir tribes who had migrated from Najd.

The Banu ʻAmir were initially allies of the Qarmathians and then of the ʻUyunids, but they eventually overthrew the latter and established a dynasty of their own. Founded by ʻUsfur ibn Rashid and known as the ʻUsfurids, the dynasty dominated Bahrain from c. 1228 to 1383, but finally came to an end with the rise of the Kingdom of Hormuz in fourteenth century.

Another branch of the Banu ʻAmir, led by Zamil ibn Jabir, then managed to gain control of Bahrain, founding the dynasty of the Jubur (c. 1446–1519). This dynasty adopted the Maliki school of Islamic jurisprudence, but little is known of the cultural and social life of its people. Although their influence spread throughout the Gulf, the Jubur were swiftly overwhelmed by the technologically superior Portuguese, who arrived in the Gulf at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Throughout the medieval period, the coastal economy of the extensive area known as Bahrain was based on commerce, pearling, and date cultivation.

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See also Arabia; Trade, African; Trade, Indian Ocean; Tribes and Tribal Customs

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BAKRI, AL-, GEOGRAPHER

Abu ʻUbayd ʻAbd Allah, b. ʻAbd al-ʻAziz al-Bakri (d. 487/1094), was the greatest geographer of Muslim Spain. Little is known about his life. He was a native of Cordova, where he died. His father was the only one, or else the second, ruler of the small principality of Huelva and Saltes, founded in 402/1012, at the time of the fall of the Umayyad caliphate in Cordova. In 443/1051, when his father, ʻIzz al-Dawla, was obliged to give up his power, Abu ʻUbayd, who was at that time approximately thirty years old, accompanied him to Cordova. He was the the pupil of the historian Abu Marwan Ibn Hayyan (d. 469/1076) and of other masters, and moved in various court circles, especially Almeria. He quickly became a distinguished writer. Several books are attributed to him, in the religious sphere, in philology, on the correct names of the Arabic tribes, and one in botany, none of which has come to us.

In geography, the work on which Abu ʻUbayd's renown is mainly based is his *Book of the Itineraries and Kingdoms (al-Masalik wa l-mamalik)*. He appears never to have traveled in the east, or even in North Africa. He composed this book in 461/1068 assisted by literary and oral information. For North Africa and some parts of Northern Black Africa (such as Sudan), his main source is *Book of the Itineraries and Kingdoms* of Muhammad b. Yusuf al-Warraq (d. 363/973 in Cordova), which has not come to us. Not all of the book has been published or translated. The following sections are edited and/or translated separately: Northern Africa, fragments on the Russians

and Slavs, parts related to Muslim Spain, the Arabian Peninsula, Egypt, and Europe.

Following the usual practice of the geographers of his time and before him, Abu 'Ubayd gave to this work the form of a roadbook, including distances between towns and staging posts. Most of his descriptions of towns are remarkably precise. His toponymic material for Muslim Spain, the Maghrib, Northern Africa, and so on is no less worthy of interest. Many of his historical notices and remarks are also invaluable. He was also interested in social and religious matters, for instance, about the Berber Moroccan tribe of the Banu Lamas, who were Shi'i; or his statement on Yunus of the Barghawati Berber tribe of Morocco, who made a journey in the first half of the third/ninth century to the East of the Islamic empire, together with other North Africans and Andalusis, of whom three claimed to be prophets upon their return, including Yunus himself. Abu 'Ubayd also gives social and economic information, such as on the presence of Andalusi traders in al-Mahdiyya (Tunisia), providing detailed and varied itineraries for their maritime crossings of the channel between North Africa and al-Andalus.

Abu 'Ubayd's *Dictionary* on the toponyms, mostly referring to the Arabic Peninsula, which occur in pre-Islamic poetry and in the literature of the Islamic traditional reports, the spelling of which has given rise to discussions among the philologists and traditionists, has been edited. It includes a long and interesting introduction on the geographical setting of ancient Arabia and the habitats of the most important tribes.

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See also Geography

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BALKANS

Although interactions between the Balkan Slavs and Greeks with Arab Muslims can be traced back to the medieval Arab-Byzantine relations, Islam spread through the Balkans with the Ottoman invasion that commenced in the mid-fourteenth century. No medieval Balkan state was strong enough to halt the advancing Ottoman army, especially given that the Ottomans had acted several times as mercenary allies in the internecine wars, which had led to political divisions, deteriorating living conditions, and general economic instability. After capturing Adrianople (Edirne) in 1365, the Ottomans pushed farther into the Balkans in several waves: Serbia fell by 1389 (the Battle of Kosovo); Bulgaria and Wallachia by 1402; Bosnia by 1463; Greece, including a number of Aegean islands, and Albania by 1481. The apex of Ottoman expansion was reached by the mid-sixteenth century with the acquisition of Transylvania, large parts of Hungary, and Slavonia.

Organized into the millet system of religious grouping, the Balkan people remained predominantly Orthodox Christian. However, the presence of Islam intensified through two main processes: (1) the controlled movement of Muslim populations from other parts of the Empire, and (2) conversions to Islam that took place among local populations in uneven waves and over several centuries. In such diverse religious space, some pockets of the Balkans continued being

predominantly Christian, whereas others became mainly Muslim. The largest Muslim communities were found in Bosnia, Albania, Bulgaria, and Western Thrace. Furthermore, after the Spanish Reconquista, many Sephardic Jews settled in the Balkans on the invitation of the Ottoman sultan.

Because Islam was spread by the Ottomans, Muslims of the Balkans became predominantly Sunni, of Hanafi legal orientation, though Shi'i teachings were introduced by, and confined to, the Bektashi and the associated Kizilbashi Sufi orders. The denominational and legal uniformity among Balkan Muslims did not lead to their integration or unification otherwise. On the contrary, because of the lack of assimilationist policies by the Ottoman government, most Muslims retained their cultural and linguistic distinctiveness and separate ethnic identities.

Excluding the elite population, the majority of the Balkan people were peasants and shepherds whose religious beliefs revealed many syncretic practices adapted from pagan, Christian, and now Islamic beliefs. Whether Muslim, Christian, or Jewish, they placed the main emphasis on local praxis rather than official teachings. This was reflected in their customs and rituals, funerary architecture, festivals, and folk literature.

The situation was somewhat different in the cities that were erected or invigorated through Ottoman state policies and pious endowments (waqfs), generating lively economic, intellectual, architectural, and social activities. Here, Ottoman Islamic values flourished in a way that reflected a clearer connection with the larger imperial system, though local sensibilities remained palpable and important. The urban elite, made up of literary figures, historiographers, theologians, philosophers, jurists, merchants, and others, reveals a polyglot culture in which the Ottoman languages (Turkish, Arabic, and Persian) were used along with local languages in intellectual production and exchange. Among the most prominent scholars worthy of mention are Ali Dede Bosnevi (d. 1598), who wrote comprehensive commentaries on Sa'di, Rumi, and Hafiz; Hasan Kafi of Prusac (d. 1616), a judge whose treatise on the qualities of good governance became widely known and cited throughout the Empire; the prolific scholar Mustafa b. Yusuf of Mostar, known as Sheyh Yuyo (d. 1707), who wrote multidisciplinary commentaries on medieval Islamic thought; and Yahya Bey of Taslidja (d. 1575), a prolific poet of lyrical and mystical odes and couplets that drew inspiration from popular legends as well as great Sufi masters.

The Balkans also provided a receptive ground for the dissemination of Sufi ideas and practices, as evidenced by the diversity and number of Sufi orders. Among the most important orders were the Khalwati, Naqshbandi, and Bektashi, while less prevalent ones included the Qadiri, Rifa'i, Mawlawi, Bayrami, Malami, and Badawi orders. Overall, Sufi orders invigorated Balkan Islam in both belief and practice. In fact, many conversions to Islam happened through Sufi activities. Their presence in cities and villages across the Balkans, as testified to by the number of tekkes (convents) and türbes (mausoleums), shows their ubiquitous presence in different spheres of life. While some were more attractive to intellectual and literary circles (such as the Khalwati), others were highly syncretic and enjoyed popular appeal. Most syncretic was the Bektashi order. Long associated with the Ottoman military establishment, Bektashis spread throughout the Balkans, as evidenced by the remains of their tekkes and turbes in Greece, Macedonia, Bosnia, Bulgaria, and Albania. Shi'i in orientation and organized around a sheikh referred to as *baba*, the Bektashis intertwined Islamic teachings with local customs and folklore, making the order popular, especially in rural areas, and involving equal participation by both men and women.

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BARAKA

Baraka, which means "blessing," is a divinely inspired quality or force of presence that is often associated with prophets, saints, and other holy persons, and more generally with pious and learned individuals, as well as with sacred places and objects. The Jews and Christians of the Islamic world held similar beliefs concerning baraka. Muslims regard God as the ultimate source of baraka and the Qur'an as embodying it. The Prophet Muhammad, his family, and the Shi'i imams possessed baraka in life and posthumously, as did certain rulers such as Saladin and Nur al-Din. Baraka was also associated with individuals who possessed exemplary learning, including theologians such as al-Ghazali and Sufis such as Ibn 'Arabi and 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani. Rulers sought the baraka of saints, especially before waging war and at times of illness. Baraka could be transmitted simply by touching a person and their clothing or by embracing them. Baraka was also manifest in articles of clothing and other personal effects of pious persons, such as the mantle of the Prophet Muhammad and Dhu 'l-Fiqar, the famed sword of the Prophet's cousin and fourth caliph 'Ali b. Abi Talib. Certain mosques, tombs, and shrines, wells, and natural formations, such as springs and trees, were particularly renowned for their baraka to the extent that they became pilgrimage places. The earliest codices of the Qur'an attributed to the third Rightly Guided Caliph 'Uthman b. 'Affan and to his successor, 'Ali b. Abi Talib, were objects of pious visitation. Visitors sought to obtain baraka by touching and kissing them.

JOSEF W. MERI

See also Saints

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BARANI, ZIA' AL-DIN, HISTORIAN OF PRE-MUGHAL INDIA

A prominent theorist on Islamic political thought in fourteenth-century India, Barani was born (circa 1285) in an aristocratic family with excellent connections to the ruling elite of the Delhi sultanate. His grandfather, father, and uncle held important governmental positions. Barani himself had the opportunity to serve at the court of Sultan Muhammad ibn Tughluq (r. 1325–1350) as companion to the ruler. At the beginning of the reign of Firuz Shah Tughluq, Muhammad ibn Tughluq's successor, Barani fell out of royal favor, apparently because he had been involved in a conspiracy to overthrow the new ruler. After a brief imprisonment, he spent several years in banishment from the court. Until his death in 1357, he continued writing in the futile hope that he would one day regain his position at the court.

In his major works, *Fatawa-yi jahandari* and *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi*, Barani expounds his conceptions about the norms that Muslim rulers should observe while exercising their authority, specifically in the Indian context. In *Fatawa-yi Jahandari*, written as a guidebook for princes, he conceives of God having delegated authority over human societies to prophets and kings. Because authority to rule is God-given, the ideal ruler should manifest divine virtues of mercy and wrath, which are essential ingredients for a successful reign. He declares that it is the basic duty of a pious Muslim ruler to repudiate all that is non-Islamic and promote the propagation of proper "Islamic" values. To preserve these values, it is incumbent on the ruler to severely limit the role of non-Muslims in the administration of the state. Using a Sunni yardstick to determine what was correctly Islamic, and upholding the *Shari'ah* as interpreted by Sunni theologians to be normative, he considered the Shi'is and the *falsafa* (philosophers) to be heretics who should be exterminated. In this regard, he extols Mahmud of Ghazna as the ideal Sunni Muslim ruler for his determination to exterminate idolatry and all forms of infidelity. Barani's writings show intolerance toward not only non-Muslims but also Muslims of indigenous Indian origin whom he thought of as low-born and not worthy of anything but a basic education about Islamic rites and practices. His class- and race-based notions, which run contrary to Islamic ideals of equality, extolled only those of pure Perso-Turkish origin to be "true" Muslims. In this he reflected the views of many of the *ashraf,* or the aristocracy, of his time.

As is evident in *Fatawa-yi Jahandari* and *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi,* Barani's conception of historiography was primarily didactic and not meant to chronicle events. As a result, he only includes information that validates his religiopolitical theories. His works should, therefore, be read from this perspective. He often conceives his heroes as being motivated by solely religious concerns, without paying attention to historical and political realities of the time. Of particular interest is *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi,* in which he writes an account of the rulers of the Delhi Sultanate from Sultan Balban (r. 1266–1287) to Muhammad ibn

Tughluq with the goal of demonstrating how rulers prospered when they adhered to his ideals and suffered failure and disgrace when they deviated from them. When a ruler such as Ala A.D.-Din Khalji (r. 1296–1316), who clearly did not live up to Barani's standards for a good Muslim ruler, seems to have enjoyed a prosperous reign, Barani attributes this success to the presence in his realm of Nizam ad-Din Awliya, the preeminent Shaykh of the Chishti Sufi order. However, since Ala ad-Din Khalji was blind to the power and virtues of Nizam ad-Din Awliya, he and his family suffered terrible personal fates.

ALI ASANI

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BARTER

See Trade, African; Trade, Indian Ocean; Trade, Mediterranean

BASRA

The medieval city of Basra was located just west of the Shatt al-Arab, the confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers in what is now Iraq. Basra was first settled between AH 14/635 CE and 17/638 by Arab tribesmen who participated in the Muslim conquest of the Sasanian Empire. Most likely it was little more than a military camp during the first years of its existence. Basra's strategic location allowed it to dominate both the Tigris and Euphrates rivers and important overland trade routes. Consequently, it grew into a thriving military city. By the time of the Battle of the Camel in 36/657, Basra is estimated to have had some fifty thousand residents.

Topographically, the city was divided into five tribal zones, each under the leadership of the tribal ashraf (notables). Tribal relations in the garrison towns were complex, but Basra was generally dominated by the Tamim tribe. The city originally served as a garrison town from which to control newly conquered territory in Iraq and to launch further expeditions into Fars. Thanks to extensive irrigation works, Basra eventually became an agricultural center as well. It was particularly famous for the quality of its date orchards. Its strategic location also made it a trading center of some importance. During the Umayyad period, Basra did not join the neighboring garrison town of Kufa in supporting various 'Alid movements. It was not, however, immune to rebellion, becoming the center for Ibn al-Ash'ath's rebellion in 81/701 and Ibn al-Muhallab's revolt in 101/719. The 'Abbasid revolution of 132/750, which came in the wake of a plague in Basra, brought a slow decline in the city's status, as the newly established capital city of Baghdad overshadowed the older garrison towns. Basra was not initially a focus for opposition to the 'Abbasids, but as the town shrank in size (from a peak of at least two hundred thousand residents) and influence, it became susceptible to revolts, the most notable of which was the Zanj rebellion of 257/871. The fact that this was a rebellion of agricultural slaves and not of disgruntled soldiers (who fomented earlier rebellions) underlines Basra's transition from a garrison town to an agricultural center. As the 'Abbasids lost their grip on power, Basra suffered a variety of invasions and pillages, particularly during the sixth/twelfth century.

In addition to its strategic importance, Basra was also a significant center for scholarly activity, a status that the rise of Baghdad did not diminish. During the Umayyad period, a variety of important theological thinkers called Basra home, including al-Hasan al-Basri (d. 110/728) and the early Mu'tazilite leaders Wasil ibn 'Ata' (d. 131/748) and 'Amr ibn 'Ubayd (d. 144/761). Basra was the focus of the theological debate over human free will and the birthplace of the Mu'tazilite movement. In addition, Basra was the earliest center for the study of Arabic grammar. Unlike Kufa, Basra did not, however, become an important venue in the debates that shaped early Islamic jurisprudence.

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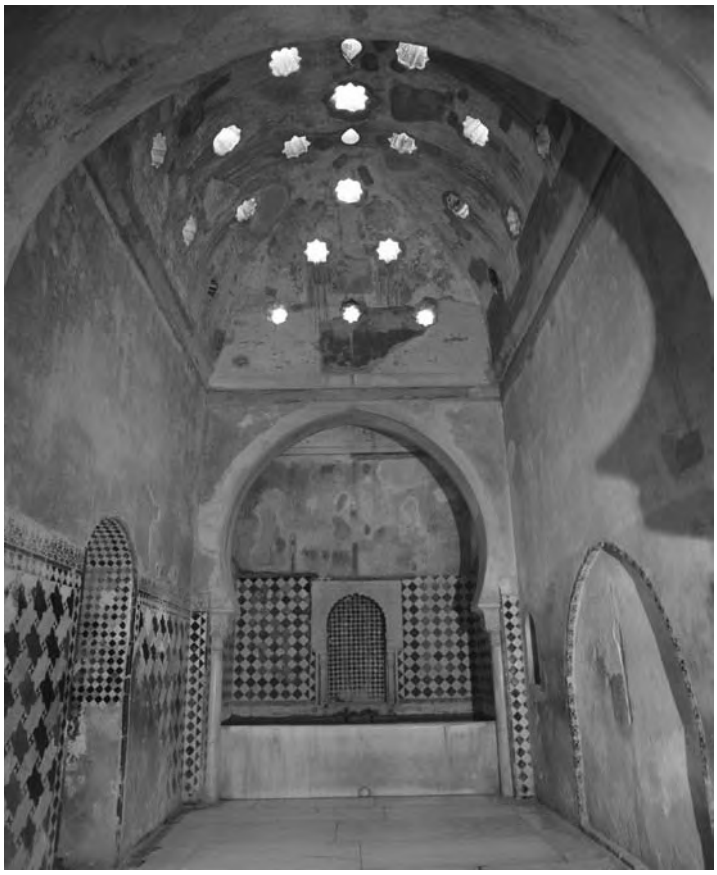
BATHS AND BATHING

Baths in the Islamic world have almost always focused on the institution of the bathhouse, known as the *hamam*. Having its roots in the Roman and Byzantium bathhouse tradition, the hamam was



The Royal Baths in the harem. The Star-shaped roof lights were once covered in red glass. Tiles line the walls. Credit: Werner Forman/Art Resource, NY. Alhambra, Granada, Spain.

built and functioned in a similar manner over its thirteen-and-a-half centuries of existence. The hamam as a building was often distinguished by several large brick domes that were interspersed with a great number of bulbous pieces of glass that would let light shine into the building without letting the furnace heat escape. The bathhouse typically had three main chambers. The customers, segregated by gender, and often by religious community, would first enter an unheeded resting area where they would take off their clothes, dresses, towels, and/or loincloths. They would then enter a warmer antechamber where they would be exposed to a moderate amount of the furnace's moist heat. They would then enter the main sweating room, a large chamber where the steam of the hamam's furnaces would bring about an intense sweat. Once the customer had properly sweated, he or she would have their body rubbed and lathered, which would clean the pores and remove any dirt. After this, a customer would rinse himself or herself with warm water and/or take a bath in the water basins of the room. After the customer had done this, he or she would return to the initial rest area to relax and prepare for leaving the bathhouse.

Hamams were typically staffed by at least eight to ten attendants. These included one who would maintain the resting area and the linens and two to three people who would help the clients with washing, scrubbing, or even massages in the main sweating chamber. Two to three others would work to heat the large cauldrons of water in the furnace area. They would either bring in fuel (in the form of coal or dried dung) from a nearby depot area or be building the fire with the fuel.

Hamams played a role in a great number of social functions in the urban neighborhoods where they were established. Indeed, they were considered to be vital for the establishment of each new Muslim city quarter, as they helped maintain God's will for all to be cleanly. The sweating and cleansing processes in various degrees of heat and humidity also were vital to maintaining the body's humoral balance, a key Galenic concept that predominated in medieval medicine throughout the Mediterranean and Middle East. Muslim travelers from the ninth century onward have remarked on the great number of hamams in the cities of the Muslim world, including Cordoba, Tunis, Cairo, Baghdad, and Istanbul. The loss of a hamam, like

that of a mosque, was considered tantamount to the destruction of the city itself. Local authorities would often go to great lengths to reestablish the hamam and enhance normal social life.

People also used the hamam as a place where one could relax and interact with one's neighbors. It is no coincidence that baths were taken in groups, since this would allow numbers of people to enjoy the baths as they escaped from the trials and tribulations of everyday life. People would typically gossip with each other as they sipped a hot drink in the rest chamber. As noted earlier, hamams would be segregated by gender and religious community to maintain social mores. For example, hamams would allow Muslims and non-Muslims on specific days of the week, and might allow women in during the day and men during the night. There was a particular concern about protecting female patrons from moral and physical danger, leading the hamams to establish separate staffs for male and female clients. The penalties for theft and nude activity were extremely high if the victim was a recognized female client.

However, if a woman entered a bath at the wrong time, she lost all legal rights for her own protection. She was often regarded as a mere prostitute who could be abused by men with impunity. Beyond potentially being raped or sexually harassed was the loss of social station among her neighbors.

Despite these social restrictions, hamams on occasions would be used for illicit relations. We know, for instance, from sixteenth-century Ottoman court records, that some hamams were shut down after the local authorities found out that men and women were using the same facilities with the collusion of the hamam's staff. In later centuries, the abuse of questionable substances such as heroin, tobacco, and coffee were also duly noted.

BIRSEN BULMUŞ

See also Personal Hygiene

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BAYBARS I, MAMLUK SULTAN

Baybars I, fifth ruler (r. 1260–1277) of the Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt and Syria, was in many ways the most important leader in its history.

Baybars was born around 1220 CE among the Qipchaq Turks, who lived in the steppe region north of the Black Sea. Fleeing from the Mongol invasions in the area in 1241–1242, Baybars and his family moved to Anatolia. There, Baybars was captured and ended up in the slave market of Damascus. Eventually he ended up in the service of the great Ayyubid sultan, al-Salih Ayyub (1238–1249), founder of the famous Bahriyya regiment, of which Baybars was a member. Baybars first came to prominence in the fighting in Mansura (1250) in the eastern Nile Delta during the Fifth Crusade; his bravery and leadership helped turn the tables against the Franks. Baybars was one of the conspirators who killed the new sultan, Turanshah, son of al-Salih, an event that led to the establishment of the Mamluk rule in Egypt. The Bahriyya, led by Aqtai and seconded by Baybars, was one of the main factions in the fledging Mamluk state, but it was soon bested in the internal power struggles by Sultan Aybak. Aqtai was killed in 1254, and Baybars fled with seven hundred Bahris to Syria, where they remained as mercenaries serving various Ayyubid princes until the approach of the Mongols at the beginning of 1260. Baybars realized that there was no chance of resistance to the Mongols in Ayyubid Syria, so he was reconciled with the new Mamluk sultan, Qutuz (a Mamluk of Aybak and therefore an enemy). The Bahriyya under Baybars returned to Egypt in March 1260. Baybars became a trusted subordinate in the campaign against the Mongols in the summer of 1260. He led the advance guard that came across the first Mongols at Gaza, and then again in the skirmishing in the Jezreel Valley before the battle of 'Ayn Jalut, where his courage is also noted by various sources; he also led the subsequent mopping-up operations. Relations with Qutuz soon soured, however, particularly when Baybars was not awarded the governorship of Aleppo as he had hoped. On their way back to Cairo, both men were on their guard. Baybars, however, struck first. With a group of conspirators, he fell upon the sultan while hunting and killed him. This was the second time that Baybars was deeply involved in a regicide. He was recognized as ruler in late October 1260.

The reign of Baybars was in many ways the formative years of the Mamluk Sultanate. Emerging from a decade of political disorder on the one hand, and having just gained control over most of Syria up to the Euphrates River on the other hand, the Sultanate was put on a firm footing militarily, politically, and

economically. Baybars was surely aware that it was only a matter of time until the Mongols attempted another large-scale invasion of Syria. Any doubts that he might have harbored on this matter were removed by the many Mongol raids, as well as truculent letters that he received from the Ilkhans, as the Mongol rulers of Iran and the surrounding countries were known. He set about enlarging and strengthening his army. An efficient foreign espionage service was established, as was a communication network connecting the capital, Cairo, with the main cities of Syria and the far-flung frontier along the Euphrates, through the use of horse relays, pigeon post, and bonfires. Fortifications were set in order along the frontier and inside the country, although those captured from the Franks along the coast were destroyed. Diplomatic relations were established and maintained with various non-Muslim rulers, including the Byzantine emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus. The most significant diplomatic *démarche* was the relations established with Berke Khan, the Muslim Mongol ruler of the Golden Horde in the southern Russian steppe. Baybars encouraged him to continue fighting his cousin the Ilkhan, which meant that the Mongols of Iran were often fighting on a second front and could not devote themselves to the war against the Mamluks. Although there were no major Mongol campaigns into Syria during Baybars's reign, the frontier was a scene of frequent warfare, with raiders going both ways. In this border war, the Mamluks were usually more successful, perhaps due to the greater importance they attached to this front compared with their Ilkhanid enemies. In 1277, Baybars launched his one major campaign into Mongol-controlled territory, Anatolia. This resulted in a Mamluk victory at Abulustayn (which later became Elbistan), but Baybars—after sweeping through the country—withdrew because of supply difficulties and the prospect of a major Mongol counterattack. Throughout his reign, Baybars also launched several large-scale raids on the Kingdom of Lesser Armenia in Cilicia, a loyal ally of the Mongols.

In the years after gaining power, Baybars consolidated Mamluk rule in Syria. A number of minor rulers, including Ayyubid princes, were either eliminated or brought under control. His legitimacy was strengthened by the welcome of a scion of the 'Abbasid family. After ascertaining his genealogy, Baybars had him declared caliph with the title al-Mustansir. In a well-directed spectacle, the new caliph promptly handed over all functions to Baybars, who was officially declared sultan. Baybars also significantly reduced the Frankish presence in Syria and Palestine. There is no indication that Baybars had planned an aggressive anti-Frankish policy from the beginning of his reign, and he may well have thought to continue the modus vivendi that characterized Muslim–Crusader relations during the Ayyubid period. Perhaps his growing awareness of the Ilkhans' attempts to achieve an alliance with the Pope and rulers of Latin Europe in order to launch a joint campaign against the Mamluks led the sultan to adopt a more truculent strategy *vis-à-vis* the Franks in Syria. In a series of campaigns, Baybars captured a large number of Crusader cities and forts (some notable examples include Caesarea and Arsuf in 1265; Safad in 1266; Jaffa, Beaufort, and Antioch in 1268; and Crac des Chevaliers in 1271). Baybars left his successors a much-reduced Crusader entity that was finally eliminated in 1291 by the sultan al-Ashraf Khalil ibn Qalawun.

Baybars was responsible for the greater institutionalization of the army, the *iqta'* (land allocation) system, and provincial and central administration, as well as a reform of the judiciary system, which led to the placing of all four Sunni schools of law on an equal footing (albeit with a slight preference for the Shafi'i school). He was also a great builder of fortifications and religious buildings. Although not the first ruler of the Sultanate, he was in many ways its real founder. He was succeeded by his son al-Sa'id Berke Khan, who was, however, removed after two years. After a short interlude in which another son, Sulamish, served as a puppet ruler, Baybars's colleague and associate Qalawun (r. 1279–1290) ascended to the throne.

REUVEN AMITAI

See also 'Ayn Jalut; Land-Tenure; Mamluks; Mongols

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BEAUTY AND AESTHETICS

Muslim medieval culture, like contemporary European culture, did not articulate a philosophical concept of art. It dealt, however, with various concepts of beauty and aesthetics.

Islam can be considered to take an aesthetic approach to faith: The unique beauty of the Qur'anic text, whether read or recited, and hence its inimitability, are believed to be the evidence for its divine nature. Tradition tells about people being converted through the fascination with the beauty of the recited Qur'an.

The Qur'an neither refers explicitly to issues of artistic relevance nor prescribes the shape of the mosque or the use of liturgical objects, Islam being rather a religion without complex liturgy, which allows the worshipper direct communication with God. However, it uses a dozen terms that refer to moral rather than aesthetic beauty. Muslim theologians and, in particular, the Sufis, have often dealt with the beauty of God; however, this approach is spiritual, with no artistic or aesthetic associations. Al-Ghazali, in his book *Ihya' 'ulum al-din (Revivification of the Religious Sciences)*, discusses the subject of divine beauty, as well as the issues of ethics and behavior, such as the permissibility of music. Al-Ghazali's book includes some interesting statements with relevance to material culture and art.

Muslim theologians were not involved in shaping the architecture of the mosque; rather, this was shaped by the patrons (that is, the rulers), whose duty it was to establish and oversee religious institutions. Alongside its religious meaning, it acquired a political significance. The decorative arts, including objects related to religious monuments, were shaped by the secular patronage of the court and a sophisticated urban society. Although calligraphy has the status of a sacral art, because of its association with the Qur'an, designers from the chancellery created it as a discipline. It was the only visual art in medieval Islam to have a written canon based on precisely established rules of proportions and to be considered a truly scholarly discipline. No other discipline in the visual arts is known to have had such a scholarly status. Whereas medieval Islamic culture did not conceptualize the visual arts and include them in the discourse on beauty, Arabic literary criticism has elaborated highly sophisticated aesthetic concepts for the belles-lettres. Although the origins of Arabic literary criticism are rooted in the religious tradition of Qur'anic exegesis, it expanded to play a significant role in poetry. Because poetry had a rather controversial status from the orthodox viewpoint, it remained, like the visual arts, in the secular domain. The mainstream of Arab literary criticism, following the Aristotelian principle, which distinguishes between content and form, considered good poetry as uncongenial with moral or religious intentions. The view that the form was the decisive factor in the artistic assessment reveals an aesthetic rather than moral approach. Implicitly, a corresponding principle ruled the visual arts, which used the same artistic and decorative vocabulary for the secular and religious domains.

Arabic classical literature deals with human beauty and love, the prevailing view being that beauty is a matter of subjective appreciation.

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BERBER, OR TAMAZIGHT

Tamazight (Berber) is a language of the Afro-Asiatic family and comprises a number of related dialects spoken by the indigenous populations of North Africa. The geographical expanse covered by these dialects once included virtually all of Africa north of

the great Sahara Desert. Variations of it are still used from the Canary Islands off the Moroccan Atlantic coast in the West to the oasis of Siwa, in the western desert of Egypt to the east, and from the Mediterranean shores of Africa in the north to the Saharan villages of Niger and Mali in the south. Although the different spoken varieties of Tamazight are related closely enough to be viewed as dialects of the same language, the degree of intelligibility among speakers of different varieties is subject to a great deal of variation depending on distance, the amount of interaction among different communities, and the level of awareness interlocutors have, whether or not they belong to the same language family.

The name *tamazight* is used in the Middle Atlas region of Morocco and is the same term used to refer to a singular feminine member of the community (*amazigh* for the singular masculine and *imazighen* for the plural). Northern speakers in the Rif Mountains use the terms *tarifit (arifi, irifiyn)* or *trifsht*; in the High Atlas and Lower Atlas and southern Morocco the name used is *tashelhit (ashelhi, ishelhiyen)*. In Algeria the names frequently used are *taqbaylit* n the mountainous areas of Kabylia, *tashawit* in the Aures Mountains, and *tamzabit* in the south. Among the populations of Siwa in Egypt the appellation used is *tasiwit*. In the vast expanses of the great Sahara Desert some of the names used are *tamasheq*, *tamajeq*, and *tamahar*.

There are no reliable sources as to the numbers of Tamazight speakers in North Africa today, as official population counts generally do not address the language issue. The available information usually presents the number of Tamazight speakers in Tunisia as being around 1 percent of the population, 20 percent in Algeria, and as high as 40 percent in Morocco, but the accuracy of these numbers will only be verified when reliable scientific surveys are carried out.

According to the *al-moheet* dictionary, the Arabic name *barbari* used to refer to speakers of this language is derived from the verb *barbara,* meaning to speak loudly in an agitated manner and unintelligibly. The same verb is used to refer to sounds made by agitated or overexcited animals. The French historian and ethnographer Gabriel Camps traces the histories of the different names used throughout history to name the 'Berbers.' With regard to the *amazigh* appellation, he notes the existence of a name based on a three-letter root, composed of [M, Z, G] or [M, Z, K], that has been used by North Africa, as well as by early historians, notably Greek and Roman. Possible ancient renditions of the word *amazigh* include Roman *mazices*, Greek *maxyces* or *mazyes,* and *meshwesh*, which appears in ancient Egyptian inscriptions. Camps cites the existence of differences in pronunciation and spelling of modern names, for example *imusagh* or *imajighen* of the great Sahara Desert and the *imazighens* of the Aurès and Middle and High Atlas, as being comparable (p. 66). Many researchers in the field, including Muslim scholars, concede that the Arabic name 'barbar' and its 'berber' descendant in Western languages have never been used by the populations in question to refer to themselves.

Based largely on information provided by writers including Al-Qayrawani, Al-Bekri, Ibn Hayyan, Al-Qurtubi, Al-Warraq, Ibn Khaldun, and many other Muslim historians who wrote between the ninth and fifteenth centuries, it is understood that varieties of Tamazight were spoken all over North Africa and that Arabic was limited to the larger urban centers. Tamazight-speaking populations gave rise to some of the most powerful empires that North Africa has ever known: the Al-Moravids (eleventh and twelfth centuries), followed by the Al-Mohades (twelfth and thirteenth centuries). The Barghwata tribes who controlled the Atlantic plains of Morocco for almost four centuries (ending in the twelfth century) became notorious in Muslim and Arab sources because they composed what was said to be a heretical Qur'an in their own language and attempted to replace mainstream Islam.

The status of Tamazight in the postcolonial states of North Africa has never been fully recognized. Indeed, writing or publishing in Tamazight was discouraged and often repressed. Thanks to recent political and cultural changes in the area, Tamazight is making a spectacular comeback into the world of media and even the school systems. Indeed, both Algeria and Morocco have started introducing Tamazight into their elementary-school curricula.

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BERBERS

''Berbers'' is the generic name given to various people native to North Africa, also called ''Berberia'' for the pre-Islamic and early medieval period, or ''Maghrib,'' an Arabic term meaning ''the land of the sunset.'' The Berbers, who settled in African lands in the first millennium BCE, primarily belonged to the same linguistic community based on the nonwritten language called Tamazight. Although they shared common cultural features, Berbers distinguished one another through different modes of living—sedentary, seminomadic, and nomadic (for those from the Sahara Desert, which were called ''Targis'' or ''Touaregs''). The Berbers had embraced Christianity and Judaism before they became Muslim, following the Arab conquest in the seventh-century CE. Divided into families, groups of descendants, and tribes, they settled in territories stretching from the Atlantic Ocean to Cyrenaica and some locations of Western Egypt. These territories cover three main areas: Occidental, Central, and Oriental Berberia, also called ''Ifriqiyya.'' The Tunisian historian Ibn Khaldun (1332–1406) was the first to study the history, culture, and sociology of Berbers in his seven-volume treatise *Al-Kitab al-Ibar (The Book of Historical Examples)*. His distinction between Arabs and Berbers, their lifestyle, economies, and power relationships, illustrates the sociopolitical situation of medieval Maghrib. In particular, the rivalries between the two ethnic groups have marked the history of Muslim North Africa and Al-Andalus (Islamic Spain) as well, because Spain was invaded by an Islamic Berber–Arab army in 711 and constituted a part of the Muslim Empire for about eight centuries.

The advent of Islam in North Africa led to a phenomenon of Arabization of the Berbers, although they have never lost entirely their cultural identity. However, the Arab occupation in the seventh and eighth centuries, following the Byzantine domination, was not accomplished without a fierce resistance. Accordingly, the Islamization of Berberia was relatively slow and completed only in the twelfth century. Always rebellious, Berbers were in favor of heterodox religious trends and sectarian movements, such as Kharijism and Shi'ism, opposing the Sunni Caliphate and local governing class before the generalized adoption of the Malikism School in Maghrib in the dawn of modern times. The complex relationships of Berber clans with these various Islamic trends superimposed on the sociological phenomena of family alliances or dissensions and tribal confederations underlies the troubled dynastic history of medieval Maghrib. Following the period of dependence on the Umayyads of Damascus (660–749), the first dissident states from the Caliphate in the East appeared in Maghrib, supported by local Berbers: the Shi'i kingdom of the Idrisids (789–974) in Occidental Berberia and the Kharijid kingdom of the Rostamids (777–909) in Central Berberia. The Zanata on the one hand and the Masmouda, Kotama, and Sanhaja on the other hand are to be associated with the division of Berberia, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, into two zones of political and religious influence of the rival Caliphates in the West of the Sunni Umeyyads in Cordoba and the Shi'i Fatimids in Cairo. Besides, before it was transferred to Egypt, the schismatic Fatimid State initially took place in Ifriqiyya, thanks again to the Berber support. The second half of the eleventh century saw the rise of the first great Sunni Berber Empire of the Almoravids (1056–1147), Al-Murabitun, ''people of the *ribat*'' (Islamic fortress). Founded by the nomadic tribe of the Lamtuna, the Almoravids developed a bright civilization called ''Hispano-Berber'' or ''Hispano-Maghrebi'' in Occidental and Central Berberia and Al-Andalus. In Spain, they had progressively reunified the Islamic land that, after the fall of the Umeyyad Caliphate in 1031, was partitioned into multiple kingdoms governed by either Arab or Berber dynasties called ''Reyes de Taifas'' (Party Kings). The Almoravids also had temporarily stopped the ''*Reconquista*'' (eleventh century to 1492), the ongoing Christian conquest of Al-Andalus. The direct contact with the Andalusi urban culture greatly contributed to the development of the Almoravid civilization in North Africa. However, soon the refined courtly life of the Almoravids came up against the rigorous religious feelings of the society. In the twelfth century a reformative movement founded by the *mahdi* (''the well-guided'') Ibn Tumart, based on an absolute respect of divine uniqueness, allowed a new Berber dynasty to take over all Maghribi regions. The Almoravids (1130–1269) or Al-Muwahhidun (''the partisans of divine uniqueness'') established a second Hispano-Berber Empire more powerful than the previous one. An economical prosperity relying on exchanges between Black Africa, Berberia, and Mediterranean Europe, and an active cultural life enlightened by great philosophers such as Ibn Rushd and Ibn Tufayl, built the grandeur of the Almohad Empire, the most glorious episode of Berber history. The subsequent dynasty of the Marinids (1258–1465), from the Zanata tribe, was the last Berber reign in Maghrib in the Middle Ages.

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See also Almohads; Almoravids; Andalus; Berber (Tamazight); Caliphate and Imamate; Conquest; Family; Fatimids; Free Thinkers; Heresy and Heretics; Ibn Khaldun; Ibn Rushd (Averroes); Ibn Tufayl; Ibn Tumart; Idrisids; Kharijis; Malikism; Marinids; Nomadism and Pastoralism; Party Kings; Reform; Schools of Jurisprudence; Sedentarism; Shi'ism; Trade, African; Trade, Mediterranean; Umayyads

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BEVERAGES

After water, the most essential beverage is milk, whether human or animal. Mothers' milk is not merely nutritional but produces, in the case of suckling by a foster mother, a bond considered in Islam nearly as strong as a blood relationship and similarly causes a series of marriage impediments. Animal milk may be from cow, camel, sheep, or goat. The Qur'an (47:15) promises to the god-fearing "rivers of water unstaling, rivers of milk unchanging in flavour, and rivers of wine–a delight to the drinkers, rivers, too, of honey purified" (tr. Arberry). These four drinks were popular on earth, too, even the one forbidden to Muslims, which is celebrated far more often and more fervently in poetry than any other drink. Milk and milk products are typical in Bedouin life; urban society has added a large number of other drinks. Many of these were mildly alcoholic, being fermented infusions of cereals or fruits; the word *fuqqa'* stands for a range of sparkling drinks, many of which could be considered kinds of beer, ale, or shandy. Others were soft drinks, being fruit juices made of lemon, apple, pomegranate, tamarind, jujube, and so on, often flavored with honey, sugar, sumac, musk, mint, and other ingredients, and cooled with snow or ice, if one could afford it. The great variety in methods of preparation and in the appellations used (which differ through time and according to local traditions and languages) gave much work to the religious scholars who attempted to distinguish the forbidden from the permissible. Recipes for drinks are found in culinary, as well as medical, works: There is no clear boundary between, on the one hand, drinks for nutrition and pleasure and, on the other hand, tonics or medicinal beverages. The Arabic word *sharab* is ambiguous: It means "beverage" in general, but in many contexts it is obviously used as a euphemism for wine or other alcoholic drinks. It is also used for any kind of syrup or cordial. That the word syrup, together with its English and European cognates (including sherbet and sorbet), derives from *sharab* illustrates the importance and appeal of medieval Middle Eastern beverages.

Coffee and tea, so popular in the modern Middle East, are relatively recent innovations: The latter is postmedieval and only the former can be called a (late) medieval drink. The Arabic word *qahwa* (from which "cafe" and "coffee" are derived) is found in much older periods as a rather rare word for "wine." It was used for coffee when this drink spread in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries from Ethiopia via Yemen and Arabia to the rest of the Middle East, reaching Cairo in the early sixteenth century. Initially, many puritan scholars regarded it as suspect or even forbidden, not merely because of its name and its being an innovation, but because it was thought to be associated with sin (listening to music, drinking wine, eating hashish) and mysticism and was seen to affect the mind. In the end it was acknowledged that its effects could not be compared to those of alcohol or drugs.

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See also Alcohol; Rosewater; Water; Wine

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BIBLE

The question of whether or not the Bible was translated into Arabic before the rise of Islam was debated in the early twentieth century by two German scholars: Anton Baumstark and Georg Graf. Their debate centered on biblical references in Arabic poetry traditionally held to be pre-Islamic and in later Arabic works, references that according to Baumstark proved the existence of such a translation. The debate was never settled. Today, scholars such as Irfan Shahid uphold the position of Baumstark, while others, among them Sidney Griffith, support the position of Graf, by reminding us that although there is still no convincing material evidence of a pre-Islamic Arabic Bible, there is evidence that Arabic-speaking Christians of the time used a Syriac Bible.

Nevertheless, the Qur'an is replete with references to, and even quotations of, biblical material. Indeed, the Qur'an might be considered under the category of biblical literature, which is broadly understood. As the scholars A. Geiger, M. Grünbaum, H. Speyer, and A. Jeffery have shown, the Qur'anic worldview, from the seven days of creation through the apocalyptic Day of Judgment, is articulated through biblical terminology, narratives, characters, and symbolism. Although apologetic arguments maintaining the absolute independence of the Qur'an have gained popularity, readers familiar with biblical (including Mishnaic/Talmudic and apocryphal texts) writings will find the Qur'anic narratives of biblical figures—from Adam to Jesus—familiar. Meanwhile, many other narratives in the Qur'an, including the three separate stories of *sūra* 18 (companions of the cave, Moses and the servant of God, and the two-horned one), prove to be connected to biblical or parabiblical works (Seven Sleepers of Ephesus, Legend of Joshua ben Levi, Syriac Romance of Alexander, respectively).

However, the Qur'an itself refers neither to the Bible nor to an Old or New Testament but rather to the Torah (*tawrāt*; 3:3, 3:48, 61:6, passim), the Gospel (*injīl*, cf. Gk. εὐαγγέλιον; 3:3, 3:48, 5:47, passim), and the Psalter (*zabūr*, cf. Syriac *mazmūrā;* 4:163, 17:55, 21:105), in addition to the sheets *(suḥuf)* of Moses and Abraham (20:133, 53:50, 87:18, passim). These references have fueled the development of an Islamic scriptural theology, by which Muslim scholars argue that God brought down scriptures to various messengers, scriptures akin to the Qur'an in both form and substance, but in the language of the people for whom they were intended (cf. 14:4). In a more abstract fashion, Muslim scholars, influenced by Qur'anic references to the "mother of the Book" (13:39, 43:4) and a "preserved tablet" (85:22), depict the Qur'an as only part of a greater scripture preserved from eternity in heaven, from which the Torah, the Gospel, and the Psalter were also sent down. At one point (10:94), in fact, the Qur'an counsels the reader to consult those who read "the Book" before.

This scriptural theology raised a dilemma, however, as Muslim scholars were confronted with the fact that the Bible agrees with the Qur'an neither in form nor substance and could not therefore be understood as part of the heavenly book sent down to earth. The dilemma was generally settled, with help from a reference in the Qur'an to Jews "altering *(yuḥarrifūna)* the meaning of speech" (2:75, 4:46, 5:13, 41), by accusing Jews and Christians, the "People of the Book," of scriptural alteration *(taḥrīf)*. In a tradition attributed by later authors to Muhammad himself, the Prophet argues that "the People of the Book altered that which God wrote, altering the book with their hands" (Bukhārī *Ṣaḥīḥ* [Beirut 1999] 2:182). Yet while the early commentators generally agree that the Jews and Christians altered scripture, few are willing or able to speculate on how they did so.

In the late tenth century, however, 'Abd al-Jabbār (d. 1025) developed a detailed explanation of part of this matter in *Confirmation of the Proofs of Prophecy,* arguing that a group of hypocritical disciples of Christ agreed to adopt pagan practices in order to win the support of the Romans against the Jews. Those disciples who refused this pernicious maneuver then fled with the true Gospel. The hypocrites, with the help of Paul, decided to write their own gospels on the model of Old Testament narratives. This polemical vision of biblical origins—particularly the depiction of Paul therein—would later shape the development of modern Muslim apology.

Meanwhile, this rejection of the Bible's validity did not prevent Muslim scholars from drawing on the biblical text to find proof *(dalā'il)* of Islamic doctrine and accusing the "People of the Book" of misunderstanding their own scriptures. Employing this accusation, sometimes referred to as "semantic alteration" *(taḥrīf al-ma'nā)*, scholars including 'Alī al-Ṭabarī (d. 855), al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhim (d. 860), Ibn azm (d. 1064), and Aḥmad al-Qarāfī (d. 1285) cite biblical passages, such as John 14:16 (arguing that the paraclete is not the Holy Spirit but Muhammad) and John 20:17 (concluding from his reference to "my God" that Christ is not divine). This apologetical strategy has likewise been embraced by modern Muslim apologists. At the same time, Christian scholars, both medieval (Paul of Antioch [d. 1180]) and modern (G. Basetti-Sani), have used a similar strategy by developing a Christian reading of the Qur'an, which, they argue, was missed by Muslims' "semantic alteration."

Finally, it should be noted that certain Muslim scholars of the medieval period pursued alternative, constructive readings of the Bible. On the one hand, certain scientifically minded historians, most notably Ya'qūbī (d. 897) but also Mas'ūdī (d. 956), relied on Jewish and Christian sources for their writings of biblical figures. Thus Ya'qūbī's biography of Paul, quite unlike the standard hostile Islamic depiction of him, closely resembles the Acts of the Apostles narrative. On the other hand, a number of philosophically minded Shi'ite Muslim scholars, mostly from the Ismā'īlī or Sevener movement (among whom are Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī [d. 934] and Aḥmad al-Kirmānī [d. 1020]), cited and even defended the biblical text, as they sought to describe a harmony of prophetic religions, according to which Judaism, Christianity, and Islam are three rays from the one divine light of wisdom.

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BIJAPUR

A province of the Persianate Bahmanid Kingdom of the Deccan, Bijapur became the center of the domain of one of the key successor states to the Bahmanids, namely the 'Adil Shahi dynasty (1489–1686). Located in the Deccan on the edge of the Western Ghats, south of the Bahmanid capital of Bidar, Bijapur was founded as Vijayapura by the Calukyas in the eleventh century. It was incorporated into the Bahmanid realm in 1347 and made one of the five provinces of that empire by Khwaja Mahmud Gawan (d. 1481), the powerful Persian vizier of Muhammad Shah II (d. 1482).

In 1481, Yusuf 'Adil Khan, a Persian slave who claimed to descend from the Ottoman sultan Murad III, became the governor of Bijapur. Taking advantage of his position and consolidating it, he declared independence in 1489, establishing the 'Adil Shahi dynasty that was to rule Bijapur for another two centuries. In 1502, he declared Twelver Shi'ism to be the religion of the realm and established close ties with the Safavids, further encouraging the influx of talented Persians into the Deccan, a policy initiated by Mahmud Gawan. In imitation of the Safavids, he promoted the wearing of the red twelve-pointed cap of the Qizilbash at court. The height of Persian and Shi'i influence was during the reign of 'Ali 'Adil Shah (r. 1558–1580), who had the Shi'i *khutba* read in mosques. A brief Sunni restoration, coupled with a move away from Persian influence, took place under his grandson Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II (d. 1618). But the Persianate culture of the kingdom was never in doubt and its Shi'ism was one of the *casi belli* cited by Awrangzeb when he conquered it in 1686.

Bijapur was perhaps more culturally influential than politically. Most of the monarchs were keen Persian poets and encouraged courtiers to take up poetry. The two most famous poets of Bijapur, Nur al-Din Muhammad Zuhuri (d. 1618) and his father-in-law Mulla Malik Qummi (d. 1618) were both Persian immigrants. Persians also penned the the two main histories of the dynasty, which provide important accounts of the Deccan as a whole and are invaluable sources for north India: *Tadhkira-yi Ibrahimi,* or the *Ta'rikh-i Firishta*, by Muhammad Qasim Firishta, written in 1611 for Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II, and *Tadhkirat al-muluk* by Rafi' al-Din Ibrahim Shirazi for the same patron in 1609. Bijapur was the center of Perso-Deccan cultural synthesis. The new chancellery language of Perso-Marathi was created in its administration, and the exquisite tombs of the kings were exemplars of a Persianate-Deccan style. The tomb of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah, the *Ibrahim Rawza*, was built in 1627 and is said to have influenced the construction of the Taj Mahal, and the tomb of Muhammad 'Adil Shah (d. 1656) has the second-largest dome in the world and is celebrated as the *Golgumbaz* because of it. The Sufis of the city became significant power brokers in their own right, defending Sunni orthodoxy and extending the influence of the orders into the Deccan.

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See also Mughals; Sufism

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BILĀL AL-ḤABĀSHĪ

Bilāl al-Ḥabāshī (d. AH 17–21/638–642 CE) a major Companion *(ṣaḥābī)*, was best known as Prophet Muḥammad's special appointee for delivering the call to prayer *(adhān)* and was often regarded as a representative of disenfranchised groups *(al-mustad'afūn)* who were drawn to Islam, and as the icon of racial and social equality advocated by this religion. He is sometimes referred to as Bilāl ibn Rabāḥ (son of Rabāḥ), after his father, or alternatively as Bilāl ibn Ḥamāma, after his mother. The patronymic title *(kunya)* of Abū 'Abd-Allāh has been recorded for him, but he had no known children.

Bilāl was born to a black slave-girl named Hamāma in the Arab clan of Banū Jumaḥ in Hijāz. His full name indicates that he had roots in Abyssinia (Ar. Ḥabasha, roughly identifiable with present-day Ethiopia). Sources describe him as dark-skinned, thick-haired, tall, and thin. He was one of the earliest converts *(al-sābiqūn)* to Islam, and when the clansmen of Banū Jumaḥ found out the news about their slave, they subjected him to heavy corporal punishment and brutal torture. Bilāl's main tormentor was Umayya ibn Khalaf ibn Wahb ibn Ḥudhāfa al-Jumaḥī, chief of the clan of Banū Jumaḥ, who showed the utmost animosity toward Prophet Muḥammad and his followers. Bilāl persevered steadfastly in the face of pressure until, finally, Abū Bakr ibn Abī Quḥāfa (d. 13/634), an affluent close Companion of the Prophet, bought his freedom from the clan of Banū Jumaḥ.

Bilāl exhibited exemplary loyalty to the Prophet throughout his life after conversion. He was among the pioneering group of Meccans who emigrated to Medīna in the year 622. In Medina, he briefly stayed with a number of other poverty-stricken Muslims known as "men of the vestibule" *(ahl al-ṣuffa)*, who, having no other place of their own, shared part of the entrance to the mosque of Medina as a dwelling. Shortly after initial settlement in Medina, in the process of establishing ties of brotherhood *(ukhuwwa)* between Meccan emigrants *(al-muhājirūn)* and their hosts in Medina *(al-anṣār)*, the Prophet declared the Meccan Bilāl and the Medinan Abū Ruwayḥa al-Khath'amī as brothers. Years later, under caliph 'Umar ibn Khaṭṭāb (r. 13–23/634–644), this tie of brotherhood between Bilāl and an Arab man of the clan of Khath'am provided the precedent for considering other black and African warriors as belonging to that tribe as well.

In his first year in Medina, the Prophet Muḥammad initiated the practice of vocally calling his followers to prayer *(adhān)*, and from the beginning he charged Bilāl with performing the task as muezzin *(mu'adhdhin)*. The most momentous occasion when he delivered the *adhān* was when Muḥammad and his followers victoriously entered Mecca (8/629) and cleansed the House of Ka'ba and its environs of all idols. Bilāl also performed personal tasks for the Prophet, such as acquiring incense for the wedding of his daughter Fāṭima (1/623), and he was trusted as the Prophet's treasurer *(khāzin)*. He always accompanied the Prophet on military expeditions *(ghazwas)*, and in the Battle of Badr his former tormenter was killed by Muslim troops.

After the Prophet's death, Bilāl was reluctant to deliver the call to prayer, as he may have felt dissatisfied with succession arrangements. Reportedly, he declined to pledge allegiance *(bay'a)* to Abū Bakr (r. 11–13/632–634) as caliph, and he eventually emigrated and settled in Shām. On at least one moving occasion, Bilāl is known to have delivered the *adhan* after the Prophet, and that was upon the request of Muḥammad's beloved daughter Fāṭima (d. 11/632) and her two sons, al-Ḥasan (d. 50/669) and al-Ḥusayn (d. 61/680).

As a close Companion of the Prophet, Bilāl enjoyed high esteem during his lifetime. He died in Shām, and his tomb is most commonly believed to be in Damascus.

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BIOGRAPHY AND BIOGRAPHICAL WORKS

No direct Arabic equivalents exist for the English "biography" and "biographical works." Arabic words associated with biography include *tarjama* and *sira*; with biographical works, *tabaqat* or *rijal*. This may in part be due to the fact that the literary genre of Arabic biographical works is an original contribution of medieval Islamic civilization, having no real precursor. While information contained in medieval Arabic biographical dictionaries resembles contemporary *Who's Who* works or a modern-day *curriculum vitae* rather than the introspection of the self found in (auto)biographies, they do contain more social data than any other preindustrial society for a large segment of the population. This entry includes the origin of this literary genre within Islamic civilization, the four categories of medieval Arabic biographical dictionaries that exist, the overall arrangement of a biographical notice and, finally, the five rubrics of information encountered in these works.

Origin of the Genre

The first biographical dictionaries date back to the ninth century CE, some two hundred years after the death of the Prophet Muhammad. They came into being as Islam was embarking on the last phase of self-definition as a fully crystallized and coherent system of faith. The contemporaneity is no coincidence. Indeed, the two features of biographical data collection and integral doctrinal crystallization went hand in hand. The oldest extant biographical dictionary, written by Ibn Sa'd (d. 845) and titled *al-Tabaqat al-kubra*, concretely illustrates this union. Ibn Sa'd, together with six other prominent religious scholars, had been ordered to appear before the 'Abbasid caliph al-Ma'mun (r. 813–833), a summons that marked the beginning of this caliph's inquisition *(mihna)*. The aim of this inquisition was to impose caliphal will in religious matters above that of the group to which Ibn Sa'd belonged, the religious scholars. Ultimately, some fifteen years later, the caliphs had to give in, and from that day onward, religious scholars and not caliphs exacted religious authority in Islam. It is this "religious authority" that motivated the first compilers of the first biographical dictionaries.

The connection between religious authority on the one hand and biographical data on the other hand goes back to the inception of Islam. From the very beginning, Islam had a very strong oral tradition in the transmission of knowledge because the Qur'an, being God's literal word, had itself been orally transmitted through the angel Gabriel to the Prophet Muhammad. Soon the Prophet's Companions *(sahaba)* and their successors, in time *(tabi'un)*, started to pass on stories about the words and/or deeds of the Prophet to help understand the meaning of God's Message to humankind (the *hadith*). The chain of transmission continued from one generation to the next; a continuous line of oral transmission came into being, ultimately going back to the Prophet, who was closest to the Sacred. Contemporaries of Ibn Sa'd had introduced as criterion of validity for the truth of the stories about the Prophet that the chain of transmission *(isnad)* only contain individuals who were morally sound and hence beyond any reproach. The first biographical dictionaries, including the aforementioned one by Ibn Sa'd, contained necessary information to evaluate the moral qualifications of individuals, alongside detailed information about the Prophet's life, his Companions, and their Successors up to the author's own time. Ibn Sa'd's work was not only chronologically arranged (that is, per generation) but also geographically distributed across the most important settlements of the early Islamic empire. This tradition of data collection about individuals continued and was elaborated upon throughout the Middle Ages, again and again, which led to the emergence of an entire genre in Arabic literature, that of the biographical dictionaries. The literary genre of biographical dictionaries is large in scope and quantity, a subject to which we now turn.

Categories and Organizational Forms of Biographical Dictionaries

Hundreds of separate titles of medieval Arabic biographical dictionaries exist. Both format and contents vary among these works. Some works limit themselves to a single volume, whereas others can run into more than eighty (printed) volumes. The quality of information also vacillates among the various works. Nonetheless, four different categories of biographical dictionaries can be identified and among these, combinations of the following four categories are encountered: (1) General biographical dictionaries. A good example of this category is al-Dhahabi's (d. 1374) *Siyar a'lam al-nubala'*, the published edition

of which totals twenty-five volumes (two are index volumes), and there is a supplement of one volume written by another author. Such a supplement or appendix is called a *dhayl* and is a continuation of an existing work written by another person to complement what that author thought was missing from the original. The *dhayl* constitutes a subcategory of biographical dictionaries because it was often written after the volume. (2) Chronological biographical dictionaries, such as Ibn al-Jawzi's (d. 1200) *al-Muntazam fi ta'rikh al-umam wa al-nuluk*. These eighteen printed volumes are an example of how combinations were made, because this author first lists per year the most important events, then gives obituaries of those who died in that same year. These obituaries were written as more or less curricula vitae of the generation involved, one presented after the other. (3) Geographical biographical dictionaries. Some were limited to a particular city (such as al-Khatib al-Baghdadi's [d. 1071] *Ta'rikh Baghdad*, which includes 15 volumes proper with five extra *dhayl* volumes) or a specific region (such as Abu Hayyan al-Qurtubi's [d. 1076] *al-Muqtabas min abna' ahl al-Andalus,* with one volume). (4) Thematic biographical dictionaries. These biographical dictionaries could include any group ranging from Sufis to philosophers, both groups considered in the Middle Ages as slightly outcast, to mainstream branches of one of the Islamic sciences, such as law, or a particular law school (for example, all Hanbalite law scholars or earlier scholars whom the compiler wanted included among them), and even to collections of individuals who were explicitly considered to be unreliable and thus untrustworthy transmitters of *hadith (rijal)*. The great scholar Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalani (d. 1449), for instance, wrote a nine-volume work on unreliable *hadith* narrators (his *Lisan al-mizan*) and another, a twelve volumes, on reliable transmitters of (Sunnite canonical) *hadith (Tahdhib al-tahdhib)*. As an aside, the latter work provides us with another characteristic of biographical dictionaries. The *Tahdhib al-tahdhib* constitutes a reworking of an earlier and larger dictionary on the same subject by al-Mizzi (d. 1341), *Tahdhib al-kamal fi asma' al-rijal*, itself drawing from an earlier *rijal* work. Despite being a summary of a summary, and to the delight often felt by researchers working with biographical dictionaries, Ibn Hajar either adds information culled from other sources than his main one (some now lost) or explains obscure passages found in the earlier work or works. In other words, one may not simply rely on one single work to uncover details about a scholar's life, since even a revision of an earlier work can include new information. Practically any intellectual field broadly relevant to Islamic civilization received, at one time or another, the attention of a compiler, even if the group was considered negative or marginal.

The arrangements of biographical dictionaries differ. If the compiler of a biographical dictionary opted for an alphabetical arrangement, it could also be his or her choice to put all men whose name starts with "Muhammad" at the very beginning of the dictionary out of respect for the Prophet. Then, the order of the Arabic alphabet dealt with men whose names were known. Women were then listed, followed by men who were only known by their agnomen ("Abu"), then those whose identity was not fully known *(majhulun)*—though the ordering of the last categories can alternate.

Structure and Information

Biographical entries generally tend to have a uniform character, with the focus of attention, as previously mentioned, being more of a summing up of dry facts or anecdotes in the fashion of today's *curriculum vitae* rather than offering psychological insights about the person dealt with, let alone dealing with inner motive. The first part of an entry starts with an enumeration of the name of the person. Included, here, is the genealogy (on average, five generations are listed). Other elements included in the onomastic section are adjectives of relation *(nisba)* referring either to one's tribal or geographical affiliation. If someone had a nickname *(shuhra)* or honorific title *(laqab),* these are included, too. After the onomastic part of the entry, sometimes the names of teachers and pupils the person at hand narrated from or studied under, and to whom this information was in turn passed on to, are provided (more so in collections about *hadith* transmitters, and some collections, such al-Mizzi's *Tahdhib al-kamal fi asma' al-rijal*, additionally included—in abbreviated form indicating the line of transmission of the person involved is found—the letter "*mim*" standing for Muslim's collection or the letter *kha'* for al-Bukhari's compilation, to mention the two most important Sunnite *hadith* works). Anecdotes about the person's life are then given, the gist of which can vary greatly. The year of death, if known, usually closes the entry.

Unsurprisingly, information contained in biographical dictionaries enjoys much variety. Taken as a whole, however, the literary genre of medieval Arabic biographical dictionaries contains five main rubrics of information. As already noted, onomastic data are given, which by nature include the person's genealogy and tribal or geographical circumstances (though care must be taken that the *nisba* encountered

in the listing of names sometimes refers to an ancestor who had that *nisba* rather than the person at hand). Secondly, demographic information includes ethnicity, tribal affiliation, occupation, years of birth and death, and occasionally the cause of death. Intellectual direction and standing constitute a third rubric of information, telling the reader which fields of learning a person was involved in, who his (or very rarely her) teachers and/or pupils were, if knowledge was committed to writing, or if the savant had a particular ideological position that differed from the main aim of the biographical dictionary being composed. Third, it was often noted if the person narrated *hadith*, together with (moral) qualifications about that person (incidentally, we do not know what, if any, nuance existed between qualifications like "trustworthy" *[thiqa]* or "pious" *[salih]*). Fourth, one comes across various distinctive features like someone's tendency to pray or to fast beyond the call of duty, or dyeing one's beard, sometimes noting the color; if someone became sick toward the end of his or her life (blindness and senility being the leading two diseases noted for this preindustrial society), or if the person belonged to a special group (for example, participated in a famous battle or was one of those who became exceptionally old and so forth). At times one reads that the person was *awwalu man* ("the first to have done ..."), in itself another original literary genre of Islamic civilization that led to separate compilations listing as many "first to's" as possible. Finally, biographical dictionaries are rich in geographical information, ranging from place of birth to that of death and all in between, such as place of first residence, any places they moved, and place of occupation or of study and/or teaching. It should immediately be reiterated that this is a total picture of what kind of information is found in the biographical dictionaries and that not all the people listed have by extension all of this information about them individually; some dictionaries give information for some of these characteristics while other dictionaries give the researcher other data about the same person.

In summary, Arabic biographies and biographical dictionaries offer a relatively large range of data for a preindustrial society, because no other preindustrial society can claim such an abundance of information about various segments of the population. Unfortunately, medieval Arabic biographical dictionaries have hardly been utilized by researchers outside Islamic Studies proper, like historical demographers who tend to be thrilled if they uncover data that date back to the sixteenth century CE; finding medieval social data about Islamic civilization still requires much mining.

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See also 'Abbasid Caliph; Al-Bukhari; Al-Khatib al-Baghdadi; Al-Ma'mun; Companions of the Prophet; Hadith; Ibn Al-Jawzi; Ibn Sa'd; Sira; Sufis

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BIRUNI

Al-Biruni, Abu Rayhan Muhammad Ibn Ahmad, was one of the greatest scholars of Medieval Islam, not merely of encyclopedic range, but perhaps the most original among them. Unlike his famous contemporaries Ibn Sina and Ibn al-Haytham, who influenced Latin scholasticism, Biruni became known in Europe only in the later nineteenth century, mainly by way of the editions by Eduard Sachau. Biruni was born September 4, 973, in Kath, the capital of Khwarezm, on the river Amu Darya (classical Oxus). Although his native Khwarezmian was also an Iranian language, he rejected the emerging neo-Persian literature of his time (Firdawsi), preferring Arabic instead as the only adequate medium of the sciences. Although probably of humble origin, he was, for unknown reasons, educated at the court of the Khwarezm-Shahs, where he received a solid training in mathematics, astronomy, and mathematical geography. In his early years he constructed a model, with a diameter of five meters, of the northern hemisphere of the earth. In collaboration with a colleague in Baghdad he determined the difference in longitude between this

city and Kath by determining the difference in time between the observations of a lunar eclipse in the two places. He discussed the theory of the earth's rotation and found that from a purely mathematical standpoint it was unobjectionable but not sustainable on physical grounds. In a contentious correspondence with Ibn Sina, he even doubted some basic tenets of Aristotelian cosmology, the eternity and unicity of this world. In this respect he was closer to Muslim orthodoxy than his philosophical counterpart. In later works he stressed that there are no contradictions between science and the Koran. Although he condemned the heretical opinions of al-Razi, he nevertheless compiled a bibliography of his writings. During a sojourn in Gurgan on the southern coast of the Caspian Sea, he wrote his *Chronology of Ancient Nations,* a description of the calendar systems of various peoples and religious communities including critical examinations of popular traditions, for example, about Alexander the Great, as well as some historical data on the Bible. When Khwarezm was invaded by Mahmud of Ghazna, Biruni, together with other scholars, was taken to Ghazna (known today as Afghanistan). There, at Mahmud's court, he obtained acceptable working conditions. From a mountain overlooking the Indus Plain, near the fortress of Nandana, he measured the earth's circumference by a method previously used by the caliph Al-Ma'mun's astronomers. Mahmud's repeated incursions into northwest India gave him the opportunity to study the customs, folklore, literature, and sciences of the Hindus. He even learned some Sanskrit and translated, probably with indigenous help, from Arabic into this language and from Sanskrit into Arabic. Observing similarities between pagan Greek and Hindu mythologies, he censured the Hindus' idolatry, as well as their scholars' deferral to popular superstitions. He compared their mathematical and astronomical doctrines with those of the Greeks, which he always found superior, and he observed that India did not have such heroes as Socrates who were willing to die for the sake of truth. His wish that by their conversion to Islam the Hindus might be saved from their totally alien mindset tallied with Mahmud's imperial ambitions. To Mahmud's successor, Mas'ud, Biruni dedicated the "Mas'udic Canon," a huge reference work of astronomy, and for Mawdud, the next ruler of the dynasty, he wrote the "Mineralogy," a sometimes amusing description of various metals and gemstones. With the help of a vessel constructed for the purpose, meticulous research was carried out on the specific weight of some eighteen substances. He even resorted to experiments, not, as customary with ancient and contemporaneous scholars, in order to prove a previously formulated idea, but instead to check a commonly accepted opinion, largely with negative results. He was skeptical about alchemy and astrology, although he dedicated a concise introduction to the latter, in the form of questions and answers, to a fellow Khwarezmian, a woman named Rayhana. Almost until his death on December 11, 1048, Biruni worked on his "Pharmacology"; it contained the names of 1116 items of materia medica in Greek, as well as in Iranian, Indian, and Semitic languages, arranged alphabetically by their Arabic names.

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See also 'Abbasid Caliph; Al-Ma'mun, Al-Razi; Alexander the Great; Aristotle and Aristotelianism; Firdawzi; Ibn al-Haytham, or Alhazen; Ibn Sina, or Avicenna; Idolatry; Mahmud of Ghazna; Materia Medica

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BLACK DEATH

The Black Death was a pandemic that swept through almost every part of the Old World, beginning in the 1330s with repeated waves of infection continuing into the fifteenth century. The bacteria that spreads the plague is *Yersinia pestis,* a small, rod-shaped bacillus that lives in the gut of certain fleas, particularly the rat flea, *Xenopsylla cheopis*. The spreading bacteria block the infected flea's esophagus, and the flea is no longer able to feed itself; it simply regurgitates the bacteria into its host as it attempts to feed. It is at this point that the flea will typically move from its usual host, the black rat *(Rattus rattus)*, and bite and infect humans.

In the case of the bubonic form of the plague, the lymph glands filter the bacilli out of the bloodstream. The glands, typically those in the neck or groin area, subsequently become engorged with bacilli. This causes agonizing pain at the site of the lymph nodes as they first appear as dark accretions and then swell to form a "bubo" (hence "bubonic" plague) ranging in size from an almond to an orange. The victim then

develops flu-like symptoms, including a high fever. The bacilli subsequently cause widespread damage throughout the victim's body, attacking the lungs, heart, and kidneys. The bacilli also attack the nervous system, sometimes leading to a wild hysteria that gave rise to the phrase "the dance of death." In most cases the victim then hemorrhages massive amounts of blood, which causes dark blotches to appear before the victim slips into a coma and dies. The total time from infection to death is typically about two weeks.

Pneumonic plague, a more deadly and infectious form of the disease, appears in cases where the bacteria multiply in the lungs of the victim. This form of the plague is highly contagious because it is transmitted when an infected person coughs up droplets of the bacilli. The pneumonic plague is 100 percent fatal. A third form of the plague (septicemia) bypasses the lymph glands altogether and concentrates bacilli in the body at such a rate that the victim usually dies in just a few hours.

The Black Death struck the Middle East with as much ferocity as it did Europe. The disease originated in Central Asia, where it had been endemic to an isolated species of rodent for hundreds of years. Evidence seems to indicate that this isolated strain of *Yersinia pestis* mutated over the course of centuries of isolation. Its isolation and mutation account for its particularly rapid spread and exceptional lethality. It spread both east and west along Mongol trade routes, attacking China, India, Europe, and the Middle East. From Central Asia it spread to Kaffa on the Black Sea and then to Constantinople, where it spread throughout the Mediterranean. It first arrived at the port of Alexandria in the fall of 1347. From there it spread throughout Egypt and wiped out nearly 50 percent of the population.

It was equally devastating in North Africa, Palestine, and Greater Syria. Medieval medicine was unable to cope with or understand this virulent disease. It was known as either "*ta'un*" or "*al-waba' al-iswid*" in Arabic. Many people believed that it was caused by earthquakes that had released a deadly air (miasma) into the environment. Some attempted to flee to isolated places, although this did not occur as much in the Middle East as in Europe.

The socioeconomic consequences were such that it left Egypt's irrigation system in ruins. It seems to have had an equally devastating economic and social impact on North Africa. Less is known about its socioeconomic impact in Iran, Iraq, Palestine, and Greater Syria, although reports from contemporary observers attest to its equal lethality in these areas.

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See also Death and Dying; Folk Medicine; Physicians

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BOOKS

Books (sing. *kitab*; pl. *kutub*) count among the chief objects of artistic expression throughout the Islamic lands, beginning with Islam's most formative historical phases. The early prestige accorded to the book by Islamic society is generally considered to derive from the Qur'an *(mushaf)*. Notwithstanding the status of the divine revelation itself, copying the Qur'an provided a strong impetus for formal and aesthetic exploration. The materials of the Qur'an—writing supports and inks—were produced with care; numerous scripts were developed over time to write out the text; illuminations were created to mark internal divisions of the text, count verses, frame the text, and introduce the book through elaborate frontispieces; and the finished, stitched textblock of folios was placed inside a protective binding. From the earliest period, the codex emerged as the chief structural form of the book, though this single form was subject to a host of permutations and adaptations over time. It was perhaps the Qur'an more than any other text that lent cultural importance to the book as a physical object and that motivated its artistic elaboration.

By the tenth and eleventh centuries, a corpus of traditions had developed around the book that stressed its eminence and importance. These sayings record cultural notions that additionally explain the high status of the book in Islam. The book was heralded as the means by which human thought could be preserved over time—a permanent and reproducible trace of thought—the most effective vehicle for recording achievements of various sorts, whether broadly intellectual, literary, or political. One of the most complete corpuses of aphorisms appears in a treatise on the technique and art of calligraphy composed by Abu'l-Hayyan al-Tawhidi (d. after 1009 CE). The sayings cited by al-Tawhidi are mainly concerned with the merits of calligraphy, a skill sought out and acquired by people of high culture. Calligraphy not only recorded the thoughts of mankind but could also embody the person's morality as ideas—the proper content of the text—as well as in the physical form of writing. Fine writing—and the labor that preceded accomplishment in writing—offered a trace, like a footprint, of the person for posterity. Calligraphy

was an impressed presence. Sayings in al-Tawhidi's treatise include one attributed to Ja'far b. Yahya al-Barmaki (d. 803), ''Handwriting is the necklace of wisdom. It serves to sort the pearls of wisdom, to bring its dispersed pieces into good order, to put its stray bits together, and to fix its setting.'' Another saying attributed to a certain 'Abbas reads: ''Handwriting is the tongue of the hand. Style is the tongue of the intellect. The intellect is the tongue of good actions and qualities. And good actions and qualities are the perfection of man'' (Rosenthal 1947, 1–20). Given that books are primarily vehicles of texts, it is not difficult to comprehend the logic of other sayings cited by another writer, Ibn al-Nadim (fl. 987), in his *Fihrist*, a virtual encyclopedia of the culture of books in the tenth century. The sayings given by Ibn al-Nadim include al-'Attabi's remark, ''Books smile as pens shed tears,'' and Buzurgmihr's saying, ''Books are the shells of wisdom, which are split open for the pearls of character'' (Ibn al-Nadim 1970). Such sayings continued to have currency over time and were amplified by notions that the first thing created by God was the pen and that He had written out creation on the preserved tablet *(lawh al-mahfuz)*. The synergy of these cultural notions and values secured the preeminence of the written word and the book across a wide spectrum of texts and resulted in the formation of personal, institutional, and royal libraries of often-massive scope. Although books were always adjuncts to processes of learning based on oral transmission and audition, the physical text permitted the transport of knowledge through space and time and ''independently of their human transmitters,'' as Bloom notes (Bloom 2001, 123).

The principal materials used in the early production of books were parchment, vellum, and papyrus. These materials were quickly supplanted by paper, an inherently cheaper medium that had a profound impact on book culture. This new medium made books more readily available and permitted the widespread dissemination of knowledge on an unprecedented scale (see Bloom). It also provided an inherently more coherent surface for writing, illumination, and painting while matching the pliancy of other supports. By the year 1000, paper had even supplanted papyrus in Egypt. It had also been accepted as a suitable medium for the production of the Qur'an, though the use of materials such as parchment continued in some regions of the Islamic world, especially in North Africa, perhaps as a way of marking the separate status of the Qur'an. Various primary sources record the different formats of paper sheets.

A rich technical literature similarly records recipes for black and colored inks and pigments prepared from vegetable and mineral sources, methods of preparing and decorating papers through dyes, tints, and gold flecking, and the manufacture of book bindings. The earliest known text to devote itself wholly to the techniques and materials of the art of the book is Ibn Badis's *'Umdat al-kuttab* (ca. 1025). The transmission of technical lore became a subject for many later writers, and there is a rich literature on this topic (see 'Abd al-Hayy Habibi and Porter). Over time, many additional techniques were used to augment the visual dimensions of the book. Papers could be decorated with marbling or stenciling, text blocks framed inside multiple rulings that formed a border to divide the text field *(matn)* from margin *(hashiya)*, and calligraphy could be executed in black or colored inks—sometimes spotted with flecks of crushed mother-of-pearl—or assembled from cut paper (decoupage) of differing colors. Leather bindings were equally inventive: Beginning with the relatively simple use of tanned leather over pasteboard covers, bindings came to be decorated with blind-tooled designs (punched or stamped into the leather and often augmented by the selective application of gold) organized into lines, clusters of motifs, or geometric compositions. More complex stamped ornament was developed through the use of engraved metal plates in various shapes arranged on book covers as medallions and corner pieces. The binding's inner surfaces, the doublures, could either be fashioned from sheets of leather or cut leather (filigree) laid over colored paper grounds. The binding's interior and exterior were also embellished in some contexts through patterned textiles or lacquer. By the middle years of the 1400s, the artistry of the bookbinder had reached a staggering level.

Despite the development of many different techniques and decorative effects, however, the structure of the binding remained constant. It was assembled from upper and lower covers connected to the book's spine, with a board attached along the outer edge of the lower cover—as wide as the depth of the textblock—that in turn supported an envelope flap. When the book was closed, the envelope flap was placed underneath the upper cover, thereby protecting the outer edge of the textblock. Although elegant and alluring, the binding offered a robust protection for the text that it contained.

Because the Islamic book lacked pagination and an index, other means were required to enhance the clarity of the book's organization and thus facilitate its use. These challenges were solved by several means. Illumination was developed to mark the beginnings and endings of chapters or book sections, as full-page designs, double pages, or rectangular panels *('unwan, sarlawh)*. Books may also have opened with a table of contents *(fihrist)* or an illuminated

panel carrying the name of the text. An additional form of illumination was composed as a roundel *(shamsa)* that might contain the owner's ex libris. The calligraphy proper was also manipulated to enhance the clarity of the work. Prose was usually arranged as running text, whereas poetry was divided into columnar formats of either four or six; colophons marking the end of chapters or books were generally arranged as an inverted triangle of text and conformed to established textual protocols. Variations in the color of ink or in the type and size of script were also used to announce subdivisions of the text, which are transitions from one subject to another on a single page. In the case of illustrated manuscripts, an encapsulation of the image's content could appear in the form of a brief explanatory text enclosed in a small panel. These organizational challenges were even more severe in the anthology, books assembled from different texts that might treat various topics and that might unite works of prose and poetry in a single volume.

The many processes associated with the production of the textblock could be undertaken in several sequences, though the copying of the text was usually completed first. After the folios had been cut to the appropriate size, the page was marked with a grid as a guide for the calligrapher. This was done either through the use of a sharp instrument that scored lines into the folio, or by pressing a cardboard with threads arranged across it *(mastar)* into the folio. Catchwords written in the lower-left margin of each folio guaranteed the correct collation of the manuscript at the time of its stitching to form a fixed textblock. In the course of writing the text, the copyist left spaces for illumination or for illustrations, which would generally be completed after the text was copied. Other processes, such as ruling, were generally accomplished last.

Throughout the period between the seventh and sixteenth centuries, books were made under various circumstances and in different contexts. Some were made by copyists *(warraq, nassakh),* who were also booksellers in the market, under direct commission or speculatively. Some were made in the context of mosques or madrasas and provided for by the endowment of the *waqf*. Other book production occurred under caliphal or princely support, the best-known early medieval example being al-Ma'mun's *Bayt al-hikma* in Baghdad. Degrees of specialization in the production of books always varied in each context and were not subject to a linear development over time. For example, in a volume of the Qur'an signed by Ibn al-Bawwab (d. 1022), the colophon notes that Ibn al-Bawwab copied the text and executed the illuminations. In an illustrated copy of al-Hariri's *Maqamat*, dated 1237, the copyist (al-Wasiti) was also responsible for executing the many paintings. In the later 1500s, such dual expertise was also applied to the production of books.

Book production under royal patronage, whenever or wherever it occurred, was generally more specialized. Two documents from the early 1400s, for example, describe the highly specialized bookmaking procedures in the Timurid workshops *(kitabkhana)* of Herat and Shiraz. One document is a progress report about projects in the Herat workshop presumably addressed to the Timurid prince, Baysunghur (d. 1433); the other is a letter inviting an illuminator to become the chief of the Shiraz workshop and lists the workers under his direction by their specialization. These workshops were institutions, devoted in large part to the creation of books, that assembled skilled calligraphers, painters, draftsmen, illuminators, outliners, rulers and binders, and artists who were not only in command of the requisite skills of their particular medium but who also knew how to prepare materials. Additional evidence also suggests that some practitioners worked across different media. Some of the more stunning developments in the art of the Islamic book occurred under royal patronage because it alone was capable of sustaining specialized production—gathering the requisite human talent and procuring the necessary materials—and coordinating numerous practices into coherent, unified books. By the late 1400s, artists associated with the production of books were being recorded in histories; in the 1500s, authors such as the Ottoman man of letters, Mustafa Ali, composed texts devoted entirely to the history of artistic practice. These texts, prefaces to album collections and treatises, are yet another testament to the high status of books in Islam, but they express an appreciation for skill and artistic accomplishment in the terms of a history of art.

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See also Abu'l-Hayyan al-Tawhidi; Adab; Alphabets; Al-Ma'mun; Arabic; Archives and Chanceries; Cultural Exchange; Humanism; Knowledge ('Ilm); Libraries; Madrasa; Manuscripts; Painting, Miniature; Paper Manufacture; Persian; Qur'an, Manuscripts; Scribes; Turkish and Turkic Languages; Waqf

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BOTANY

Arabic botanical knowledge was mainly practical and descriptive. It was contained principally in pharmacological literature and secondarily in agricultural literature. Theoretical botany was a matter of philosophical speculation.

Early Arabic plant knowledge relied on agricultural literature of Greece and Byzantium, with the *Geôrgika* by Demokritos (in fact, Bolos of Mendes, ca. 200 BCE), Anatolios of Berytos (possibly Vindonius Anatolius, d. AD 360), and Kassianos Bassos (sixth century. CE), as well as on literature from the Syriac world, with the so-called *Nabatean agriculture* encyclopedia. Ninth-century CE translation activity in Baghdâd introduced Greek material: (1) theoretical botany (genesis, reproduction, and growing of plants, their parts and physiology, plant classification, the nature and origin of their qualities and peculiarities) with *De plantis* by Aristotle (384–322 BCE), not known in the original but in the commented version by Nikolaos of Damas (first century BCE/CE), and *De historia plantarum* or *De causis plantarum* by Theophrastus (372/70–288/86 BCE) (the text is lost; hence the uncertainty of the translated work); (2) pharmacobotany (plants used as medicines), with *De materia medica* by Dioscorides (first century CE), an encyclopedia on the natural products used for therapeutic purposes.

As in the Greek world, Dioscorides's treatise dominated the field. It was repeatedly translated, first into Syriac by Hunayn ibn Ishaq, and then into Arabic by the same working in collaboration with Istifan ibn Basil. The Arabic text was further revised during the tenth century CE in the East and the West (Cordova), and the Syriac treatise was translated twice into Arabic in the East during the twelfth century CE. Each translation seems to have been widely circulated, and Dioscorides's treatise was abundantly commented on—particularly by such North African and Western scientists as ibn al-Gazzâr, abû al-Qâsim al-Zahrâwî, al Ghâfiqî, and ibn al-Baytâr—in order to equate Dioscorides's Mediterranean species with local ones.

In Dioscorides's model of botany, each plant is dealt with in a monographic chapter, which proceeds both synthetically (plant type) and analytically (plant

description, neither systematic nor complete, but limited to the major characteristics from the top to the roots). Classification is based on the therapeutic properties of plants. The text is completed in several manuscripts with color representations of the plants, the authenticity and origin of which is still debated. Such a model was reproduced in the Arabic world but with two major modifications: (1) plants were no longer classified according to their properties, but according to the alphabetical sequence of their names, a fact that provoked the loss of plant classification; and (2) plant representations, which originally resembled those in Greek manuscripts, increasingly tended toward symmetrical and stylized pictures and also introduced elements that suggested the natural environment of the plants.

Greek pharmacobotany in the Arabic world agglutinated data of different provenances (Mesopotamian, Persian, Indian), and new works were produced, best represented in the East by al-Bîrûnî's *Kitâb al-Saydalah* and ibn Sînâ's *Qanûn*, and in the West by ibn al-Gazzâr, abû al-Qâsim al-Zahrâwî, al Ghâfiqî, and ibn al-Baytâr, the last two of whom are credited with the most achieved works of descriptive botany in the Arabic world. Special aspects were dealt with in other works, as, for example, plant nomenclature in lexica, phytogeography, and plant distribution in geographical descriptions and travel books, plant physiology in philosophical and metaphysical treatises such as ibn Sînâ's *Kitâb al-shifâ*, and plant production in agricultural manuals, as ibn Bâjja's *Kitâb al-nabât*.

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BRETHREN OF PURITY

Ikhwan al-Safa' (the Brethren of Purity) were the affiliates of an esoteric coterie that was based in Basra and Baghdad around the last quarter of the tenth century CE. The learned adepts of this fraternity authored a compendium, *Rasa'il Ikhwan al-Safa' (The Epistles of the Brethren of Purity),* which was structured in the form of an encyclopedia. This voluminous work grouped fifty-two tracts that treated themes in mathematics, music, logic, astronomy, and the physical cum natural sciences, as well as exploring the nature of the soul and investigating associated matters in ethics, revelation, and spirituality. This series offered synoptic elucidations of the classical traditions in philosophy and science of the ancients and the moderns of the age. It was also accompanied by a dense treatise titled *al-Risala al-jami'a (The Comprehensive Epistle)* and further complemented by an appendage known as *Risalat jami'at al-jami'a (The Condensed Comprehensive Epistle)*. The precise identity of the authors of this monumental corpus, and the exact chronology of its composition, remain unsettled matters of scholarly debate in the field of Islamic studies. Although the Ikhwan's writings have been described as being affiliated to Sufi, Sunni, or Mu'tazilite teachings, it is more generally accepted that their line in literature belonged to a Shi'ite legacy that had strong connections with the Ismaili tradition. While some scholars assert that the Rasa'il Ikhwan al-Safa' are attributable to early Fatimid sources, others maintain that this textual legacy transcended sectarian divisions in Islam and, in its spirit of openness, should consequently lead us to treat its authors as freethinkers who were not bound within the doctrinal confines of a specific creed. Moreover, besides founding their views on the Qur'an and the teachings of Islam, the Ikhwan did not hesitate to appeal in

their Rasa'il to the other scriptures of Abrahamic monotheism, such as the Torah of Judaism and the Canonical Gospels of Christianity. The Ikhwan were also implicitly influenced by Ancient Indian and Persian classics, and they were enthusiastically inspired by the Greek legacies of the likes of Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Plotinus, Euclid, Ptolemy, Porphyry, and Iamblichus. Finding "truth in every religion" and seeing knowledge as the pure "nourishment for the soul," the Ikhwan associated the pursuit of happiness and the hope of salvation with the scrupulous unfolding of rational and intellectual quests. They furthermore promoted a friendship of virtue among their companions and gave a venerable expression to the liberal spirit in Islam. Their syncretism, which is not reducible to a mere form of eclecticism that may have been partly influenced by Mesopotamian Sabaean practices and beliefs, did ultimately ground their eschatological aspiration to found a spiritual sanctuary that would prudently assist their co-religionists in overcoming the sectarian discords that plagued their era. Oriented by a literal interpretation of the classical microcosm and macrocosm analogy, as it was primarily noted in their conception of the human being as a microcosm and of the universe as a macroanthropon, the Ikhwan did avidly attempt to restore the sense of harmony and equipoise between the psychical order and its correlative cosmological shaping forces. Their analogical thinking was furthermore inspired by a Pythagorean arithmetic grasp of the structuring orderliness of the visible universe, and they moreover adopted a Neoplatonist explication of creation by way of emanation in a creditable attempt to reconcile philosophy with religion. Drafted in an eloquent classical Arabic style, the Ikhwan's epistles displayed a remarkable lexical adaptability that elegantly covered the language of mathematics, logic, and natural philosophy, as well as encompassing the intricacies of theological deliberation and occultist speculation, while also giving expression to a poetic taste that was ingeniously embodied in resourceful fables and edifying parables. In terms of the scholarly significance of the *Rasa'il,* and the cognitive merits of the Ikhwan's views, it must be stated that, despite being supplemented by oral teachings in seminaries, their textual heritage was not representative of the most decisive of achievements made in the domains of mathematics, and the natural and psychical sciences of their epoch. Nonetheless, the Ikhwan's intellectual acumen becomes most evident in their original and sophisticated reflections on matters related to spirituality and revelation, which did compensate the ostensible scholarly limitations that may have resulted from the diluted nature of their investigations in classical philosophy and science. However, in spite of these traceable shortcomings, their corpus remains exemplary of medieval masterpieces that represented erudite popular adaptations of protoscientific knowledge. Assimilated by many scholars across a variety of Muslim schools and doctrines, the Ikhwan's textual heritage acted as an important intellectual catalyst in the course of development of the history of ideas in Islam, rightfully deserving the station that it has been assigned amid the Arabic classics that constituted the high literature of the medieval Islamic civilization.

NADER EL-BIZRI

See also Aristotle and Aristotelianism; Eschatology; Fatimids; Gnosis; Ismailis; Knowledge (*'ilm*); Mysticism; Plato and Neoplatonism; Shi'i Thought; Theology

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BUDDHISM AND ISLAM

The infamous destruction of the giant Buddha images at Bamyan, Afghanistan, by the radical Islamic Taliban regime serves as a potent symbol of the culmination of the centuries-long coexistence and contact between Islam and Buddhism. The destruction of the statues not only eclipses that history but also

underscores a tone of intolerance toward Buddhism on the part of some Muslim thinkers today. A new book bearing the title *Islam and Buddhism* by Harun Yahya, perhaps the only contemporary work specifically dedicated to the question of the Islamic-Buddhist relationship, provides a characteristically hostile depiction of Buddhism as an idolatrous religion and the quintessential example of "falsehood," as it is defined by the Qur'an and Islamic thought more generally. Thus, Buddhism, with its "deification" of human beings, a cult of idols, a massive iconography, and its pessimism toward the material world and consequent extreme asceticism, seems to be worlds apart from Islam.

However, the mere fact that an important Buddhist monument might exist in what is now known as an Islamic country indicates that Buddhism, in its varieties, existed in territories to which Islam also extended its reach during its advent to East and Southeast Asia. Many of the people who converted to Islam in these territories were originally Buddhists, and for long periods there was in these regions some sort of coexistence between the two realms, one far more varied and peaceful than certain events and publications might lead us to believe.

The encounter between Islam and Buddhism can be documented from as early as the late seventh century (or first Islamic century). Buddhist converts, like many other converts to Islam, enriched Islam with troves of cultural expression of all sorts, and imported into the religion their own distinctive practices and theological interpretations. Perhaps the best concrete example of such Buddhist converts is the Barmaki lineage during the early days of the 'Abbasid caliphate. The father of the family was a Persian-Buddhist priest from Balkh, whose descendants rose to power and glory as grand viziers and are often associated with the golden age of the 'Abbasid caliphate. It was probably during that period, when the 'Abbasid caliphs sponsored huge translation projects of Eastern and Western texts, that the most fruitful connections between Islam and Buddhism occurred. However, we must be very cautious before attributing any *specific* practice or idea in Islam to Buddhism, even when we find similarities between the two religions, since in most cases one cannot really pinpoint any direct influence. It is more plausible to speak of general Central Asian or Indian practices and ideas in relation to Islam rather then specifically Buddhist ideas or practices and to conceive of this syncretism in generally cultural terms rather than specific one-to-one correlative ones.

The most well-known attempt to draw a direct connection between Buddhist practices and Islam was undertaken by the great Hungarian–Jewish Orientalist Ignaz Goldziher. In a study titled *A Buddhizmus Hatása az Iszlámra (On the Impact of Buddhism on Islam)*, published in 1903, Goldziher demonstrated similarities between Sufism and Buddhism and claimed that the former sprung forth when Islam came in contact with the latter in India (he repeated a version of this claim in his *Lectures on Islam.*)

While Goldziher was basically right in drawing the attention of the debate toward the Indian connection to Sufism, one is hard-pressed to say that it was Buddhism per se rather than Indian practices such as *Bhakti* (devotionalism, in this context) that had some generalized impact on the early Sufi practitioners. (Of all dimensions of Islam, Sufism today is most readily compared to Buddhism, but then again, Sufism is indeed most inclusive and eclectic and thus most easily compared to strains within all religions). On the ideational level we find the unique case of a Chinese Sufi scholar, Wu Zixian, who translated the *Mirsad al-'ibad*, a major Sufi compendium, into Chinese and stated freely in his preface to the book that he had consulted Buddhist texts to come up with the suitable Chinese vocabulary for Sufi terms. Wu is unique not because he was an East Asian Muslim inspired by Buddhism but rather because he was one who openly admitted this influence.

Buddhists and Muslims today coexist in significant numbers in virtually all Southeast and East Asian countries (and also Korea and Japan). There have been some serious scholarly and religious attempts to renew and open the dialogue between the two faiths. One such attempt worthy of mentioning is by the major Japanese Buddhist thinker and educator Daisaku Ikeda. For the most part, however, this remains an undeveloped field, and what has been written on the topic is largely polemical.

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BUKHARA

Bukhara is an oasis city in central Asia in the Zarafshan River Valley (in present-day Uzbekistan). According to traditions preserved in the partly legendary Islamic conquest literature, the first Arab forces reached Bukhara during the early Umayyad period. Ubayd Allah b. Ziyad concluded an agreement with the *khatun* (a Sogdanian title for the ruler's wife) who governed the great and rich oasis (in AH 54/674 CE). Yet the actual capture of the region started a generation later during the governorship of Qutayba Ibn Muslim (89/708), and it was not secured until the days of Nasr Ibn Sayyar (738–748), when the armies of the caliphate succeeded in repelling the Western Turks (Turgish /Türgiş).

According to Islamic historiography, the victorious Muslim commanders constructed a mosque and recruited local clients to the armies of the caliphate, though it is difficult to gauge the number of converts and their percentage among the indigenous population. Judging by their participation in heretical movements, however, it can be assumed that in Bukhara during the eighth and ninth centuries, a considerable number of people were giving up local beliefs and joining Islam. Already during the early 'Abbasid period, contacts between the core land of the caliphate and the periphery became more firmly established. A governor was sent from Baghdad to collect taxes and command the army.

The rank of Bukhara in the administrative machinery of the caliphate was upgraded during the years of the Tahirids (207–278/822–891). The new importance of the city resulted from developments in Khurasan. The coming of Isma'il b. Ahmad to Bukhara (in 262/875), whose position was confirmed by the caliph al-Mu'tadid (279–89/892–902), opened a new chapter in the history of the oasis. Bukhara became the capital city of the Samanids, a local Iranian dynasty that became integrated into the 'Abbasid system.

After the fall of the Samanids (395/1005) and the emergence in present-day Afghanistan of new centers, that of Ghazna, who for a short period the Ghaznawids (367–583/977–1187) played a role in the history of Central Asia, Bukhara lost its political and administrative importance. Yet, due to cultural and economic reasons it did not disappear from chronicles that narrate the history of power struggles in medieval Central Asia. With the help of the Saljuqid sultan Sanjar, a Qarakhanid (Ilig/Ilek Khans) prince named Arslan Khan Muhammad occupied Bukhara (495/1102). The city remained in the hands of the Qarakhanids while it was governed by the Ilig Nasr b. 'Ali the. After a few decades the Kara Khitay captured the town (536/1141). The Kara Khitay people did not rule Bukhara directly but rather installed a local family as head of tax collection and bureaucracy *(sadr)*.

Mongol invasions (616/1220) brought havoc to Bukhara. Nevertheless, the city soon recovered. A revolt led by a pseudoprophet (636/1238) began the re-emergence of a local community. Yet after a few years, Bukhara once again was destroyed, first by the Il-Kahn Abaka of Iran (671/1278) and then by a Chaghtayid rebel (716/1316). Later, Bukhara was taken over by Timur Leng (Tamerlane, d. 1405). It remained in the hands of the Timurid Turkish–Mongol dynasty until the advance of Shibani Khan the Uzbek (905/1500). It seems that during these years the city had no political importance. The topographical history of Bukhara in the seventh to ninth centuries is shrouded in obscurity. On more solid ground is the information from the 'Abbasid period. Arab and Persian geographers provide information on the structure and topography of Bukhara. They describe a large city *(shahristan)* protected by double walls with several gates (the sources name seven to eleven), a citadel *(quhunduz; ark)*, water canals *(arik)*, and suburbs *(rabd)*. The Samanids built a royal palace that accommodated the administration *(divan)*. Arslan Khan became noted as a great builder. He rebuilt the walls and citadel of Bukhara and constructed a mosque. A dozen monuments have survived as evidence of the architectural achievements of the years described in the previous paragraph.

Being populated by Arabs, Iranians, and Turks, Bukhara served as a center to spread the new culture that developed within the boundaries of the caliphate. This deduction is supported by biographical dictionaries that use new nomenclature to name renowned Muslim scholars. In biographical entries these writers use genealogy based on geography *(nisba)* to name the personas. Money among them bore the *nisba* al-Bukhari. The lists of the numerous scholars named al-Bukhari are long. Abu al-Fadl Bal'ami and his son Abu 'Ali Muhammad (d. 363/973) are further examples. Both served as viziers of the Samanids. Translating into New Persian, the chronicles of al-Tabari, Muhammad gained fame as one of the first Persian authors.

Bukhara functioned as an axis of Islamic culture and innovation and a hub of the Hanafi School of Islamic law, which molded the Islam of recently converted Turks. Patronized by the Samanids, the Persian language, which served as the lingua franca between the Muslim governors and the population of Transoxiana, developed into a pivot of the new Islamic civilization. From Bukhara it spread to the central parts of Iran and advanced into Central Asia. The city's role as the heart of Islamic learning was not

eclipsed even under the Mongols. Moreover, Baha al-Din Naqshaband (791/1389) started his brotherhood of dervishes *(al-tariqa al-Naqshabandiyya)* during the years of the Chaghatayid dynasty.

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BUKHARI

Al-Bukhari, Abu Ja'far Muhammad b. Isma'il was an expert in hadith. Muslims consider his work, *al-Jami' al-Sahih,* or more commonly, *Sahih al-Bukhari*, to be the foremost collection of the accounts of the words, deeds, and opinions of the Prophet Muhammad.

The purview of the collection is indicated by the title which al-Bukhari apparently gave his work, translated as: *The Comprehensive Collection of Supported Sound Hadith Summarized from the Actions, Practices, and Battles of the Messenger of God*. The hadith are arranged topically. The emphasis is on Islamic religious law, although there is much material that can be more narrowly defined as theology and religious history.

According to the traditional estimate, it consists of roughly 7275 hadith. Many of the hadith are mentioned more than once, and it is said that without the duplicates the total is 4000 separate hadith. Both figures include hadith lacking a chain of transmission *(isnad)*, hadith repeated with more than one chain of transmission, and those ascribed to religious authorities other than Muhammad. Unfortunately, nowhere does al-Bukhari explain the criteria he applied in selecting hadith for inclusion, although tales assert that only a small fraction of what he knew he found worthy. For the most part, later scholars held that al-Bukhari's mere mention of a transmitter in this work was sufficient proof that the transmitter was reliable. We may take the estimate of the esteemed scholar al-Safadi (AH 696/1297–764/1363 CE) of the work as representative: "[Al-Bukhari]'s collection is the most exalted book on hadith in Islam; and the best of them after [the Qur'an]." Considering al-Bukhari's later fame, the sources give us very little information about his life, and what we are told is largely hagiography mixed in with tidbits of information that, in most cases, could well have been derived from the examination of his works. He was born in Bukhara in 194/810 to non-Arab parents. He took up the study of hadith at an early age and traveled throughout Persia, Iraq, the Hejaz, Syria, and Egypt. In 256/870, he died in Khartank, a village near Samarqand, and was buried in the latter. The most serious blemish on his reputation was the allegation leveled by some of his contemporaries that he asserted that one's recitation of the Qur'an is "created," and therefore not pre-eternal. During his lifetime, issues surrounding the nature of the Qur'an were bitterly disputed, and later generations of scholars have generally held this particular doctrine to be heretical. In the traditional biographical accounts of the life of al-Bukhari, we find him unequivocally denying that he ever subscribed to such an odious view.

Al-Bukhari wrote other works on subjects concerning hadith, but they are, considering his fame, unimpressive. Of these, his *al-Ta'rikh al-kabir* (ed. 'Abd al-Rahman b. Yahya al-Mu'allimi al-Yamani, 4 vols. in 8 parts, Hyderabad, 1361–1365), a more or less alphabetically arranged biographical dictionary of hadith transmitters, is probably the most notable. Despite its immense size, it was quickly eclipsed as a practical reference by even larger and more informative books covering the same ground.

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BURIAL CUSTOMS

See Funerary Practices, Muslim

BURIDS

The Burids, or Börids, were a Turkish dynasty that ruled Damascus and much of its hinterland from 1104 to 1154 CE. Its founder was Zahir al-Din Tughtigin, the *atabeg* (a kind of "guardian and tutor") of Shams al-Mulk Duqaq, the son of the Seljuk sultan in Syria, Tutush (r. 1078–1095), who was the son of Alp Arslan and the brother of Malikshah (r. 1073–1092). Tutush took Damascus from Atsiz ibn Uvaz, who had conquered southern Syria and Palestine from the Fatimids. On Tutush's death, his sons divided his territory, Duqaq taking Damascus while placing his affairs in the hands of Tughtigin. When Duqaq died in 1104, Tughtigin became the de facto ruler of Damascus.

Tughtigin (r. 1104–1128) was the most remarkable member of the dynasty that he had founded. He maintained his independence with great dexterity while contending with the Fatimids in Egypt and Palestine, the newly arrived Franks of the First Crusade, also in Palestine, the 'Abbasid caliph and Seljuk sultan in Baghdad, and other members of the Seljuk family in Syria and Iraq. Sometimes allied with, or against, one or another of these parties, he skillfully played them against each other. In the course of this, he established his authority in the region between the Hawran south of Damascus and Hamah to the north. He played an important role in the struggle against the Franks, who threatened his grain supply in the Biqa'a Valley, and launched several expeditions against them. He made valiant but unsuccessful attempts to save Tripoli from them in 1109 and Tyre in 1124. He lacked the forces to drive the Crusaders from Palestine yet was distrustful of his disunited Muslim neighbors. In 1115, when the Seljuk sultan Muhammad sent an army to bring him under control and then attack the Franks, Tughtigin sided with the latter. Later, however, he traveled to Baghdad to seek the sultan's pardon.

On his death, Tughtigin was succeeded by his son Taj al-Muluk Böri (r. 1128–1132). He captured Hamah in 1129 and then blunted a Frankish campaign against Damascus. He almost immediately faced a major challenge with the rise of the Zankids in Mosul. The founder of this dynasty, Zanki, took Aleppo in 1128 and Hamah in 1130 while demanding the cooperation of Damascus against the Crusaders. He reached Homs before returning to Mosul. Meanwhile, in Damascus, Böri was threatened by the growing power of the Batinis, or Ismailis, who had been supported by his father. In 1129, Böri broke their power and exterminated a large number of them. In 1132, however, they assassinated him.

Böri was succeeded by his son, Shams al-Muluk Isma'il (r. 1132–1135). He captured Banyas from the Franks in 1132, took Hamah back from Zanki in 1133, and forced back a Frankish invasion of the Hawran in 1134. Despite these actions, he was considered so corrupt and tyrannical that his mother ordered his assassination in 1135. His brother Shihab al-Din Mahmud (r. 1135–1139) then took the throne. Zanki attempted to take advantage of this turmoil by marching on Damascus, but the people of the city stoutly resisted him and he withdrew. Mahmud and Zanki contracted a marriage alliance in 1138 that appeared to resolve their differences. Shortly thereafter, however, Mahmud was murdered by two of his slaves.

After Mahmud's murder, the city's military leaders first placed his brother Muhammad on the throne, but he died shortly thereafter. They then replaced him with Mahmud's young son, Mujir al-Din Abaq (r. 1140–1154), while placing actual control of Damascus in the hands of his *atabeg*, Mu'in al-Din Unur. Zanki again attacked the city, and again it resisted. Unur formed an alliance with the Franks to keep him at bay. Relations with the Franks were stabilized for the next few years. Zanki's preoccupation with Edessa in 1144 and his death in 1146 relieved the pressure from the north and allowed Unur to expand his territory. However, Zanki's son and successor, Nur al-Din Mahmud, proved to be equally determined to capture Damascus. In early 1147, Nur al-Din married Unur's daughter and the two leaders carried out joint operations against the Franks. A few months later, when the Second Crusade attempted to conquer Damascus, Nur al-Din provided some relief. When Unur died in 1149, Abaq was incapable of retaining control of the city. Nur al-Din forced him to accept his guardianship and finally drove him out in 1154.

On the whole, Damascus prospered under the Burids, enjoying a long period of relative security after several centuries of anarchy. The city expanded and new institutions, notably *madrasas* (colleges of law), took root.

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See also 'Abbasids; Assassins; Jihad; Madrasa; Muslim–Crusader Relations; Seljuks

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BUYIDS

The Buyid (Buwayhid) dynasty lasted from AH 334/945 CE until 449/1057. This family originated from the hills of Dailam near the Caspian Sea. 'Ali ibn Buya, in close collaboration with his two brothers, Ahmad and al-Hasan, led them to power at the head of a predominantly infantry army recruited in Dailam. Their first major success came when they took Shiraz in 322/934. Shortly thereafter they began adding Turkish cavalry to the army. The province of Fars served as one of their three centers of power. Al-Hasan took and ruled from Rayy. Ahmad marched on Baghdad, taking it in 334/945.

The Buyid family ruled as a confederation, with the eldest member having precedence. They did not depose or eliminate the caliph but acted as his "deputies." In reality they acted as kings while maintaining the legal fiction of subservience. All signs indicate that they were Shi'i, but pragmatically they made no effort to replace the 'Abbasid caliph with a Shi'i imam or to rule in his name. However, they did remove uncooperative caliphs. Immediately following the conquest of Baghdad, the caliph al-Mustakfi granted the three brothers the titles by which they are typically known: Ahmad became Mu'izz al-Dawla, al-Hasan became Rukn al-Dawla, and 'Ali became 'Imad al-Dawla. The caliph was then promptly removed from the throne, with al-Muti' taking his place. 'Imad al-Dawla, as the dominant member of the family, ruled from Shiraz until his death in 338/949. When he died, he had no sons and his role in Shiraz was assumed by 'Adud al-Dawla, the son of Rukn al-Dawla. Rukn al-Dawla then became head of the confederation. Mu'izz al-Dawla died in 356/967 having never attained headship.

'Adud al-Dawla represents the pinnacle of Buyid power and authority. As long as his father was alive, he maintained obedience to the familial structure of precedence. However, once his father died in 366/977, he seized Baghdad from his cousin and from there dominated the family. He was able to centralize rule and enforce unity.

After 'Adud al-Dawla's death in 372/983, the unity that he had created crumbled and the Buyids reverted once more to their previous pattern of family rule from their three main capitals of Baghdad, Shiraz, and Rayy. The position of senior amir was almost continually under dispute after 'Adud al-Dawla's death, and each prince usually ruled his capital independently. Only Baha' al-Dawla (r. 398/1007–403/1012) and Abu Kalijar (r. 435/1044–440/1048) can be said to have held the position of senior amir.

In addition to familial squabbles, the composite nature of the Buyid army meant that there were constant quarrels between Dailamite and Turkish troops. The later Buyids also faced considerable outside challenges. There were small challenges from Arab and Kurdish tribes and attempts by other dynasties, such as those of Oman and Isfahan, to break free from Buyid control. In the East there were major invasions by the Ghaznavids and Seljuks. The beginning of the end was the Ghaznavid conquest of Rayy in 1029. The demise of arguably the most active of the later Buyids, Abu Kalijar 'Imad al-Din, in 440/1048 left no clear ruler for the whole of Buyid territory and no established princes in the major cities. The Seljuks under Tughril Bek took this opportunity to take control of Buyid territories, and the last independent Buyid, Khusraw Firuz al-Malik al-Rahim, was captured outside of Baghdad in 449/1057.

Although politically chaotic, the Buyid courts provided havens for intellectuals, artists, and scientists from a variety of ethnic and religious persuasions. One can point to such luminaries as the philosopher Ibn Sina as examples of the breadth of intellectual achievement of this period.

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See also 'Abbasids; 'Adud al-Dawla; Baghdad; Ghaznavids; Ibn Sina; Imam; Iran; Iraq; Isfahan; Kurds; Mahmud of Ghazna; Oman; Seljuks; Shi'ism; Turks

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BYZANTINE EMPIRE

Byzantium was that part of the Roman Empire that retained its independence after the first ultradynamic phase of Islamic expansion (634–652 CE). Its principal components were (1) the islands of the Aegean, (2) the fertile coastal plains that fringe Asia Minor, (3) the mountain ranges that back onto those plains and the rolling plateau that they encircle, (4) those parts of the southern Balkans (Thrace, a coastal strip running west to Thessalonike, eastern Greece), which had not been colonized by Slavs in the late sixth and early seventh centuries, (5) a cluster of substantial territories in the central Mediterranean (central and southern Italy, Sicily, Carthage and its large hinterland), and (6) far to the northeast, enclaves on the Black Sea (the Crimea and Lazica). The capital, the ancient Greek colony of Byzantium (renamed Constantinople), had been developed into one of the three great cities of the East Mediterranean by Constantine the Great (324–337 CE) and his immediate successors. It was endowed with impressive public buildings, grand processional ways, and a spectacular domed cathedral. This late-antique armature provided visible proof to Byzantines, as well as to outsiders, that theirs was indeed a latter-day Roman Empire. Much changed in the Middle Ages, but the importance of Byzantium's Roman heritage should not be underestimated. The people were Romans, ruled by an uninterrupted sequence of emperors from successive dynasties. The Senate continued to exist in its Late Antique guise of a court at the apex of an aristocracy of service. The modification of inherited institutions was a gradual, long, drawn-out process. Law, language, and coinage remained Roman. Most important of all was continuity in the spheres of secular culture, religion, and ideology. Byzantium retained imperial status, in its own eyes as well as those of others. Its identity was defined ultimately by Greco-Roman culture and Christian faith, deepened by the harrowing experiences through which the people at large and the governing elites lived.

Struggle for Survival (Seventh to Ninth Centuries CE)

Initially, Byzantium's history was shaped by the threat from Islam. Constantinople itself came under attack in 654, for several years in the 670s, and again in 717–718. Territory was lost—Cilicia in the southeast in the 690s, North Africa in 698, and Sicily gradually from 827. Asia Minor suffered severe damage from repeated invasions. It was only in interludes of civil war within the Caliphate that the Byzantine army could be reorganized properly for defense and the administrative system adapted to ensure efficient, effective support for the war effort. The cumulative effect of a multitude of ad hoc responses and more methodical reforms was to transform state and society by the end of the eighth century.

First, the imperial center tightened its grip over the localities. The tax system inherited from antiquity was used to suck up an unprecedentedly high percentage of surplus resources. Second, the empire was militarized. Army commands and their subdivisions replaced provinces and cities as the units of regional and local government in Asia Minor. The burden of supporting the troops was distributed over the countryside. The peasantry enlisted in large numbers. The army adopted guerrilla tactics, relying on urban fortifications (usually much reduced in size) and strategically placed castles to secure the civilian population and their moveable wealth. Third, a quiet social revolution occurred. The urban-based land-owning aristocracy did not survive the era of extensive war damage and urban decline. The peasant and the peasant village gained unprecedented recognition as the basis of society and the state.

The reforms were mainly the work of Constans II (641–668), grandson and successor of Heraclius (610–641) and the first two Isaurian emperors, Leo III (717–741) and Constantine V (741–775). What emerged was a state with a high military gearing and a resilient social and ideological base, able to project power far beyond its borders by a variety of means (naval, military, diplomatic, and propaganda). After defense in the East, the highest priority was reassertion of authority in the Balkans. When Islam turned in on itself, offensives were launched against the hybrid nomad–sedentary state established in the 670s by Bulgars south of the Danube by Constantine IV in 681, by Constantine V, who sustained the pressure from 759 to 775, and (disastrously) by Nicephorus I

in 811. Transalpine Europe and Italy tended to slip beyond the horizon of vision, unless there was an acute threat, and action was usually limited to the diplomatic sphere (as when the Franks occupied Venice in 812).

Foreign policy was reactive until the 860s, when the initiative in the Near East passed to Byzantium. The same was true in the domestic sphere. The catalyst for the drive to decontaminate Christianity of icon veneration, formally initiated by Leo III in 730, was undoubtedly the explosive eruption of Thera in the Aegean core of the empire. There could have been no plainer sign of divine displeasure at the flouting of the Second Commandment, at this accretion to the faith, which was conspicuous for its absence in Islam. Much political and intellectual effort was subsequently expended before the final restoration of icons in 843. Similarly, a renewed interest in classical Greek literature, mathematics, science, and philosophy in the reign of Theophilus (829–842) was triggered by the 'Abbasid-sponsored program of translation and commentary.

Political Acme (Tenth to Eleventh Centuries CE) and Subsequent Decline

With the accession of Basil I (867–886), founder of the Macedonian dynasty, Byzantium entered its heyday. A cautious, carefully targeted aggressive policy was adopted against Islam, which resulted, by 976, in annexation of a broad swath of land in the southeast and western Armenia. By the time of Basil II's death in 1025, Bulgaria was conquered, the whole Balkans reintegrated into the empire, and Byzantine prestige raised to new heights in the West. In the East, Christian Armenian princes were yielding to blandishment and ceding sovereignty to the emperor. By the middle of the eleventh century, Byzantium achieved something close to hegemony in the East Mediterranean. At home, emperors from Romanos I Lekapenos (920–944) to Basil II (976–1025) asserted their authority over the aristocracy (now solidifying its wealth and status by investing in land) in a series of legal enactments, charged with emotive appeals to Christian moral standards. Their prime concern was to conserve the old social order and its peasant base. Modifications were introduced into provincial administration (notably allocation of executive authority to judges). Minor adjustments were made in the central apparatus. The army was concentrated behind the frontiers, but the main structures put in place in the age of crisis were retained.

It is open to debate whether or not the agrarian legislation of the tenth century succeeded in stemming the long-term growth of aristocratic power and the concomitant subordination of peasants to lay, clerical, and monastic landowners. It is known, however, that there was steady demographic growth to the eve of the Black Death, increasing commercial activity, and a reemergence of urban notables as a significant political force. More is learned about the church and monasticism in the last centuries, but their essential characteristics were unchanged: (1) an otherworldliness, long manifest in church decoration (which transformed the interior into a microcosm of heaven) and in the striving for seclusion of monks, nuns, and holy men and women; (2) a faith made live by regular reenactment of the salvation story; and (3) an episcopate of greater intellectual than political weight. Art and learning flourished more than hitherto. From the middle of the eleventh century Byzantium declined swiftly as a political power. The causes of a first collapse were primarily external: the swift westward advance of the Turks, which spilled over into Asia Minor from 1058, depredations by Norman adventurers in southern Italy and the Balkans, and the growing commercial ambitions and naval power of the Italian city-states, including Byzantium's longstanding client, Venice. Among them, these three forces drove Byzantium to the brink of destruction by 1081. All the resources of Byzantine statecraft, eventually harnessed to the cause of the Crusade, were required for the reconstitution of an empire, now centered on the Balkans, by Alexius Comnenus (1081–1118).

The triggers for a second collapse, culminating in the capture of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade (1204), were defeat at the hands of the Turks in 1176, the massacre of Latins at Constantinople in 1182, and successful rebellions by Serbs and Bulgarians in the Balkans from the mid-1180s. The final phase of revival, initiated by the Lascarid rulers of a rump state in northwest Asia Minor, peaked with the recapture of Constantinople by Michael VIII Palaeologus in 1261. Thereafter, decline resumed, exacerbated by civil war and social conflict. Repeated attempts to secure western help were thwarted by popular opposition to the doctrinal concessions required by the Papacy. The establishment of a secure Ottoman bridgehead across the Dardanelles in 1354 marked the beginning of the end. It was only deferred by the crushing Mongol victory over the Ottomans at Ankara in 1402. Constantinople, by then a small island in an Ottoman sea, was finally captured, after heroic resistance by an outnumbered garrison, on May 29, 1453.

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C

CAIRO

Cairo is the best documented and best preserved of the medieval Islamic capitals and, for most of this period, its largest city.

Originally, Cairo (Ar. *Al-Qahira*) referred only to a small part of the Egyptian capital, although it later developed into a term for the whole medieval city. In 641 CE, soon after the conquest of Egypt, the Arabs established a new garrison city known as al-Fustat next to the old Roman city of Babylon at the southern tip of the Nile Delta. The new settlement resembled other early Islamic cities, such as Basra and Kufa, with a congregational mosque and Dar al-'Imara at its center. In 750, the 'Abbasids built a new administrative center to the north called al-'Askar ("the soldier") in reference to the troops stationed there. More than one hundred years later, in 870, the semi-independent Tulunids established another city on higher ground to the northeast, which was called al-Qata'i' ("the wards"). The last of the four cities that comprised medieval Cairo was established one hundred years later by the Fatimids to mark the completion of their conquest of North Africa. The city, which was completed in 971, was originally named al-Mansuriyya by the caliph al-Mu'izz after his father al-Mansur, though it was later changed to al-Qahira ("the victorious") both as a signal that the Fatimids had achieved their objective and because the planet Mars *(al-Qahir)* was in the ascendant when work started on the construction of the city.

The first three early Islamic cities were located on the west bank of the Nile and merged into each other to form a single city. However, al-Qahira (Cairo) was farther to the northeast and for some time remained separate from the other cities, which were known by the collective name of al-Fustat. Under the early Fatimids, al-Qahira remained a palatial city closed to the general public, housing the caliph, royal officials, and the administration. Both al-Qahira and Fustat each had their own port on the Nile and functioned as separate cities. In the twelfth century, this situation changed when Fustat entered into a period of decline caused by famines, earthquakes, and other natural and manmade disasters. One of the most significant factors was that the Nile was gradually moving westward, leaving the port facilities of Fustat high and dry. The decisive change came when the Fatimid vizier Badr al-Jamali allowed the transfer of some markets from Fustat and also permitted inhabitants of Fustat to build houses within al-Qahira. In order to accommodate the increasing population, the walls of the Fatimid were expanded, first by Badr al-Jamali between 1087 and 1091 and later (1176–1193) by Salah al-Din. From this point on, al-Qahira became the main focus of activity and the heart of the later medieval metropolis.

The transfer of power to the Ayyubids consolidated these changes, although it is notable that Salah al-Din attempted to enclose both Fustat and al-Qahira within one massive defensive wall, with the citadel occupying the area in between. Under the Mamluks, al-Qahira continued to develop outside the old walls mainly in the area to the south of the old city and to the west of the Ayyubid citadel. There was also

some expansion to the north of the city chiefly around the Mosque of Baybars (1266–1269), which was built on the site of the former royal polo ground. After the Ottoman conquest in the sixteenth century the direction of expansion was toward the west, following the westward deflection of the Nile. The nucleus of the Ottoman expansion was the mosque of Sinan Pasha built in 1571.

The early expansion of Cairo (including Fustat) was characterized by the construction of congregational mosques, which became nuclei for settlement. The principal monuments of Fatimid Cairo are the mosques of al-Azhar and al-Hakim. Soon after its construction in 970–972, the al-Azhar mosque became a teaching institution propagating the Fatimid *da'wa* (propaganda). The increasing educational importance of al-Azhar may have been the impetus for the construction of al-Hakim's mosque in 990–991 (completed under al-Hakim by 1012). Under the Ayyubids a new factor was introduced in the form of small religious foundations such as madrasas and zawiyas, which formed the focal points of smaller local communities. This process continued under the Mamluks and, with the exception of the Mosque of Baybars, all of the Mamluk mosques appear to have formed part of a religious complex, which may have included a tomb, madrasas, or khanqah. Under the Ottomans the situation was reversed and mosques once again became the principal type of religious architecture.

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CALIPHATE AND IMAMATE

The caliphate is arguably the most central issue associated with the Muslim polity and its administration. In the political realm, *khilafa* (anglicized as "caliphate") refers to the "succession" of an individual as leader of the polity after the Prophet Muhammad's death in AD 11/632 CE. The etymologically related word *khalifa* (pl. *khulafa'*; anglicized as "caliph") occurs in the Qur'an in which its context is understood mainly as referring to humans as God's "vicegerent" or "representative" on Earth (2:30; 38:26). *Khalifa* in Qur'anic usage does not evidence explicit political meaning. Early Qur'an exegetes through the second/eighth century, in fact, understood the term to refer broadly to the basic function of humans as custodians and cultivators of the earth. Later exegetes increasingly came to understand this term in highly political terms, reflecting the historical and theological developments of the formative period.

The Rightly Guided Caliphate

Sunni sources almost unanimously inform us that when Abu Bakr was selected as the leader of the polity after the Prophet's death in Medina, after what appears to have been a contentious debate, the title applied to him was *Khalifat Rasul Allah*, meaning "the Successor of the Messenger of God." Abu Bakr is said to have recoiled from adopting another suggested title, *Khalifat Allah*, meaning "God's deputy" or "vicegerent," because he regarded himself as someone merely following in the footsteps of Muhammad, not as someone entrusted with political and religious authority by God himself, as this title would imply. The latter title, however, was adopted by both the Umayyad and 'Abbasid caliphs to signal an enhanced status for themselves.

Abu Bakr ruled for a mere two years (632–634), but within this period he subdued those tribes in Arabia that rose in revolt against the Medinan government and refused to pay *zakat*, the obligatory alms tax. The wars that were waged against these fractious tribes are known as the *ridda* wars, the so-called wars of apostasy, which decisively aborted this uprising and restored unity to the polity, at least for a while. Before he died in 13/634, Abu Bakr took the precaution of naming Umar as his successor, so as to prevent the kind of confusion and heated debate that had arisen during the process of his selection as the first caliph. The choice of 'Umar as the second caliph seems to have won general ratification, except in the case of the faction who consistently advocated 'Ali's candidacy. This faction was consequently dubbed *Shi'at 'Ali* ("the partisans of 'Ali"), *Shi'is* for short. Shi'i conceptions of the caliphate–imamate are presented separately in the following paragraphs.

'Umar's ten-year rule was decisive and critical for the still-nascent Muslim community. Among the titles applied to 'Umar were *Khalifat Abi Bakr* ("the Successor of Abu Bakr") and *Khalifat khalifat Rasul Allah* ("the successor of the Successor of the Messenger of God"). The clumsiness of the second title would partially explain why 'Umar preferred the title *Amir al-Mu'minin* ("Commander of the Faithful"). According to the sources, 'Umar was an energetic, even abrasive ruler, gifted interpreter, stern enforcer of the law, and shrewd political administrator. He instituted the

famous *diwan*, the register of pensions, which awarded stipends to Muslims on the basis of their priority in conversion and extent of service to Islam, and established garrison towns in the newly conquered realms. Under his reign, the Islamic realm expanded to include Syria–Palestine, Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Persia, a project already underway under his predecessor. 'Umar's shaping of certain Islamic practices at this early stage is regarded as critical by later historians, for which he is praised by Sunnis but denounced by the Shi'is.

'Umar's reign was followed by 'Uthman ibn 'Affan, elected by the six-man electoral council called the *shura*, which was appointed by the former as he lay on his deathbed, mortally wounded by a Persian assailant. 'Uthman's reign, which was the longest (644–656), was marred by continuous strife and factionalism. His perceived nepotism—many of his relatives and fellow clan members from the Banu Umayya had been appointed to high offices—caused widespread disgruntlement, particularly in the garrisons of Kufa, Basra, and Egypt. In 656, as 'Uthman sat in the mosque at Medina reading the Qur'an, a cabal of some of these garrison dwellers attacked and killed him.

'Ali ibn Abi Talib, the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law, next assumed the caliphate to lead a highly fractious polity. 'A'isha, the Prophet's widow, instigated what became known as the Battle of the Camel when 'Ali refused to accede to her demands to avenge the death of 'Uthman and punish his assailants. 'A'isha and her cohorts were roundly defeated, but civil war *(fitna)* soon broke out between 'Ali and Mu'awiya, a kinsman of 'Uthman's who similarly wanted the third caliph's assassins punished. The two sides met at the Battle of Siffin in 657, which came to a halt when Mu'awiya sued for arbitration, to which 'Ali agreed. This angered a number of 'Ali's troops, who seceded from his army and became known as the Khawarij (''the seceders''). Negotiations with Mu'awiya dragged on indecisively until 'Ali was murdered by a Khariji assassin, bringing what became known as ''the Age of the Rightly Guided Caliphs'' to a close. Mu'awiya, who was the governor of Syria, declared himself caliph and initiated dynastic rule in the Islamic world.

The Umayyads, the 'Abbasids, and the Later Caliphate

The Umayyads ruled between 661 and 750 with their capital in Damascus, Syria. Although later 'Abbasid sources regularly vilify them as godless usurpers of power, some Umayyad rulers took an interest in matters of religious law and ritual. 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz (r. 717–720) is distinguished from practically all other Umayyad rulers by later historians for his exceptional piety and religious scholarship, a standing indicated by the fact that he is frequently referred to as the fifth Rightly Guided Caliph. In the late first/seventh century, 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan made Arabic the official language of the empire, instituted a sophisticated postal system, and commissioned the building of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem. Increasing unrest and dissension marked the latter part of Umayyad rule. The Shi'is and the Khawarij had sporadically kept up their rebellion against the government. Unfair taxation practices against the *mawali*, Muslim converts from non-Arab backgrounds, and other instances of preferential treatment for Arabs over non-Arabs were among the significant factors that fomented widespread resentment and hostility toward the Umayyads. This culminated in the outbreak of the 'Abbasid revolution of 749 and the Umayyad assumption of the caliphate in 750. An Umayyad scion escaped to Spain and established the Andalusian Umayyad dynasty in Cordoba.

The 'Abbasids

In 762, the second 'Abbasid caliph, al-Mansur, founded Baghdad, which soon became the capital of the new dynasty, inaugurating a new era (Ar. *dawla*). The 'Abbasid period (750–1258) has been described as the golden age of Islamic civilization, and with good justification. The efflorescence of learning, culture, the arts, architecture, and the natural sciences is associated with this period, triggered to a great extent by the great translation activity of the second/eighth and third/ninth centuries, which made a considerable part of the scholarship of antiquity available to Muslims. Major schools of Sunni and Shi'i law were established during the first two centuries of 'Abbasid rule, and the authoritative Sunni *hadith* compilations were made. Persian notions of political administration gained much influence, reflected in a more hierarchical division of society, in the creation of the chancelleries and their largely Persian coterie of secretaries, and in the conception of the 'Abbasid caliph as ''God's shadow on Earth.'' The Mongol sacking of Baghdad in 1258 effectively put an end to the active 'Abbasid caliphate, with the murder of the caliph, al-Musta'sim. The Mamluks, who defeated the Mongols at 'Ayn Jalut in 1260 and also put an end to the Fatimid dynasty (r. 969–1171), installed a series of nominal 'Abbasid caliphs in whose name the actual holder of power, called the *sultan*, ruled. This state of affairs would

last until the advent of the Ottomans in 1517, who eventually assumed the caliphate themselves.

The Caliphate in Classical Sunni Political Thought

The classical conception of the Sunni caliphate is formulated by the Shafi'i jurist al-Mawardi (d. 1058) in his famous work *al-Ahkam al-Sultaniyya ("The Governmental Ordinances")*. According to him, the caliph discharges ten functions, which include enforcement of the Shari'a, defense and expansion of the boundaries of Islam, proper administration of the government, and disbursement of revenues. Al-Mawardi maintained that the title *Khalifat Allah* was illegal and impious. He also upheld the general Ash'ari position that the caliphate–imamate was obligatory by revelation and not by reason, as the Mu'tazila had maintained. There cannot be two Imams at one and the same time, he affirmed, and a duly elected Imam could not be displaced by a worthier candidate, as maintained by the Mu'tazila. Election was mandatory, however, even if there was only a single qualified candidate.

The Imamate in Classical Shi'i Political Thought

Both Sunni and Shi'i sources report that a small group of people, later termed the *Shi'at 'Ali*, were vocal in their opposition to the election of Abu Bakr as the first caliph–imam. Although it is generally assumed that they based their opposition on the belief that a blood member of the Prophet's family should assume the caliphate, the early sources also suggest that their position was based on their conviction that 'Ali was more morally excellent *(afdal)* than Abu Bakr and therefore more qualified for the office. Classic Shi'i views, however, emphasize the legitimist position and restrict the office to the direct descendants of 'Ali and Fatima. In Imami Shi'ism, the largest Shi'i denomination, there are twelve such infallible Imams, the twelfth Imam having gone into Occultation (Ar. *al-ghayba*) in 874 and being expected to return at the end of time. In the absence of the rightful Imam, the duty of holding Friday congregational prayers and the waging of *jihad*, for example, remain in abeyance. The Imamiyya reject the first three caliphs and hold a poor opinion of most of the Companions, since they are assumed to have wrongfully usurped 'Ali's exclusive right to the caliphate–imamate after the Prophet's death.

The next major Shi'i faction, the Isma'iliyya, believe in seven Imams; hence, they are called the Seveners. The Isma'iliyya developed further subfactions over time, such as the Nizaris and the Musta'lis; the former has living Imams. The Zaydis believe in five Imams and are regarded as the closest in their political thought to the Sunnis, since they, unlike the Imamiyya and the Isma'iliyya, accept the first three caliphs as legitimate, even though they were less excellent than 'Ali.

ASMA AFSARUDDIN

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CALLIGRAPHY

The art of writing Arabic in an aesthetically pleasing manner appears to have been cultivated from the earliest years of Islam. As the Arabic script came to be adopted for such other (and unrelated) languages as Persian, Turkish, and Urdu, it remained a constant feature of Islamic civilization. Beautiful writing is considered to be the pre-eminent form of visual art throughout the Islamic lands.

The earliest Arabic inscriptions were written in a South Arabian script, but by the fourth century CE, Arabic speakers had adopted a variant of the Aramaic alphabet used by the Nabateans. Within two centuries the essential features of the modern Arabic script had been developed, so that Arabic script has remained remarkably consistent over the fourteen centuries since the revelation of Islam. Like Hebrew and Syriac, Arabic is a Semitic language. Like them, but unlike Greek and Latin, it is always written from right to left. The Arabic script, like that used for most Semitic languages, is based on an *abjad,* or consonantary, rather than a true alphabet, for it uses one symbol per consonantal phoneme, or distinctive sound. Nabatean Aramaic had only eighteen letterforms, but because Arabic had twenty-eight phonemes, most of the Aramaic letters were pressed to represent more than one Arabic consonant. By the seventh century, diacritical marks had been added

Making lead. Manuscript from Baghdad, Iraq. 'Abbasid caliphate, 1222. Gouache on paper. Credit: Bridgeman-Giraudon/ Art Resource, NY. Louvre, Paris, France.

over or under some letters to distinguish them from those with a similar shape, such as *ba', ta', tha'* or *ha', jim,* and *kha'*. Like other abjads, Arabic lacks symbols for vowels: The morphemic structure of the language usually allows the reader to supply them from the context. Eventually, however, Arabic, like other

Semitic abjads, came to use 'helping' consonants to represent the long vowels, and ultimately other signs were developed to represent short vowels, doubled consonants, and pauses in fully vocalized texts.

Many of the world's writing systems have developed two or more forms of writing, including a "monumental" form in which the letters are written separately for legibility and a "cursive" form in which they are connected together for speed in writing. Although Arabic eventually developed many different *styles* of script, it has only one form of writing: in all styles some of the letters may sometimes connect to neighboring ones. Consequently, individual letters may change shape depending on their position in a word: The same letter can have one form when it stands alone, another at the beginning of a word, another in the middle of a word, and yet another at the end of a word. All of these features made Arabic relatively difficult to read and indicate that only readers who already had a good idea of what a given text would say were expected to be able to read it; therefore, writing was not normally intended to convey new information to the uninitiated.

The preferred tool for writing Arabic has always been a reed pen, and ink was prepared from carbon black or gallnuts, depending on the intended support. Parchment (and to a lesser degree papyrus) eventually gave way to paper, which was introduced after the conquest of Central Asia in the eighth century and quickly became popular throughout the Muslim world. Although connoisseurs always appreciated the subtle beauty of the script alone, fine writing was often embellished with decorative designs worked in color and gold, particularly in the later periods.

The earliest surviving examples of Arabic calligraphy are written in an angular script commonly but incorrectly known as "kufic" after the city of Kufa in Iraq. Although manuscripts of the Qur'an were surely produced by the latter part of the seventh century, no examples have been dated convincingly before the ninth. Most early manuscripts of the Qur'an are written on horizontal-format ("landscape") parchment sheets with an odd number of lines per page. Letterforms are based on relatively simple but harmoniously proportioned geometrical shapes that can often be elongated. Some texts have diacritical marks to distinguish one letter from another having a similar shape, and colored dots or marks are sometimes used to indicate vowels. The individual letters, as well as groups of connected letters forming word fragments or entire words, are always separated by spaces of equal width. This uniform spacing makes it difficult for a reader to tell where one word ends and another begins and reveals how these texts must have been "read" by people who already knew what they had to say.

New, more "cursive" scripts began to appear in secular manuscripts copied on paper in the ninth century. Commonly, but quite confusingly, known by such names as "Qarmatian [or Karmathian] Kufic," "broken Kufic," "eastern Kufic," "Kufic-naskhi," "New Style," "*warraq* [stationer's] script," or "broken cursive," these scripts were usually written in carbon black ink on paper. They have an accentuated angular character and a deliberate contrast between thick and thin strokes; in some examples the script is quite vertical and elongated. Spaces between words are always wider than the spaces between the nonconnecting letters of a word, and diacritical marks distinguish the different letters sharing the same shape. Most scholars have seen these new scripts as logical outgrowths of earlier "Kufic" scripts used for copying the Qur'an. However, as these scripts first appear in secular contexts, it seems much more likely that they were developed by professional secretaries and copyists who regularized the cursive handwriting they had previously used for transcribing paper documents into a new and more legible script appropriate for copying books.

In the tenth century, calligraphers, particularly in Iran, began to use these new scripts to copy the Qur'an, and at the same time they began to replace parchment with paper as a support for copying the holy text. Although these secretarial hands continued to be used for several centuries in special situations, their success paved the way for the development of rounded styles of Arabic handwriting in the tenth century. Normally known as *naskh*, this group of related scripts remains common to the present day, being the type of script most familiar and legible to ordinary readers. In the Maghrib, or western Islamic lands, however, the secretarial hands were transformed into a distinctive script often known as *maghribi*; it is characterized by an evenness and flatness of line and looped descenders.

As with the broken cursive script, the origins of the rounded hands popular in the eastern and central Islamic lands are obscure, but tradition reports that the 'Abbasid secretary (and later vizier) Ibn Muqla (885–940) introduced a new method of writing known as "proportioned script" *(al-khatt al-mansub)*. Although no genuine examples of his writing are known to survive, Ibn Muqla is known to have developed a system for calculating the size of letters based on the rhombic dot formed when the nib of a reed pen is applied to the surface of the paper. Ibn Muqla calculated the height of an *alif*, the first letter of the Arabic alphabet, in terms of these dots and then calculated the size of all other letters in relation to the *alif*. Ibn Muqla's skill in writing passed on to the next generation in the person of 'Ali ibn Hilal, known

as Ibn al-Bawwab (d. 1030), who began his career as a house painter but soon turned to calligraphy, where he added elegance to the system developed by his predecessor.

Calligraphers in thirteenth-century Iraq and Iran eventually codified the various hands used during the lifetime of Ibn Muqla into six round hands, comprising three pairs of large and small scripts *(thuluth–naskh, muhaqqaq–rayhan, and tawqi'–riqa')*, which were known collectively as the "Six Pens." The most famous master was the calligrapher Yaqut al-Musta'simi (1242–1298), who served the last 'Abbasid caliph al-Musta'sim (r. 1242–1258) as secretary. These six scripts, disseminated through his many pupils and disciples, have remained the core of the calligrapher's art until the present day, although Iranian calligraphers beginning in the fourteenth century developed an even more fluid script known as *nastaliq*, or "hanging naskh," which became the principal hand for copying secular manuscripts in Persian.

JONATHAN M. BLOOM

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CAMELS

Belonging to the *Camelidae* family of even-toed mammals, camels are generally classified into two species: *Camelus bactrianus*, the Bactrian or two-humped camel; and *Camelus dromedarius*, the Dromedary or one-humped (also known as the Arabian camel). The Dromedary occupies the warmer regions of the Middle East and Northern and West Africa. The habitat of the Bactrian camel is in the colder regions of East-Central Asia and China. The hybrid camel, a crossbreed between these two species, has been known to exist in Anatolia, Turkey, northern Iran, and Afghanistan.

The humps of the camel are repositories of fat, which the animal uses as a source of food at times of scarcity, thus allowing it to survive for long periods without sustenance. Contrary to common belief, camels do not store water but, rather, efficiently conserve water by distributing it throughout their bodies within forty-eight hours of consuming it. Camels are also able to take in heat, allowing their blood temperature to rise without causing them to perspire and dehydrate.

Besides its two humps, the main physical feature of the Bactrian camel is its shaggy coat, which enables the animal to withstand the cold temperature of southern Russia, east-central Asia, and western China. The Dromedary single-humped camel, however is short-haired, allowing it to conserve body moisture in a variety of ways, and hence to easily adapt to regions with high temperatures.

Most likely, original camel domestication occurred in southern Arabia, with its remote valleys and dry climate, between 3000 and 2500 BCE. In the first stage of domestication, Dromedary camels served as a source of meat, milk, and hair; later they were used as mounts and a means of transport—though not for hauling. The first domestication process appears to not only have been connected with trade, but also with sacrificial religious purposes in regard to the animal's association with both benevolent and demonic spirits that were believed to inhabit the desert.

The supernatural quality of the camel in the pre-Islamic era has continued into the present day, as the animal continues to be used as a sacrificial beast during major religious processions, such as the Feast of Sacrifice *('id-i qurban)* on the tenth of *Zu'l-Hajja*, across the Islamic world. The sacrifice ritual of the camel is an occasion for Muslims to celebrate the day when Abraham was ordered by God to offer his son, Isma'il, for slaughter instead of an animal, recalling the dramatic trial that the prophet experienced as a sign of faith in God.

In the course of their spread throughout Asia, single-humped camels began to gradually supplant the Bactrian species, with the former becoming widely used in Persia, southern Afghanistan, and the Indus valley. Although bred throughout northern Iran to East-Central Asia in the first centuries of the Islamic period, Bactrian camels were primarily kept to produce hybrids. The hybrid camels then began to emerge as an ideal breed because of their body size, strength, and longevity. The hybrid camel, a stronger pack animal than either of the other two species, played a central role in the transportation of goods in the caravan trade that developed after the opening of the Silk Road, which linked Central Asia and Mesopotamia under Parthian rule (247–228 BCE).

The evolution of the camel in its two species and hybrid types is inextricably tied to the history of transportation. As Richard W. Bulliet has described it, since pack camels were cheap and efficient transporters over long distances, they progressively replaced wagons and wheeled transports. Accordingly, the proliferation of the caravan trade across Asia led to the spread in the breeding of camels and, in turn, reinforced the decline of wheeled vehicles and the disappearance of wagon roads.

The advent of Islam in the seventh century led to the greatest distribution of the camel, as the expansion of the new faith allowed the Arabs to reinforce the status of the animal as a source of labor and a means of caravan transportation across Asia, in particular, eastward in northeastern Iran and westward along the Mediterranean shores of North Africa. The camel's impact on transportation reached its height in the medieval Islamic world, during which time no evidence of the use of wheeled vehicles from Morocco to Afghanistan can be found. However, with the rise of the European-dominated maritime trade after 1600 CE, the camel caravan began its initial stages of decline, a process that eventually led to the disappearance of the camel as a central means of transportation.

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See also Animal Husbandry; Festivals and Celebrations; Nomadism and Pastoralism; Processions, Religious; Road Networks; Silk Road; Trade, African; Trade, Mediterranean

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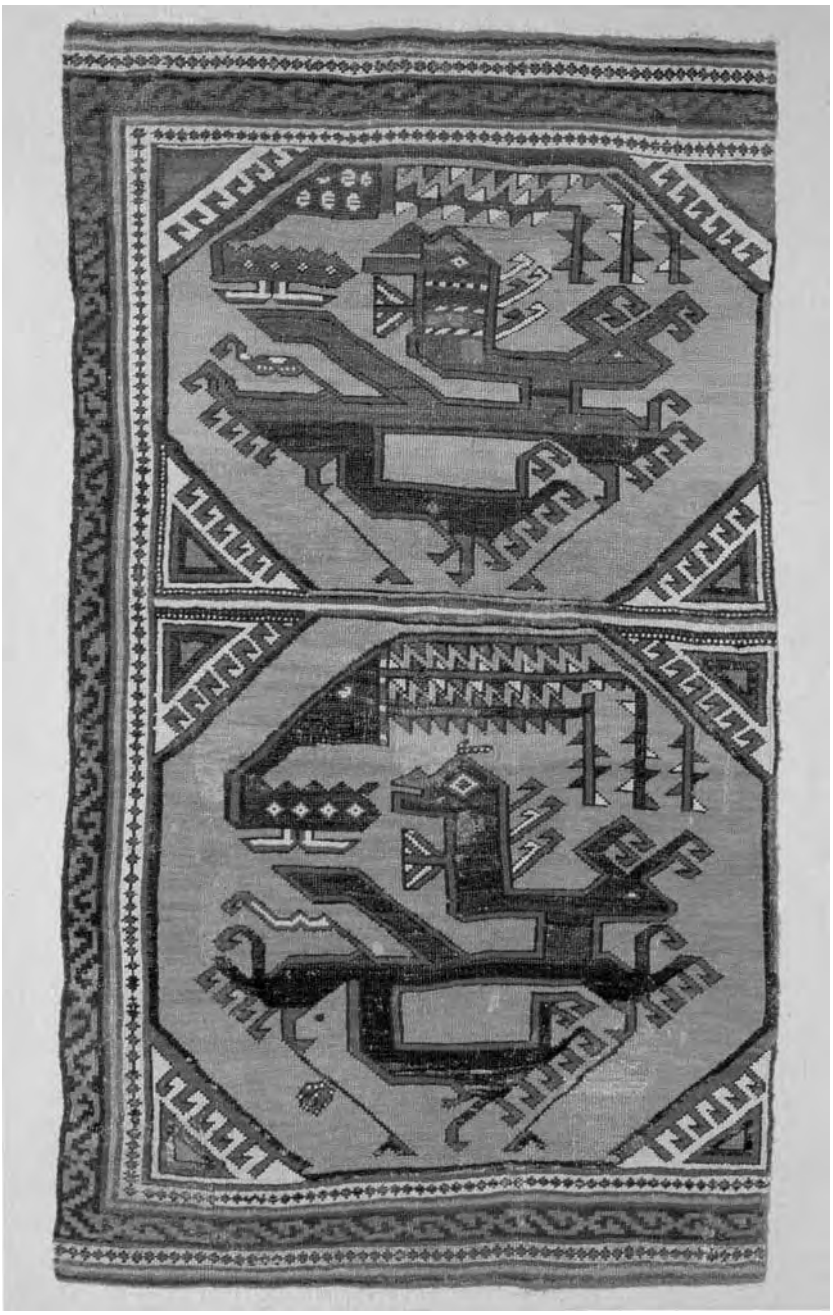
CARPETS

The manufacture of heavy textiles of felted or woven wool to serve as floor coverings, cushion facings, room dividers, and other furnishings is a very old and important technique throughout the region stretching from the Atlantic coasts of Spain and Morocco across North Africa to West and Central Asia. The relative warmth and aridity of the climate throughout most of the region encouraged people to live and work on or close to the ground, without the wooden furniture used in colder and damper regions, and the tribal or nomadic way of life followed by many inhabitants of the region was further encouragement of the production and use of heavy woolen textiles for furnishing. Indeed, the region is sometimes referred to as the "Rug Belt." The introduction of Islam encouraged the use of carpets, for Muslims are required to prostrate themselves in worship five times a day, an act customarily accomplished privately on a small carpet or mat or collectively in a mosque on large carpets often bearing geometric designs that allow worshippers to arrange themselves in lines facing Mecca.

Apart from felted rugs, in which the fibers are simply matted together through pressure and moisture, carpets are either flat-woven (a technique usually known as *kilim* or *gelim*) or given a pile surface by knotting short lengths of yarn around one or more warp threads. Sheep's wool is the most common fiber, but extremely fine carpets are knotted from such fibers as goat hair and silk on wool, silk, or cotton warps. From the earliest times, different colors of fiber were used to create beautiful and intricate patterns that have made these carpets universally admired.

As most carpets were literally worn into the ground, it is difficult to reconstruct the history of the medium. The oldest known knotted example, discovered in a frozen burial mound at Pazyryk in southern Siberia, is conventionally dated to the fifth century BCE. The carpet, which measures 1.8 × 2.0 m (6 × 7 ft), is knotted of wool; it has a central field of stylized flowers surrounded by several borders with animal friezes, a type of design that would continue to be popular over the millennia. The high technical quality of this carpet, which has more than 1.2 million knots, indicates that it must have been the product of a long tradition of carpet weaving, although the actual place of production is unknown. Apart from scattered references to carpets in medieval Arabic texts and a few fragmentary finds, the oldest significant group of knotted carpets to survive comes from thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Anatolia and Iran. Nearly twenty large carpets with geometric designs were discovered in the early twentieth century on the floor



Carpet showing the fight between the dragon and a phoenix. Ca. 1400. Turkey. Wook, 172 × 90 cm. Inv. I. 4. Photo: Georg Niedermeiser. Credit: Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz/Art Resource, NY. Museum fuer Islamische Kunnst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin, Germany.

in the mosques of Konya and Beysehir; a much smaller number of small carpets bearing designs of stylized animals, mostly discovered in Europe, have been attributed to Iran. The generous size of the Anatolian carpets suggests they were made commercially but not exported; the European provenance of the animal carpets, as well as their appearance in European paintings, indicates they were precious goods exported to Europe by merchants such as Marco Polo.

Increased numbers of carpets survive from the period after 1450, not only because more were produced but also because many of them were exported to Europe, where they were either preserved intact in churches and royal treasuries or portrayed in contemporary representations by such painters as Bellini, Crivelli, and Holbein, who have given several types of Anatolian carpets their conventional modern names. Court carpet workshops were established under the patronage of the Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal

dynasties to supply the needs of the courts and to produce carpets for export. At the same time, particularly in factory production, the traditional process of designing carpets by combining units retrieved from the weavers' memories began to be replaced by a new process in which a designer, often the employee of the court or of a merchant, prepared designs on paper for the artisans to execute in wool. By the mid-nineteenth century, a huge demand for "Oriental" carpets had developed in Europe, popularized by international exhibitions and the arts and crafts movement. While Anatolian production remained largely village based, in Iran, local entrepreneurs were increasingly supplanted by Europeans, who organized production in factories and cottages, supplying not only the designs but also the European yarns to produce carpets in standard sizes for the export market.

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See also Textiles

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CARTOGRAPHY

Contrary to the impression that one receives from scholarship on the history of cartography, the richest, largest, and among the earliest extant collections of maps hails from the medieval Muslim world, *neither* from ancient Greece nor medieval Europe. It is generally held that Ptolemy and the Greeks were the earliest constructors of cartographic images. However, the earliest surviving "Ptolemaic" manuscript incorporating maps dates back *only* to the thirteenth century. This glaring discrepancy in the extant record has been the subject of heated debates in the history of cartography circles, yet the master narrative remains unaltered.

At a time when Europe was producing rudimentary T-O maps of the world, the geographical scholars of the Muslim world, drawing upon knowledge acquired during conquests and extensive travel and trade, naturally influenced by the ancient Greek, Babylonian, Egyptian, Sasanian, Indian, Chinese, and Turkish learning traditions, among others, were producing detailed images of the world and various regions in the Islamic world. There exist thousands of traditional Islamic cartographic images scattered throughout the medieval and early modern Arabic, Persian, and Turkish manuscript collections worldwide. Yet, until recently, most of these maps have lain virtually untouched and have often been deliberately ignored on the grounds that they are not "mimetically" accurate representations of the world. What many failed to see is that these schematic, geometric, and often perfectly symmetrical images of the world are iconographic representations of the way in which the medieval Muslims perceived their world. Granted, these are stylized *amimetic* visions restricted to the literati—the readers, collectors, commissioners, writers, and copyists of the geographical texts within which these maps are found. Yet the plethora of extant copies produced all over the Islamic world, including India, testifies to the enduring and widespread popularity of these medieval Islamic cartographic visions for not less than eight centuries.

Fons Et Origo

What is the source of this rich and widespread medieval Islamic propensity to map? Some scholars believe that the answers lie in the earliest Arabic textual references to maps. For instance, consider the incredible silver globe *(al-Sura[h] al-Ma'muniyya[h])* that the 'Abbasid caliph al-Ma'mun (r. 813–833) is said to have commissioned from the scientists working in his *Bayt al-hikma (House of Knowledge)*, or the maps of the eastern part of the Muslim empire, specifically of the region of Daylam, as well as the city of Bukhara, that the Umayyad governor, al-Hallaj ibn Yusuf, commissioned toward the end of the first century *hijra* (ca. 702 CE). In *Kitab al-Buldan (Book of Countries)*, Ahmad ibn Abi Ya'qub al-Ya'qubi (d. ca. late ninth century) reports that a plan of the round city of Baghdad was drawn up in 758 for the 'Abbasid caliph al-Mansur (r. 754–775). The Egyptian chronicler al-Maqrizi mentions that a "magnificent" map on "fine blue" silk with "gold lettering" upon which were pictured "parts of the earth with all the cities and mountains, seas and rivers" was prepared for the Fatimid caliph al-Mu'izz (r. 953–975) and entombed with him in his mausoleum in Cairo.

A few scholars assert that versions of the mid-ninth-century al-Ma'munid world map can be found in later works, such as Ibn Fadl Allah al-'Umari's (d. 1349) *Masalik al-absar fi mamalik al-amsar (Ways of Perception Concerning the Most Populous/Civilized Provinces)*, or the recently discovered thirteenth-century Fatimid geographical manuscript, *Kitab ghara'ib al-funun wa mulah al-'uyun (Book of Curiosities)*.

The problem with the al-Ma'munid silver globe is that it is probably mythical. Other than an extremely vague passage cited in Abu al-Hasan 'Ali ibn al-Husayn al-Mas'udi's (d. 956) *Kitab al-tanbih wa-l-ishraf (Book of Instruction and Revision)*, we have no other descriptions of it. Al-Mas'udi's description

is very confused. It suggests an impossibly complicated celestial map superimposed on a globe—that is, an extremely sophisticated armillary sphere of which we have no extant example until the fourteenth century. David King provides the most likely explanation when he reads al-Mas'udi's description as an astrolabe with world map markings superimposed on it.

In fact, to date, the earliest extant medieval Islamic source containing maps is a ninth-century copy of Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Musa al-Khwarazmi's (d. 847 CE) *Kitab Surat al-Ard (Picture of the Earth)*. Composed primarily of a series of *zij* tables (that is, tables containing longitudinal and latitudinal coordinates), it also includes four maps. Of these, two have been identified: one as a map of the Sea of Azov and the other as a map of the Nile.

Islamic Atlas Series

The four maps of al-Khwarazmi's manuscript copy appear to be related to the earliest cartogeographical atlas tradition, best known by the title of its most prolifically copied version: al-Istakhri's *Kitab al-Masalik wa al-Mamalik (Book of Roads and Kingdoms)*. Most of the maps in this earliest-known atlas-like mapping tradition occur in the context of geographical treatises devoted to an explication of the world, in general, and the lands of the Muslim world, in particular. These map-manuscripts are sometimes called *Surat al-Ard (Picture of the Earth)* or *Suwar al-Aqalim (Pictures of the Climes/Climates)*. They emanate from an early tradition of creating lists of pilgrim and post stages that were compiled for administrative purposes. They read like armchair travelogues of the Muslim world, with one author copying from another.

Beginning with a brief description of the world and theories about it—such as the inhabited versus the uninhabited parts, the reasons why people are darker in the south than in the north, and so on—these geographies methodically discuss details about the Muslim world, its cities, its people, its roads, its topography, and more. Sometimes the descriptions are interspersed with tales of personal adventures, discussions with local inhabitants, debates with sailors as to the exact shape of the earth and the number of seas, and so forth. They have a rigid format that rarely varies: first, the whole world, then the Arabian peninsula, then the Persian Gulf, then the Maghrib (North Africa and Andalusia), Egypt, Syria, the Mediterranean, upper and lower Iraq, and twelve maps devoted to the Iranian provinces, beginning with Khuzistan and ending in Khurasan, including maps of Sind and Transoxiana. The maps, which usually number precisely twenty-one—one world map and twenty regional maps—follow exactly the same format as the text and are thus an integral part of the work.

The earliest extant Islamic cartogeographical map atlas comes from an Ibn Hawqal manuscript housed at the Topkapi Saray Museum Library (Ahmet 3346) firmly dated to AH 479/1086 CE by an accurate colophon. Counterintuitively, this earliest extant manuscript also contains *the most mimetic* maps of all the existing copies. The striking mimesis of the maps in the earliest extant copy stands in stark contrast to the maps of the later copies, which abandon any pretense of mimesis. As the maps of the later copies become more and more stylized, they move further into the realm of *objects d'art* and away from direct empirical inquiry. By the nineteenth century some of these maps became so stylized that, were it not for the earlier examples, they would be unrecognizable as maps.

Popularization of the *Book of Roads and Kingdoms* Mapping Tradition

This form of geographical text became extremely popular in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and the original tenth-century geographical texts, along with enhanced and more colorful versions of the maps, were copied prolifically right up until the late seventeenth century. The Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals were all interested in commissioning copies, and many famous scholars, such as the Ilkhanid scholar Nasiruddin Tusi, used versions of these earlier map forms in their work.

The popularization of illustrated geographical manuscripts also influenced the works of late medieval Islamic scholars, such as al-Qazwini (d. 1283) and Ibn al-Wardi (d. 861), authors of '*Aja'ib al-Makhluqat wa ghara'ib al-mawjudat (The Wonders of Creatures and the Marvels of Creation)* and *Kharidat al-'aja'ib wa faridat al-ghara'ib (The Unbored Pearl of Wonders and the Precious Gem of Marvels),* respectively. Judging by the plethora of pocketbook-size copies that still abound in every Oriental manuscript collection, the *Kharidat al-'Aja'ib* must have been a bestseller in the late medieval and early-modern Islamic world. It is therefore significant that copies always incorporated, within the first four or five folios, a classical Islamic world map.

Eventually the classical Islamic world maps also crept into general geographical encyclopedias, such as Shihab al-Din Abu 'Abdallah Yaqut's (d. 1229) thirteenth-century *Kitab Mu 'jam al-Bldan (Dictionary*

of Countries). The earliest prototype of the Yaqut world map is found in a copy of Abu al-Rayhan Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Biruni's (ca. d. after 1250 CE) *Kitab al-tafhim (Book of Instruction)*. World maps were also used to open some of the classic histories. Copies of such well-known works as Ibn Khaldun's (d. 1406) *al-Muqaddimah (The Prologue)* often begin with an al-Idrisi type of world map, whereas copies of the historian Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Jarir al-Tabari's (d. 923) *Ta'rikh al-rusul wa-l-muluk (History of Prophets and Kings)* sometimes include a Ptolemaic "clime-type" map of the world as a frontispiece. Similarly, classical Islamic maps of the world find their way into sixteenth-century Ottoman histories, such as the scroll containing Seyyid Lokman's *Zübdetü't-tevarih (Cream of Histories)* produced in the reign of Suleyman I (1520–1566).

Other Mapping Traditions

There are other more mimetic and better-known Islamic mapping traditions, such as the work of the well-known twelfth-century North African geographical scholar al-Sharif al-Idrisi (d. 1165). The Norman King, Roger II (1097–1154 CE) commissioned al-Idrisi to produce an illustrated geography of the world: *Nuzhat al-Mushtaq fi Ikhtiraq al-Afaq (The Book of Pleasant Journeys into Faraway Lands)*, also known as the *Book of Roger*. Al-Idrisi divided the world according to the Ptolemaic system of seven climes, with each clime broken down into ten sections. The most complete manuscript (Istanbul, Köprülü Kütüphanesi, Ms. 955, 1469 CE) contains one world map and seventy detailed sectional maps.

The sixteenth-century Ottoman naval captain, Muhyiddin Piri Re'is (d. 1554) is another Muslim cartographer who is world famous. Renowned for the earliest extant map of the New World, Piri Re'is and his incredibly accurate early-sixteenth-century map of South America and Antarctica has been the subject of many a controversial study. Piri Re'is also produced detailed sectional maps but—like the Italian *isolarii*—he restricted himself to the coastal areas of the Mediterranean. The second version of his *Kitab-i bahriye (Book of Maritime Matters)* contains 210 unique topocartographic maps of important Mediterranean cities and islands.

This is but a brief summary of the incredible depth and variety of the rich medieval Islamic mapping traditions. Those interested in learning more should consult the "Further Reading" section.

What all these extant maps say is that—at least from the thirteenth century onward, when copies of Islamic map-manuscripts began to proliferate—the world was a very depicted place. It loomed large in the medieval Muslim imagination. It was pondered, discussed, and copied with minor and major variations again and again.

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CENTRAL ASIA, HISTORY (750–1500 CE)

Modern Central Asia comprises the territories that are occupied by Asiatic Russia and the republics of the former Soviet Union: Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uighuristan (Xingjian in China), countries that are predominantly populated by Iranian and Turkic Muslims. In premodern times, Arab and Persian authors used various terms to refer to this continent.

Some 'Abbasid period sources combine it with the province of Khurasan (East, or Land of the Rising Sun) and refer to "the eastern region" *(iqlim al-mashriq)*. However, the great majority of Muslim authors distinguish between Cisoxiana and Transoxiana. They regarded the Oxus River (*Jayhun* in Arabic; *Amuya* or *Amu Darya* in modern Persian) as the border between the Iranian plateau and the vast land that they called (in Arabic) *ma-wara-al-nahr* (the land beyond the Oxus river), namely Sogdiana (*Sughd* in Arabic) in the Hellenistic sources. They divided it into five major zones: Khwarazm (modern Khiva) around the Oxus delta and the shores of the Aral Sea; the upper Oxus region; Sughd along the Zarafshan valley, where the major cities Bukhara and Samarqand are located; Fraghana; and Shash (Tashqent).

The relationships between Eurasia (including Central Asia) and the Fertile Crescent were established

immediately after the emergence of the Islamic caliphate. An important source of goods and manpower, Central Asia attracted the attention of Muslim authors. The bonds that connected the urban hubs in the Central Islamic lands with Eurasia are clearly reflected in the 'Abbasid-age literature. Several writers report the chronicles of Muslim conquests and chapters on the history of ma wara al-nahar down to the sixteenth century. 'Abbasid administrative and geographical volumes contain information on locations, population, commerce, and goods. Various accounts, including mythological narratives, linked the landscape and people of Central Asia with those of the Central Islamic lands. Some commentators related the mysterious Gog and Magog with the Turks and other Steppe peoples.

Following the flight of the last Sasanid king (in 651), the Arab forces reached Turkmenistan. A settlement was probably reached early on with Mahoye, the ruler of Marv (Merv), who bore the title *marzaban* (*marzuban*; the warden of the march). However, the actual conquest of the lands beyond the Oxus River started during the governorship of al-Hajjaj b. Yusuf (d. 95/714). This energetic vice-royal dispatched Qutayba b. Muslim to capture the Zarafshan basin (87–90/706–709). Yet the Umayyads' grip was not firm. Turkic forces inflicted a heavy defeat on the Islamic armies (106/724). Under the command of Nasr b. Sayyar (d. 131/748), the tide was reversed. Heading the Muslim fighters, he was able to infiltrate the ethnic mosaic of Central Asia and succeeded in embedding Islam deeply in *ma-wara-al-nahr*'s soil. The Arabs were the backbone of a bureaucratic empire and adherents of a new universal religion, while the success of their competitors, the Steppes peoples, was limited to a short-lived nomadic empire.

Several religious uprisings led by radical rebels *(ghulat)* are recorded in the Arabic and Persian sources during the late Umayyad and early 'Abbasid periods. Although these revolts were directed against the caliphate and as such voiced social discontent with the government and taxation, nevertheless, the rebels did not attack the very idea of an Islamic world order but rather adopted heterodox views. Syncretism enabled the forging of alliances between Zoroastrians, Mazdakites, and Shi'is.

Iranians had played an important role in the army and administration of the new 'Abbasid order. With time, some of the local Iranian forces accumulated strength. The first significant force was the Tahirid dynasty. They boasted a double-noble lineage, claiming to be the descendants of Rustam b. Dustan (*al-shadid,* "the Strong Man"), the ancient Iranian hero, as well as of the Arab tribe Khuza`a. Tahir changed the residence of Khurasan's governors from Merv to Nishapur (in 821), and this seems to have been a turning point in the administrative history of the oasis of Bukhara. Following this alteration, the city acquired a new importance and became a governmental center at the edge of the caliphate, which affected developments all over Transoxiana.

This facilitated the rise to prominence of a local force in Transoxania that came under the rule of the Samanids (203–395/819–1005). Although the Samanids claimed to be the offspring *(farzand)* of Bahram Jubin (Chubin, Chobin), the great mythological Iranian hero, the Samanid family probably had a more humble background. In 204/819, four sons of Asad b. Saman were appointed governors of various districts in Central Asia: Nuh (d. 227/842) governor of Samarqand, Ahmad (d. 846) of Fraghana, Yahya of Shash (Tashqent), and Ilyas (d. in 856) of Herat. The country under their rule was known as the Turk Barrier *(sadd al-ghuzz),* a name that referred to their role in fighting against the polytheistic nomads of Eurasia.

The Saman family reached the zenith of its power during the governorship of Isma'il b. Ahmad, who had conquered Bukhara (in 262/875). The caliphs al-Mu'tadid (279–289/892–902) and al-Muktafi (289–295/902–908) further rewarded him with the governorship of Khurasan. This development opened a new chapter in the history of Transoxiana and the neighboring Eurasian steppes. The Samanids conducted an offensive policy toward the steppes people, as a result of which Islam spread among the population of Central Asia.

At the zenith of their power the Samanids had command of a large professional army. They recruited Turkic slaves outside the Abode of Islam, and these recent converts made up the fighting battalions of the Samanids. This was in line with steps taken by the caliphs from the days of al-Ma'mun (d. 833), if not earlier. The historical contribution of the Saman house was the establishment of an Islamic and Iranian presence in Transoxiana and Inner Asia. Their achievements did not save the Samanids from breakdown. The deep demographic and cultural changes that swept across the Eurasian steppes cast a shadow over the history of *ma-wara-al-nahr*. This Iranian-speaking land underwent a process of Turkification.

With the collapse of the Samanids a cultural chapter in the history of Central Asia came to an end. The Qarakhanid state (the Ilek or Ilig-khan Khanate) was active in Central Asia from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries. The nucleus of the state was the Qara-luq Turk tribal confederation. Following clashes with the Samanids of Bukhara, Sabuq (or Satuq) Bugha (Boğra) Khan converted to Islam and even assumed the Arab–Islamic name 'Abd al-Karim (d. 344/955).

Led by Shihab al-Dawla Harun b. Sulayman b. Bughra Khan Ilek, the Qarakhanids attacked (in 382/992) Nuh b. Mansur, the Samanid ruler of the Syr Darya valley (366–387/976–997). If the fragmented information is accurate, it was during these years (probably in 382/992) that the Qarakhanids gained control over Fraghana and Bukhara. Like other steppes empires, the Qarakhanid armies consist of two kinds of soldiers: a small troop of retinues and a large body of nomadic Turk tribesmen *(turkmen)*. The Qarakhanids accepted the authority of Baghdad inasmuch as the 'Abbasid caliph was the only source of legitimacy. The historical importance of this Turk dynasty stems from their role in leading the way for the conversion of Turkic people in the Eurasian steppes. In addition to this, they were patrons of Islamic institutions.

Corresponding to the disintegration of the Samanid regime and the emergence of the free Qarakhanid power in Central Asia, another Turkic dynasty played an important role in shaping the history of this vast territory. An ex-slave of the Samanids, the Turkish commander Alp-Takin *(tegin),* who was their commander in chief, left Khurasan and established himself in Ghazna near Kabul (in present-day Afghanistan, in 350/961). He was succeeded by Nasir al-Dawla Sebuk-Takin, another slave-soldier of Turkic origin, whose son, Yamin al-Dawla Mahmud (388–421/999–1031), was the founder of the Ghaznawid dynasty and bore the title Sayf al-Dawla (Sword of the State; r 388(421/998–1030). For a short period the Ghaznawids played a role in the history of Central Asia.

The lofty position of the Ghaznawids suffered a deadly blow from a new power that arose in Central Asia during the last quarter of the tenth century. Various Turk *(Turkmaniyyah)* tribes, among them the Ghuzz (Oghuz) nomads, crossed into the districts of Transoxiana and Khwarazm. At this stage in their history the Ghuzz were led by the house of Saljuq (Seljuk), at least according to late Saljuq sources. The Saljuqs, almost from the very beginning of their presence in the land south of the Oxus River, clashed with the Ghaznawids (about 416/1025). When Yamin al-Dawla Mahmud died (in 421/1031), the Turks constituted a threat that his heirs found difficult to ignore. The crucial clash took place in Dandanqan (near Merv in 431/1040), where the Ghaznawid forces were routed.

The Saljuqs reduced the Qarakhanid rulers of Transoxiana and Sinkiang to vassalage. Sanjar, the great Saljuq, took Merv as his capital city, and it flourished as a center of art and commerce. However, the Qarakhitay, a force that emerged in northern China, advanced westward and near Samarqand were able to defeat the great Saljuqs in 1141. The success of these steppe nomads did not last long, however. 'Ala al-Dim Muhammad (1200–1220), the Khwarazm-Shah, advanced from Urgench, his capital city (Chorasmia, in the delta oasis of Khiva, where the Amu Darya and the Shavat canal flow into the Aral Sea in contemporary Uzbekistan), eastward and defeated the Qarakhanids. He then turned his attention southward to the Iranian plateau.

After conquering northern China (Beijing, 1215), Genghis (Temujin) Khan turned his attention westward to the territories controlled by the Khwarazms. The Mongols did not stop at the Aral Sea (1219–1225) but swept on to Anatolia, Iran, Baghdad, and Syria (1234–1258). Following the death of Genghis Khan (in 1227), Central Asia became the territory of his son Chaghatay. With the conversion to Islam of the Mongol Chaghatay people *(ulus)*, a new Mongol–Islamic culture developed in the land between the Oxus and Sinkiang.

After their disintegration, a new force emerged in Central Asia. Timur Lenk (Tamerlane, 1335–1405) succeeded in establishing a new nomad empire. He became the *de facto* ruler of *ma-wara-al-nahr*, leaving the Chaghatay dynasty as the nominal rulers and the source of his legitimacy. Tamerlane proceeded to conquer all of western Central Asia, Iran, and Asia Minor. In his capital of Samarqand, Timur gathered numerous artisans and scholars from the lands he had conquered and imbued his empire with a very rich culture.

After the death of Timur, the Timurid state quickly broke in two. His youngest son and successor, Shah Rukh (1407–1447), crossed the Oxus southward to the Iranian area and established his headquarters in Herat. Babur, the last representative of the Timurid dynasty, was driven out by the Uzbek Shibanid dynasty (in 1501) to seek his fortune in India.

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CERAMICS

Around the year 1135 CE, a merchant from Aden wrote the following letter to his counterpart in Egypt: "Please buy me six painted platters, made in *Misr* [Old Cairo]. They should be of middle size, neither very large nor very small; and twenty regular bowls and forty small ones. All should be painted, and their figures and colors should be different." The history of ceramic production in the medieval Muslim world, from the period of the Umayyads in the seventh century to the Ottomans and Safavids in the seventeenth century, attests to the superior creativity and experimentation of Islamic potters, demonstrated through their innovations in shape and design, clay recipes, glazes, and techniques of decoration. Glazed ceramics represent a very small percentage of the total ceramic assemblage produced in the medieval Muslim world. The majority of domestic earthenwares comprised unglazed storage and transport jars—for items such as grain, oil, and water—and unglazed bowls, platters, and receptacles, which were made for the kitchen, pharmacy, or market shop. However, as the letter from the Adenese merchant indicates, glazed and painted ceramics were highly sought commodities in urban, as well as courtly, contexts. This entry highlights several types of glazed ceramics produced in the medieval Islamic period, although it is in no way comprehensive, and readers are referred to the bibliography for more detailed studies on the subject.

Medieval sources refer to pottery or ceramics as *khazaf, fakhkhar,* and *ghadar,* although we often find the generic term *sini* used particularly for fine glazed ceramics. The term *sini* is derived from the Arabic word for China—*al-Sin*—since both potters and consumers of the medieval Muslim world considered Chinese ceramics the pottery *par excellence.* Chinese wares were imported into the Islamic world by the early ninth century and have been discovered in archaeological sites across Muslim Spain to India. Their influence on Islamic ceramics was immediately felt within the ninth-century 'Abbasid pottery-making industry and their impact persisted as late as the nineteenth century. Potters of the Islamic lands, wanting to imitate the whiteness of the elegantly shaped Chinese wares, experimented with specially made tin and alkaline glazes that fired to an opaque creamy-white finish. Around the twelfth century, medieval potters also developed alternative clay recipes by adding large quantities of crushed quartz to produce a hard, white ceramic body, which when thinly potted resembled the translucency of Chinese porcelain. This new ceramic body, known as "fritware" or "stone-paste," was used for all fine ceramics of the Islamic world from the twelfth century onward until the European discovery of the secret of high-firing Chinese porcelain clays in the eighteenth century.

With the invention of white ceramic bodies and opaque glazes, Islamic potters were free to experiment with various techniques of ceramic decoration. An exciting decorative scheme introduced by the potters of Samarra and Basra in the ninth century was the use of cobalt blue pigments, which they painted as stark epigraphic and vegetal designs onto opaque-white wares, creating the very first "blue-and-white wares." The Iraqi potters appear to have held a monopoly on cobalt at this time until its appearance on fritware ceramics of the twelfth century, and it was later exported outside the Islamic lands to China in the fourteenth century. Soon after, cobalt-painted Chinese blue-and-white porcelain arrived in the Middle East and caused a fashion craze in the Islamic markets. By the middle of the fifteenth century, potters from Egypt to Central Asia were producing their own varieties of blue-and-white ceramics based on both Chinese and Islamic models.

Slip-painted pottery, another major type of Islamic glazed ware, did not require special opaque glazes or a fritware body and was produced throughout the Muslim world from the tenth century onward. Slip is essentially semifluid clay, and white slip was often used by the Islamic potter to coat the entire surface of an earthenware vessel in order to create a blank canvas for further decoration. Floral, geometric, animal, and figural designs were often incised through the slip coating before the bowl was covered in a transparent clear or colored glaze and fired. For added drama, copper-green and iron-brown splashes of colored glazes were also incorporated on slip-covered bowls, with or without incised decoration. Another variety of slip-painted pottery, using primarily black, white, and red slips, achieved great heights of sophistication in the tenth and eleventh centuries in the Samanid territories of Eastern Iran

and Central Asia. These types of dishes were normally covered in a white slip, and benedictory phrases or proverbs such as, "May everything eaten from this [bowl] be wholesome," or "Generosity is a quality of the people of paradise," were painted in sharp, angular scripts along the rims with a black slip. Another type of slip-painted pottery centered at Samanid Nishapur offered a livelier aesthetic by using a riot of colors including green, acid yellow, black, and red to depict stylized figural subjects, such as seated figures, dancers, horses, and other animals, which were surrounded by various floral and epigraphic motifs.

One of the truly great inventions of potters of the medieval Islamic world is lustre-painted ceramics. The technique of lustre decoration on glass was already practiced in Egypt and Syria as early as the fifth century; however, Iraqi potters appear to have been the first to experiment with lustre decoration on opaque-glazed ceramics in the ninth century. Lustre pigments made of silver and copper oxides were painted in a variety of figural and vegetal designs onto the surface of a glazed vessel, which was then refired under special conditions. The results of a successful refiring created a ceramic ware with painted decorations that gleamed like gold or silver. The highly sought 'Abbasid lustre wares were exported across the Muslim world and as far away as India and Thailand. This complex technique of pottery decoration was probably transferred to Egypt in the tenth century through the migration of Iraqi potters to Fatimid-governed domains. As lustre pigments were better controlled on a paintbrush, this enabled Egyptian potters to expand their iconographic repertoire of images using more precise line-drawn figures. During the twelfth century the technique seems to have spread to Spain, Syria, and Iran, leading to greater variations in styles of painting and the transfer of the technique to Europe.

During the Seljuk period between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in Iran, a new type of glazed pottery was developed, later coined as *mina'i,* or enameled ware, typified by its wide-ranging color scheme and intricate narrative compositions. The paintings on *mina'i* ceramics attest to the existence of a vibrant tradition of Persian illustrated manuscripts from this period, now lost. Indeed, both *mina'i* and Persian lustre portray visual and poetic themes derived from Persian literature, such as the *Shahnama* epic or the romance of *Varqa va Gulshah,* depicting warriors, heroes, lovers, and fantastical beasts. The *mina'i* technique of applying colored pigments over an already glazed fritware vessel allowed the potter to expand his color palette to include blue, green, red, purple, brown, black, pink, and gold, which were then fixed by a second low-temperature firing. As with Persian lustre, Kashan appears to have been the main center of production for *mina'i*, with vessel shapes ranging from bowls, pilgrims' flasks, ewers, cups, and in rare instances, tiles.

The Turkish city of Iznik in western Anatolia became the preeminent center of a court-sponsored pottery-making industry during the Ottoman period between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries. "Iznik" has come to refer to the distinctive pure-white frit-bodied ceramic vessels and tiles that were covered in a brilliant white slip and then decorated, over the course of time, with various combinations of colored slips beginning with cobalt blue and turquoise, followed by the introduction of a subtle palette of sage green, manganese purple, black, and finally the use of a more vibrant color scheme in blue, green, black, and "sealing-wax red." Art historians have discerned several chronological and stylistic groups of Iznik wares based on color and design patterns, and the ceramics are best understood in the context of a larger production program of Ottoman courtly arts including architectural decoration, textiles, and manuscript illumination.

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See also 'Abbasids; Andalus; Architecture, Religious; Architecture, Secular: Palaces; Artisans; Baghdad; Baraka; Basra; Cairo; Cairo Geniza; Central Asia; China; Damascus; Dome of the Rock; Egypt; Epic Poetry; Epics, Persian; Fatimids; Firdawsi; Food and Diet; Fustat; Gifts and Gift Giving; Glassware; Heroes and Heroism; Iran; Iraq; Isfahan; Istanbul; Khurasan; Love Poetry; Mamluks; Manuscripts; Markets; Merchants, Christian; Merchants, Jewish; Merchants, Muslim; Minerals; Mining; Mosaics; Mosques; Mythology and Mythical Beings; Nishapur; Ottoman Empire; Painting, Miniature; Poetry, Persian; Proverbs; Precious Metals; Safavids; Samanids; Samarqand; Samarra; Seljuks; *Shahnama*; Silk Road; Sinan; Stories and Storytelling; Süleymaniye Mosque (Istanbul); Syria, Greater; Textiles; Timurids; Trade: Indian Ocean; Trade: Mediterranean; Transoxania; Transport; Travel

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CHARITY, ISLAMIC

Charity, the obligation to help those less fortunate than oneself, was a fundamental concept for medieval Muslim ethics. Muslim authors did not have a word that can be translated as "charity," and the use of the Arabic word *khayri* to mean charitable is a modern invention. Nonetheless, medieval Muslims were familiar with a number of practices that might be characterized as charitable. The most prominent of these were *zakat* (the alms tax), *sadaqa* (alms, most often voluntary), and *waqf* (the pious endowment that sometimes served a charitable purpose).

Zakat is one of the five pillars of Islam and as such can be regarded as an article of faith. Muslim jurists characterized it as one of the *huquq Allah* (duties owed to God), and failure to pay it could result in one's being regarded as an apostate. The obligation to pay *zakat* is mentioned throughout the Qur'an and collections of Hadith, but the most important proof text is Surat al-Tawba, verse sixty, "Alms *(sadaqat)* are only for the poor, the indigent, those who collect them, those who reconcile people's hearts, for slaves, debtors, for the path of God, and for the traveler, an obligation imposed by God. God is all-knowing and most wise." This verse established the proper recipients of *zakat*. In addition to the expected recipients, such as indigent people, indentured slaves, debtors, and travelers, the verse also provides for alms to be distributed to holy warriors (those on the path of God) and to persons who reconciled non-Muslims and Muslims. In addition, the verse makes it clear that the original intention was for the state to collect alms and distribute them.

In subsequent Muslim practice, however, *zakat* was usually left to the conscience of the individual. People identified worthy recipients, such as beggars, and paid them alms. Since *zakat* was due every Islamic year, many people paid their alms tax in the month of Muharram, the first of the Islamic calendar. *Zakat* was due on a number of commodities, including herd animals, grains and fruit, gold and silver, commerce, and precious metals. The rate varied by item but was most commonly paid as a 2.5 percent tax on gold, silver, and commerce. At the end of Ramadan, fasting Muslims would pay an additional *zakat al-fitr* (alms for the feast) to celebrate the upcoming feast. This obligation consisted of a sum sufficient to feed one individual for one day.

In addition to these obligatory alms, Muslims also paid voluntary alms when and where they wished. These voluntary alms were usually called *sadaqa*, although this term was sometimes also applied to *zakat*. There was a considerable debate in Muslim ethical writings over whether it was appropriate to publicize one's good deeds. Most authors agreed that it was better to give alms in private, since to do so in public would suggest that one was more interested in achieving social status than in pleasing God. Others, however, pointed out that public almsgiving would encourage others to follow one's example. Beggars congregated outside mosques, especially after Friday prayers, in markets, and at funerals. The fourteenth-century author Ibn al-Hajj noted that it was common to give alms at a funeral, in the hope that this final good deed would ease the deceased's passage into paradise. Funeral processions in medieval Cairo, for example, often included a *kaffara* (expiatory gift) that would be turned over to the poor people who followed the procession.

Begging posed a number of problems for medieval Muslims and their rulers. A considerable literature grew up describing the proper etiquette of the beggar and his benefactor when giving alms. Al-Ghazali (d. 1111 CE) argued that begging was forbidden unless necessary for one's survival and worried that the beggar was in danger of replacing his divine benefactor with a human one. Taj al-Din al-Subki (d. 1370) was outraged by some of the more theatrical techniques used by beggars to solicit alms and worried that the sight of Muslims begging would humiliate the Muslim community in the eyes of Christians and Jews. Some of the rulers of Mamluk Egypt found the presence of lepers and beggars in public places and tried to remove them from the capital. In 1264 or 1265, Sultan al-Zahir Baybars tried to remove Cairo's beggars to al-Fayyum, and similar attempts were made by other sultans in 1330, 1392, and 1438. Such efforts do not seem to have been effective, because begging continued in public places and the professional beggar was a standard character in medieval Arabic literature.

The third major charitable practice in medieval Islamic society was *waqf*. Endowments of this type

served many different purposes, including benefiting family, religious institutions, hospitals, and even family tombs. In the medieval period, especially from the early fifteenth century on, it was impossible to distinguish family *waqf*s from charitable *waqf*s, as was done in modern times. Many *waqf*s provided income to a wide range of beneficiaries. Still, it is possible for the modern researcher to isolate those functions that were charitable, in the sense of aiding the poor or infirm.

Some of the wealthiest endowments of the Islamic Middle Ages were hospitals. Although these institutions were not always founded with *waqf*s, many Muslim rulers followed the example of Nur al-Din ibn al-Zanki (d. 1174), who founded a hospital in Damascus. A similar institution established by Sultan al-Mansur Qalawun in 1284 in Cairo provided food, shelter, and medicine to patients. Since the wealthy preferred to be treated at home, the inmates of the hospital were largely poor people or travelers. There were separate sections for men and women, as well as a ward for the insane. Another popular type of *waqf* was the *maktab*, or Qur'an school for orphans. These schools provided orphaned boys with small stipends and some food, as well as teaching them the Qur'an, some basic literacy, and arithmetic. Some waqf supported *ribat*s, which were homes for widowed or divorced women. These institutions were usually founded by wealthy women and were frequently presided over by female administrators. Some endowments provided food and water to pilgrims and residents of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. There were also many smaller *waqf*s, many of them associated with family tombs, that provided food and water to the poor on a weekly basis, in exchange for the poor saying prayers for their deceased benefactors. These tomb *waqf*s became quite popular in Cairo in the second half of the fifteenth century. The practice of building kitchens to feed the employees of large endowments gave rise in the Ottoman Empire to the foundation of separate soup kitchens (sing. *'imaret*), such as the one established by Hasseki Hurrem Sultan in Jerusalem in the 1550s. Finally, some endowments provided for the washing and burial of the dead. This service was of particular importance in the late Middle Ages, when outbreaks of plague repeatedly struck the Middle East.

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See also Black Death; Burial Customs; Death and Dying; Egypt; Epidemics; Ethics; Funerary Practices, Muslim; Gifts and Gift Giving; Hospitality; Hospitals; Mamluks; Mecca; Medina; Mental Illness; Mosques, Nur al-Din ibn al-Zanki; Ottoman Empire; Pilgrimage; Poverty; Public Works; Syria; Waqf

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CHARITY, JEWISH

In the absence of taxation—a significant resource for poor relief in European Jewish communities—we find a "mixed economy" of charity in Fustat. Private charity was one major source. By nature usually hidden from the historian's gaze, it is well documented in the Geniza through letters of appeal from the poor or on their behalf (see Poverty, Jewish). Family charity, the most private of private charities, existed, too, although it is usually documented only when people complain that it is not forthcoming. People often gave charity in their wills. However, confraternities, a favored vehicle for delivering poor relief in European Jewish communities as of the thirteenth century in Spain (copying Catholic confraternities in this endeavor), do not appear in the Geniza evidence (nor in the Islamic surroundings). The purposes served by European Jewish charitable confraternities, such as teaching poor children and orphans, clothing the needy, burying the indigent, and dowering orphan girls, were, as far as the evidence permits us to conclude, provided by bequests, private gifts, revenues of pious foundations, and communal poor relief.

Public charity—the charity provided through the community—is richly documented in the Geniza, though it was not as well differentiated from private philanthropy, as was the case with Christian poor relief in early modern Europe. Most of the structures of communal charity had been established long before the advent of Islam. One of them, the *heqdesh,* or

pious endowment, is abundantly present in medieval Fustat. Often established or supported by deathbed declarations but also, in the manner of its Islamic counterpart, the *waqf,* by healthy benefactors, the Jewish pious endowment consisted mainly in houses donated to the community. Like the original *heqdesh*, which supported the needs of the sacrificial temple *(beit ha-miqdash)* in Jerusalem, revenues from the rent of *heqdesh* properties in the Geniza mainly supported communal institutions, such as the upkeep of the synagogue, salaries of communal officials, and teachers' fees. Only a small percentage went for direct charity to the poor. Like the Islamic *waqf,* however, the institution was conceived of as a form of charity and so was referred to by the moniker "for the poor."

Shelter for the poor, especially foreigners lacking means of livelihood or suffering from illness, was provided, as in late antiquity, both in the synagogue and in the Jewish *funduq*, or inn (*see* Hospitality). The Fustat community maintained at least two *funduqs* as *heqdesh* properties lodging foreign travelers. Public funds were also sometimes used to subsidize rents of needy persons residing in regular apartments. Pledge drives throughout Egypt to ransom captives were coordinated out of Fustat. In the Talmud, ransom of captives was designated a "great mitzva," and in the medieval Mediterranean lands it became an even more urgent necessity.

Medical charity expressed itself when physicians provided care for the ill without charge, in bequests for the sick poor in wills, or in collections to pay the medical and other expenses of a visiting sick scholar. The community had no hospital, differing again from European Jewish communities, where in the late Middle Ages the word *heqdesh* became synonymous with hospital, and from the Ottoman communities, which also ran their own hospitals.

The most visible form of public charity consisted in direct donations of money or in kind to provide either bread, wheat, clothing, or cash for the poor. Bread was distributed twice a week (Tuesday and Friday) in rations of four one-pound (450 grams) loaves per adult per week. Since this did not provide adequate nutrition, it was supplemented on an irregular basis by wheat and cash. The money went to buy other food necessities or to help the poor pay their annual poll tax to the government. Clothing was also disseminated.

Hundreds of Geniza alms lists and donor registers illustrate the administration of public charity. People donated money, or sometimes wheat in kind. Revenues were collected by officials called *jabi* (like Hebrew *gabbai*) or by the administrators of the social services, the *parnasim*. Detailed accounts itemize income and expenditures—direct charity and salary subsidies for communal officials together. Though controversial, the latter was considered a legitimate use of monies collected for the poor. The collections themselves were done, usually in the synagogue, through pledges, called *pesiqa*, a term also used for ad hoc pledges for specific uses, including private charity solicited by individuals and money for ransom of captives. *Parnasim* collected the pledges, sometimes making the rounds of businesses in the marketplace. The *pesiqa* illustrates a characteristic of the "mixed economy" of charity in medieval Fustat and doubtless other locales in the medieval Islamic world, as well as the blurred boundaries between public and private charity.

Sometimes a whole week's distribution of bread would be paid for by one person (for example, a donation of three dinars in 1107 by the Nagid and head of Egyptian Jewry to purchase 600 loaves of bread). Bakers brought their loaves to the pickup point in the synagogue compound. Scribes kept careful records of each person and the number of loaves per head of household. These numbers were revised with changes in need, and names were crossed out when the indigents no longer were present. A large number of lists contain items of clothing, because the poor usually possessed not much more than the proverbial "shirts on their backs." Many letters seeking private charity request an item of clothing to replace what was lacking.

In the Talmud, alms for the poor were provided through the weekly *quppa* (the "basket" containing bread or money for the local poor) and the daily *tamhui* (mostly, food for wayfarers). These terms do not appear in medieval Fustat. Rather, the alms system there was unified and called *mezonot*, an old rabbinic term for maintenance for wives, children, orphans, widows, and others, here enlisted in a charitable context for food for the poor. The unified system may have been in force much earlier. It was still the custom in the Egyptian capital at the beginning of the sixteenth century, when the new chief Rabbi, an exile from Spain, found it unusual and commented to that effect when glossing Maimonides' astonishing statement in his Code of Jewish Law that some communities no longer employ the *tamhui*.

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CHESS

The words for the game of chess in Middle Persian *(čatrang)* and in Persian and Arabic *(šatrang/šaṭranj)* are derived from (Sanskrit) *caturanga,* meaning army consisting of four divisions (Falkner 1892, 125). This is because the Indian army consisted of four groups: *hasty-aśva-nauka-padāta,* which translates as "elephant, horse, ship, foot soldiers." Thus the game was meant to be a simulation for battle. The game entered the Near East, specifically to Persia in the sixth century CE during the rule of the Sasanian king, Khosrow I (Arabic Kisra) (530–571). The game was meant to be part of princely or courtly education in acquiring (Middle Persian) *frahang* or (Persian) *farhang,* which means culture. The playing of the game as part of princely education continued in the Medieval Islamic period, as is attested in such works as the *Qābūs-nameh* of Ibn Wašmgir (Yusefī 1375, 77), and *Chahār maqāla* by Samarqandi (Qazvini 1331, 68–69).

The games of chess and backgammon, along with a variety of literary works, were introduced to Persia from India, including the *Pañcatantra,* which, according to tradition, was translated into Middle Persian by a physician named Burzoe. The Middle Persian version is lost, but a Syriac translation of it was made in 570 under the name *Kalīlag wa Damnag*. These stories were taken from another Indian text called the *Hitopadeśa (Book of Good Counsel)*. This book was part of the Indian genre known as *nītiśāstra* ("mirror for princes"), which also existed in Persia, and in Middle Persian was known as *ēwēn-nāmag* (Persian) *āyīn-nāme (Book of Manners)*, which is mentioned in the earliest text on the games of chess and backgammon. These books were also commonly known as "Mirror for Princes" or *Siyār al-mulūk* or *Naṣīḥat 'al-mulūk* in the Medieval Islamic period (Daryaee 2002, 285–286).

The earliest text on the games of chess and backgammon is found in Persia in Middle Persian, and it is known as *Wizārišn ī Čatrang ud Nihišn ī Nēw-Ardaxšīr (The Explanation of Chess and the Invention of Backgammon)*. According to *Wizārišn ī Čatrang ud Nihišn ī Nēw-Ardaxšīr*, there are four major personages involved in making the game; Dēwišarm/Sačidarm, the Indian king and his minister, Taxtrītos, sent the game to Persia. On the Persian side, Khusrow I and his minister, Wuzurgmihr/(Arabic and Persian) Buzarjumihr/Bozorgmihr were to decipher the game. The wise Persian minister Wuzurgmihr gives an explanation of the game, making an analogy to war or battle between two armies: "He made the king like the two overlords, the rook (on) the left and right flank, the minister like the commander of the warriors, the elephant is like the commander of the bodyguards, and the horse is like the commander of the cavalry**,** the foot-soldier like the same pawn, that is at front of the battle(field)" (Daryaee 2002, 304).

The earliest surviving chess pieces are also from Persia. These include an elephant carved from black stone (2 7/8 inches). The piece is from the late sixth or seventh century, which corresponds to the time when the Middle Persian text was composed (Dennis and Wilkinson 1968, xxxvii). A fourteenth-century manuscript of the *Šāhnāme* contains two scenes, one at the court of Khusrow I and the second at the court of Dēwišarm. In the scene Wuzurgmihr is seated on the floor with three other Persians, all with white turbans. In front of the Persian sage is a board game where by taking into account the story, we can see that the board game is a backgammon board. The Indian king is seated on his throne and is surrounded by the Indian sages who are painted darker and have darker turbans. Wuzurgmihr has his right hand pointing on the backgammon board, which probably means that he is either challenging the Indian sages or explaining the rules of the game after the Indian sages have been dumbfounded. It is particularly interesting to note that one of the two older Indian sages with a white beard has his hand by his mouth, symbolizing his amazement or perplexity (Dennis and Wilkinson 1968, xii). What can be concluded from these representations and our text is that board games such as chess were likened to battle and the struggle in life. These board games were sports that were meant to train the mind in order to be a well-rounded person, namely someone who has acquired *frahang/farhang* (culture).

During the early 'Abbasid period, the game of chess was seen as a form of gambling by some Muslim scholars. This argument was put forth based on two reasons: first, there was betting placed on the game, and so it was considered to be a form of gambling,

Tournament scene. Chess pawn. Spain, twelfth century ivory carving, 6.4 × 6.8 cm. Inv: OA 3297. Photo: J.G. Berizzi. Credit: Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY. Louvre, Paris, France.

which made it *harām* (illicit). Second, enthusiasts would spend so much of their time playing chess that they forgot to pray and participate in the religious life (Rosenthal 1975, 37–40). Some authors justified the game by stating that as long as it was played for mental exercise it would be beneficial. The *Qābūsnāme* dedicates a chapter to the games of chess and backgammon, detailing the proper etiquette of playing and when one should win and to whom one should lose. It is strictly stated that one should not make bets on the games, and only then does playing the game become a proper activity (Yusefī 1375, 77). The game of chess entered Europe, specifically Andalusia, with the Muslim conquest of the region. When the Christian Spaniards were able to beat back the Muslims, the game had already become popular (in Spanish, *ajedrez*), except that one piece of the game was changed, that of the Queen for the Wazīr.

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CHILDREN AND CHILDHOOD

In Islam, children are viewed as precious gifts from God. Islam teaches that children are born sinless and are certain to gain paradise if they pass away before reaching puberty. Children need to be loved, taken care of, and protected with compassion and tenderness by their parents and their surrounding communities to ensure their healthy physical and psychological growth (Yildirim 2005).

In medieval medical writings on infancy, feeding of children and, breast-feeding in particular constitute a central theme. Additional topics include how to treat infants immediately after birth, how to prepare their cradles, how to wash and swaddle them, how to calm weeping children, teething, how to treat children when they start walking and talking, and recommendations regarding entertainment and the company of other children.

Because childhood is considered to be a time of weakness and vulnerability, ignorance and absence of intellectual grasp, and a lack of willpower, Islam not only gives parents the responsibility for the spiritual and physical well-being of children and a correct religious upbringing but also makes them accountable. Viewing children as vulnerable and dependent, Islamic law supplies various rules for the protection of not only themselves but also their property. A special legal status was given to children; they did not owe full obedience to criminal law and therefore could not be punished as Muslims who are sane and of age. More attention is given to the child's benefit than to the interest of his or her parents. Fathers retained guardianship over the child, which involved guardianship over property and over the person, including overall responsibility for physical care, socialization, and education. Mothers were entrusted with the care and control of their children for the first few years of their lives (al-Ghazali 1967).

Following the example of the Prophet Muhammad, the Islamic scholar Said Nursi states that children need kindness and compassion. Medieval Islamic sources abound in accounts of loving, tender relationships between parents and children, including close physical contact (al-Ghazali 1967). Because children are weak and powerless, their spirits can flourish best in knowing and experiencing a compassionate and powerful Creator. Only in an environment where mercy exists can children feel secure. The best way to give them this sentiment completely is to teach them that God is The Most Merciful and The Most Compassionate and that He is the one who is protecting them from all evil and bad things. They will be able to deal with facing fears in later years through trust in God and surrender to God's guidance (Nursi 1997).

In medieval times, spiritual and moral education in childhood and adolescence was crucial for raising physically and psychologically healthy people, because a balanced moral character was seen to be essential in maintaining psychological and physical health (Giladi 1992). Education in childhood was especially important owing to the view that in its pristine state, the child's soul is pure and impressionable. The main purpose of education was to ensure the future of the believer in the next world. As stated by Said Nursi, if a child was not exposed to belief in God, spirituality, and correct morals at an early age, it would be much more difficult to settle belief and spirituality in their hearts in later years, establish good habits, or change bad ones. Good habits were generosity, honesty, diligence, and restraint of one's desires. The more a child was exposed to a community observing religion the easier it would be to understand religion and spirituality later in life (Nursi 2002). Writings also addressed the principles and methods of correcting bad conduct, conduct that might result in the immortal loss of the believer.

In medieval times, childhood was divided into two stages from a religious point of view: (1) before puberty, when a child begins to distinguish between good and evil, and (2) after puberty. Adolescence was generally considered to be around the age of fifteen. Entrusting a boy or a girl with respective adult functions was the accepted way to determine mental maturity (Bosworth et al. 1995). Age and maturity were taken into account when considering a child's education. Education at a young age, when the pupil's mind is open and free from adult cares, was emphasized.

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See also Education; Family; Toys

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CHINA

The history of Islam in China is, naturally, intertwined with the historical development of a Muslim presence there. It is also connected, albeit to a much lesser extent, to the history of relations between China and the Muslim world. A Muslim presence has been recorded in China as early as the seventh century, when Muslim envoys visited Chang'an, then the capital of the Tang dynasty. As early as the eighth century there is evidence of a more permanent Muslim presence, as merchants settled in China's larger cities and established communities there. Both Chinese and Muslim records speak of these communities, which maintained regular contacts with the Muslim world. Al-Sirafi, the tenth-century author of *Akhbar al-Sin wa'l-Hind*, mentions a community of more than one hundred thousand Muslims in Khanfu (Canton). While it is clear that this number is quite exaggerated, it indicates that the community must have been fairly significant in size. Over the years, Muslim quarters were established elsewhere in the major Chinese cities and in the northwestern and southwestern regions of China, which were closer to the Muslim territories of Central Asia. The highlight of these settlements was "Zaitoon" (Quanzhou), a city on China's southeastern coast where large numbers of Muslim merchants resided during the times of such travelers as Marco Polo and Ibn Battuta (both of whom wrote extensively about the city).

The main bulk of Muslims, however, came to China along with the occupying Mongols, for whom Muslims served as soldiers, administrators, tax collectors, and scientists. The brief integration of China with the rest of the world during the days of the Mongol empire intensified the trade with Muslim regions even further. When the Mongols left China and the Chinese Ming dynasty was founded in 1368, these Muslims remained in China and settled in different parts of the empire, creating an array of forms of Muslim presence in the country—from Muslim villages in the rural northwest to Muslim quarters within the large Chinese urbanities of the east. The early years of the Ming period (roughly from the fourteenth through sixteenth century) saw also the transformation of these people from "Muslims in China" to "Chinese Muslims," a new and diverse social entity that used Chinese as its language and had some form of Islam as its religion.

This wide range of forms of Muslim life in China gave rise to an equally diverse range of forms of Chinese Islam in the following centuries. The Northwest saw the appearance of *menhuan* (saintly lineage), devout Sufi orders organized around the cult of Sufi saints and the practice of Sufi rituals such as the vocal and the silent *dhikr* (remembrance). The urban communities of eastern China gave rise to a textual canon known as the *Han Kitab* (Chinese book), a sophisticated amalgamation of Islamic thought and neo-Confucian philosophy. In both of these forms we can see a distinctive form of Islam, which can be termed "Chinese Islam." The emergence of these distinctive forms of Chinese Islam is traced back to roughly the end of the sixteenth century, although they reached their peak during the eighteenth century.

Of the numerous Sufi orders of northwestern China the most influential was the *Naqshbandiyya*, whose masters moved their activities from Central Asia into China during the seventeenth century. Shortly thereafter, local Chinese forms of these grew up around northwestern Chinese leaders such Ma Laichi (1673–1753), founder of the first indigenous Chinese order, and Ma Mingxin (1719–1781), who formed a rival order with different practices. Ma Mingxin's career led him and his followers to serious clashes with the Chinese authorities that in turn resulted in a series of violent outbreaks in the Northwest that lasted, off and on, for more than a century and devastated the Muslim communities of the region.

The *Han Kitab* scholars of eastern China emerged from an education system that was in structure very much like the Confucian education system and which espoused similar values, such as textual learning and scholarly perfection. The first *Han Kitab* texts appeared in the early seventeenth century and were mainly translations into Chinese of Sufi texts such as the *Mirsad al-'Ibad*. Shortly thereafter, original works appeared. This tradition reached its peak with the career of Liu Zhi (ca. 1755–1730), whose work created a coherent philosophical system that combined key neo-Confucian and Sufi concepts. The cornerstone of Liu's thought was the identification he made between Ibn-'Arabi's concept of *Insan Kamil* (Ar., perfect man), with the Confucian concept of *Shengren* (Ch., sage). The Prophet Muhammad, according to this formulation, was the ultimate Confucian sage.

Both of these distinct forms of Chinese Islam disappeared, or were radically transformed, during the twentieth century. However, their legacies—of the Sufi orders in particular—still persist in China.

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CHISHTI, MU'IN AL-DIN (C. 1141/2–1236)

One of the eponymous founders of the Chishti Sufi order in India, Khwaja Mu'in al-Din Hasan Sijzi was born in Sistan around 1141 or 1142. Following political upheavals in Sistan and his father's death, Mu'in al-Din Chishti set out on his travels, linking up in Nishapur with the wandering circle of Khwaja 'Uthman, a Sufi master from Chisht near Herat. We know little about his travels before he moved to India; certainly, hagiographies that describe his meetings with other founders of famous Sufi orders, such as 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani (d. 1166), Najib al-Din Suhrawardi (d. 1168), and Najm al-Din Kubra (d. 1221), have little basis in history. Our earliest sources for the life of Mu'in al-Din are Amir Khwurd's *Siyar al-awliya'*, a collection of Chishti hagiographies, and *Surur al-sudur*, conversations *(malfuzat)* of Hamid al-Din Nagawri penned posthumously some two hundred years later. Contemporary accounts such as Minhaj's and Fakhr-i Mudabbir's do not mention him, nor do the earliest Chishti works, namely the *Fawa'id al-fu'ad*, the conversations of Nizam al-Din Awliya' penned by Amir Hasan Sijzi (d. 1336), and the *Khayr al-majalis*, the conversations of Nasir al-Din Chiragh-i Dihlavi (d. 1356) compiled by Hamid Qalandar. It is thus unclear when exactly he moved to Delhi and then Ajmer. The hagiographies often stress that he settled in Ajmer when it was still non-Muslim territory (and the center of the Rajput Chauhan realm, as well as a religious place of significance), and through his spiritual power and example brought the natives into the fold of Islam; the date given is usually before 1192. In other accounts, he moved to Ajmer after the Muslim conquest of Rajasthan in the 1190s and settled after the death of the Ghurid sultan Mu'izz al-Din in 1206. He is said to have married locally and been revered as a holy man, gathering around him disciples such that when he died in 1236, his tomb became a place of pilgrimage.

Although Mu'in al-Din Chishti left no writings, some of his key doctrines are recorded by Amir Khwurd. First, he stressed that seekers should be like lovers and when they gain insight and experience, they realize that love, lover, and beloved are all one. This monism may account for the later successful spread of the influence of Ibn 'Arabi's ideas among the Chishtis. Second, serving humanity and, in particular, the poor was actually true service to God and defined the very essence of religion. Chishti centers became known for their open-door policy and their doctrine of universal peace. Third, generosity, love, and hospitality were the key virtues to be inculcated. Religious parochialism and exclusivism were to be avoided. Chishti shrines embodied this ethos in their daily functions and provided shelter and sustenance for the poor and destitute, encouraging non-Muslims and Muslims to benefit from the spiritual power of the Sufis.

We know much about the development of the cult of Khwaja Mu'in al-Din, who became known as the stranger who is generous *(gharib navaz)*, through the patronage of the later Delhi sultans and the Mughals, especially Akbar. The spread of the Chishti order throughout India is credited to his disciples and the Sufis in the two generations after him, in particular Farid al-Din Ganj Shakar (d. 1265), whose shrine is at Ajodhan, Nizam al-Din Awliya' of Delhi (d. 1325), Qutb al-Din Bakhtiyar of Mehrauli (d. 1235), and Hamid al-Din of Nagawr (d. 1274). The cult of the shrines of the famous Chishti Sufis, encouraged by the Mughals through endowments and bequests, established the Chishti order as the most widespread, wealthy, and influential Indian Sufi order.

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See also Delhi; Farid al-Din Ganj Shakar; Herat; Nishapur; Sufism

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CHIVALRY

Celebrated in numerous medieval romances, such as that of the legendary pre-Islamic Arab knight 'Antar *(Sirat 'Antar)*, the figure of the gallant horseman *(faris)* had a distinguished history in pre-Islamic Arab and early Islamic Arab tradition. Rooted in the hard realities of Bedouin tribal life, the motif of the valiant cavalier celebrated for his matchless courage and prowess on the battlefield is captured most directly in the pre-Islamic Arab concept of manliness *(muruwwa)*, an ideal that embraced the virtues of courage, forbearance, generosity, fidelity to kin, and magnanimity toward enemies. This motif was easily accommodated in Islamic military culture, and descriptions of the chivalric exploits of gallant warriors for the faith abound in accounts of the early Arab conquests. In the 'Abbasid era, epics recounting the heroism of figures such as Hatim al-Ta'i, 'Antar, Hamza, or the Persian hero Rustam captured the imagination of the masses, being retold, recorded, and eventually versified in a literary testament to a collective celebration of chivalric virtues.

In the increasingly cosmopolitan atmosphere of the major urban centers of medieval Islamdom, the ideal of manliness soon came to include the religiously inspired virtues of love of truth and justice, reverence for women, protection of the poor and indigent, piety, altruism, and indefatigable devotion to the faith. Beginning in the eighth century CE, this expanded chivalric ideal began to be referred to by the term *futuwwa* (valorous young manliness; Persian, *javanmardi*), and it is no accident that the figure of the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law 'Ali (d. 661 CE) came to represent the paragonal "valiant young man" *(fata)*, something well evinced in the oft-quoted saying: "There is no *fata* save 'Ali, and no sword save Dhu 'l-Faqar." At the same time, however, the term *futuwwa* began to be used in contexts oftentimes quite unconnected with mastery of the martial arts. It was within Sufism, in particular, where *futuwwa* took on explicitly religious connotations, Sufi scholars such as al-Sulami (d. 1021) devoting entire treatises to the subject. For them, the *futuwwa* was above all a moral and ethical ideal, a tradition of chivalric behavior stripped of its martial connotations and then refashioned in light of the Sufi spiritual universe. Here, the ideals of the gallant warrior were applied not to the military battlefield but rather to the spiritual struggle against the malicious armies of those lower drives and passions that estrange the soul from God.

At the same time, however, the military connotations of the pre-Islamic ideal of manliness and chivalric virtue never lost its vitality or importance, and there is ample evidence to suggest its continued persistence in medieval Islamic martial culture. Although never fully transformed into the aristocratic type of social and military organization characteristic of chivalric knighthood in medieval Europe, the presence of chivalric brotherhoods in the form of various self-styled *futuwwa* organizations was a prominent feature of urban landscapes across the central and eastern regions of the medieval Islamic world. Generally speaking, members of such groups were unmarried young men bound together by oaths of fidelity, special costume, and a shared allegiance to chivalric virtues. Although the details vary considerably, such *futuwwa* or *futuwwa*-inspired groups often appeared on the public stage during times of disorder and civil strife, playing roles as varied as neighborhood militias and police auxiliaries to trouble-making urban gangs bent on rabble-rousing, banditry, and extortion in the marketplace. Perhaps in response to the anarchic potential of such groups, in the early thirteenth century, the 'Abbasid caliph al-Nasir (r. 1180–1225) set out to promulgate a courtly form of the *futuwwa*, sponsoring the dissemination of manuals outlining its principles and practices and sending out specially designated agents to initiate various sultans, princes, and governors into its fold.

As organizations devoted to the ideals of manliness and chivalry, membership in a medieval *futuwwa* group often brought with it an expectation to participate in various sports, normally games stressing martial skills such as pigeon breeding, archery, birding, riding, and wrestling. In Iran and Anatolia between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries, the *futuwwa* tradition made its way into urban craft guilds, becoming so prevalent that in the Ottoman and Safavid domains most guilds were distinguished by their own chivalric rules, initiatory rites, hierarchies, and ceremonials. Scholars have long noted the similarity between certain aspects of Islamic chivalry and the chivalric organizations of medieval Europe, normally understood in the context of mutual influence in Islamic Spain, as well as a result of Muslim–European encounters and interchange in the eastern Mediterranean during the period of the Crusades.

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See also Gangs; Guilds, Professional; Heroes and Heroism; Hippology; Pigeons; Police; Sports; Sufism and Sufis; Thieves and Brigands; Urban Gangs

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CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY

Until at least 1000 CE, Christians of various denominations were the majority of the population in the Islamic world.

While Christian Arabs such as the Banu Taghlib fared poorly under Islam (Tritton 1930:89–92), the post-Qur'anic caliphate developed a profitable relationship with its non-Muslim subjects: the Arab conquests of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria had brought three ancient Christian centers under Islamic rule (Griffith 2001) and were followed by the incorporation of Persian (Le Coz 1995) and Iberian Christians. One of the Qur'anic "People of the Book" (see Q 3:65 f.; 5:18–19), Christians were among the communities to whom the Islamic state pledged its protection *(dhimma)* in exchange for their payment of a poll tax (*jizya*; cf. the sole Qur'anic attestation of this term at Q 9:29). Although the status of these "protected persons" has come under attack (Ye'or 2002), Christians did participate in, and contribute to, classical Islamic civilization (Friedman 2003).

The Qur'an itself distinguishes those who acknowledge the Prophet Muhammad from their monotheistic counterparts (for example, Q 2:142–147; 5:51)—although Christian (and Jewish) women and food are lawful for Muslims (cf. Q 5:5). Similarly, while inscriptions on the Dome of the Rock and the earliest Islamic coinage explicitly refute the Trinity, claims of a clear separation of Muslims and non-Muslims—as indicated in the terms of Christian acceptance of Muslim rule contained in the Covenant of 'Umar (Tritton 1930)—are at variance with the pre-Crusade historical record: early 'Abbasid caliphs held interreligious debates (Griffith 1999); classical Qur'an commentators extrapolated from the Christians in their own milieus when commenting on those Qur'anic passages alluding to Christians (McAuliffe 1991); and the Qur'anic charge of scriptural corruption leveled against the Children of Israel—Jews and Christians (for example, Q 5:12–14)—prompted Muslim scholars such as Ibn Hazm (d. 1064 CE) to engage in biblical exegesis. Finally, some of the most detailed sources about Christians in the classical Islamic world come from Muslim authors such as 'Abd al-Jabbar (d. 1025; cf. Reynolds, 2004).

In the East, all the denominations came to express themselves in Arabic while retaining their ancient liturgical languages and patristic heritage. The emergence of the new genre of inter-Christian theological debates in Arabic is contemporaneous with the development of Islamic "dialectical theology" (*'ilm al-kalam*; cf. Griffith 2002), with parallels between, respectively, Christian Trinitarian and Christological debates, and Muslim "divine attribute" *(al-asma' al-husna)* and "createdness of the Qur'an" discussions. Christians who spoke Syriac were particular vehicles for cultural exchange: Employed by the caliph in the translation of Greek texts into Arabic, scholars such as Yahya b. 'Adi (d. 974) were active participants in the philosophical movement at Baghdad (Gutas 1998; Yahya b. 'Adi 2002). In addition to their scholarly contributions, Christians were employed as doctors and scribes. On the Iberian Peninsula, the Mozarabs profited from and added to the works of their eastern counterparts (Burman 1994).

Already culturally and linguistically (and, for most, theologically) distanced from their Latin and Greek counterparts before the Arab conquests, a common experience and language under Islamic rule united the Christians in the eastern Islamic lands (Melkites, Maronites, Jacobites—both Syrians and Copts—and Nestorians); evidence of this unity—despite theological differences—is that the Nestorian Catholicos became the chief representative of Christian interests at the caliph's court in Baghdad.

The end of the demographic dominance of Christians in the Islamic world coincided with the Crusades and the Mongol invasion. With the accession of the Ottomans, the chief Christian was no longer the Nestorian Catholicos of Baghdad; rather, the head of the Christian *millet* (organized religious minority, from Ar. *milla* [religion]) became the (Greek Orthodox) Patriarch of Constantinople (Armenians, however, formed their own *millet*).

Despite Christian martyrdoms at the hands of Muslims (Gaudeul 1984; although some—such as those at Cordoba in 850—may have been self induced), apocalyptic denunciation of Islamic rule (Martinez

2003) and policies such as the Ottoman *devshirme* (levy of Christian youths), the Islamic state's promise of "protection" of both the persons and practices of its Christian subjects, assured Christians the ability to practice their religion (within limits: Tritton 1930; cf. Q 5:82). Particularly in the period after the Crusades, when Islamic thought increasingly made a distinction between Muslim and non-Muslim (which also included "bad" Muslims; cf. Michel 1984), conversions to Islam, from conviction, coercion, or socioeconomic aspirations (as well as the interventions of foreign "Christian" powers; Frazee 1982), undermined the position of Christians within the Islamic world.

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See also 'Abbasids; Abyssinia; Alexandria; Aramaeans; Ascetics and Asceticism; Churches; Coptic; Copts; Interfaith Relations; Al-Jahiz; Jerusalem; Al-Ma'mun; Merchants, Christian; Mirrors for Princes; Muslim–Byzantine Relations; Muslim–Crusader Relations; Ottoman Empire; Qur'an and Christianity; Romance, Iberian; Scholars; Scribes; Syria, Greater; Syriac; Theology; Trade, Mediterranean; Umayyads; Women, Christian

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CIRCASSIANS

Circassians is the general name for the group of peoples in the northwestern Caucasus region who speak a language of the Abazgo–Circassian branch of the Caucasian languages. In Arabic, they are usually referred to as Jarkash (pl. Jarakish); in Turkish, Čerkes; and in their own language, Adygei. The Circassians were renowned for their military skills and played an important role in the history of the Mamluk Sultanate in Egypt and Syria, and to a certain degree later in the Ottoman Empire and the Safawid Empire. The territories inhabited by the Circassians are today part of the Russian Federation, and people of Circassian descent also live in Turkey, Jordan, and Israel.

Circassians and their lands were known to the early Arab geographers but were generally off the main path of early Muslim history. Their territory was ruled by the Khazars in the seventh to eleventh centuries, and the Mongol Golden Horde in the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries. Throughout this

period, the Circassians followed their indigenous pagan traditions, although Christianity made some inroads among them. The Circassians began adopting Islam starting around the sixteenth century. The fact that they were pagans, along with their prowess, made them ideal candidates for military slavery (*see* Slavery, Military), not the least since at times it was difficult to procure Mamluks from the traditional Qipchaq Turkish areas farther north. Circassians first achieved prominence in the Mamluk Sultanate under Sultan Qalawun (1279–1290), who enrolled them in his Burjiyya regiment, named after the towers *(abraj)* of the Cairo citadel in which they resided. The members of this formation were only part of the large number of Mamluks whom this sultan purchased, and besides their military skills and availability, another reason for their purchase appears to have been a desire to counterbalance the influence of the Turkish Mamluks. The Circassians at that time, as well as later, showed a great degree of ethnic solidarity *(jinsiyya),* and rallied behind their compatriot Baybars al-Jashnakir (the taster), one of the strongmen of the Sultanate after Qalawun's death who was briefly sultan (r. 1309–1310), known to modern historians as Baybars II. While not disappearing, the power of the Circassians was subsequently weakened in the following generations but was to reemerge after the rise to power of Sultan Barquq (r. 1382–1406), a Circassian who made a special effort to import Mamluks from among his countrymen, at the expense of Turks and other groups. In fact, the second half of the Mamluk Sultanate is known by contemporary sources as the "Circassian State/Dynasty" (dawlat al-jarakisa), reflecting the predominant role of this group. Modern historians and students often mistakenly call this time the Burji period and its rulers Burji sultans, probably unintentionally (but still falsely) seeing a connection between the Circassian Burjiyya regiment of the late thirteenth century and the Circassian rulers, officers, and common Mamluks of a century later.

The Circassian period was generally one of economic decline and political disorder. Certainly there was a growing lack of discipline among the Mamluks. Contemporary writers, sometimes followed by modern historians, have attributed this to the character of the Circassians. It probably has more to do with a declining economy (a legacy of the middle fourteenth century), which in turn generated problems with paying the army, as well as the necessity of importing older Mamluks, meaning less education for the common soldier and future officer; he was therefore less formed than his predecessor and more prone to rioting and other forms of lack of discipline. There was a notable tendency for the Circassians to bring over family members once they were well established, breaking a long-held tradition of the Mamluk system, where the young military slave lost contact with his family, thus becoming dependent on his new patron and fellow Mamluks. Interestingly enough, during the Circassian period there was a certain flowering of Mamluk Turkish literature in the Sultanate, indicating that perhaps Turkish remained the lingua franca of the Mamluk class in spite of demographic changes. Circassians remained among the Mamluks of Egypt in the Ottoman period and were settled in Palestine and Jordan in the nineteenth century by the Ottoman authorities as part of the effort to increase control in the area, as well as to provide a solution to the thousands of Circassians who fled their homeland after the Russian conquest.

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See also Mamluks

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CIRCUMCISION (*KHITAN*)

The Arabic word for circumcision *(khitan)* is used interchangeably with both the male and the female versions, although the term *khifad* often appears in specific reference to female excision. Nowhere mentioned in the Qur'an, and only briefly discussed in legal materials, circumcision has become inextricably tied to one's identity as a Muslim in popular piety and practice. In fact, many Muslims recognize it as a necessary step in conversion to Islam. From a religious studies perspective, the manipulation of the genitalia ultimately epitomizes a believer's submission to divine control over human, procreative instincts and base passions.

Circumcision was a common practice in pre-Islamic Arabia that was later absorbed into the Islamic tradition. Both Philo (ca. 40 CE) and Josephus (ca. 100 CE) note its presence in Egypt, Ethiopia, and Arabia prior to the coming of Islam. They suggest

circumcision was tied to certain rites of passage, like puberty or marriage, in these regions. Philo observes that Egyptian males and females were circumcised after the fourteenth year before marriage, whereas Josephus claims the Arabs performed it on males just after the thirteenth year, at the time Ishmael was circumcised. In one of the earliest biographies of the Prophet Muhammad, Ibn Ishaq (d. 767 CE) records that in pre-Islamic times the Quraysh would slaughter a camel to Hubal, the central idol of the Ka'ba, before their sons were circumcised. Ibn Ishaq mentions girls were also circumcised, but in less celebratory fashion. Oddly, these early biographical materials do not mention the Prophet Muhammad's circumcision. The explanations for how the Prophet was circumcised only appear in later works. For example, some fourteenth- and fifteenth-century documents suggest 'Abdu'l Muttalib circumcised Muhammad; others insist that the prophet was, in fact, born circumcised.

The justifications for circumcision vary dramatically in early Sunni sources and practices. The majority of Sunni *hadith* associate circumcision with rites of purification *(tahara)*. Cutting the foreskin often appears in lists that include other acts of general hygiene, including the clipping of nails, the use of the tooth-stick, the trimming of mustaches, and the depilation of both the armpits and the pubic region. Adherence to these purity practices, which call for the removal of excess bodily materials, allows the true believer to realize the *fitra*, which the *hadith* define as the originary religion reflected in one's true nature as God created it.

Some Sunni *hadith* also link the practice of foreskin removal back to Abraham, who circumcised himself at the age of eighty with a pickax. Unlike Judaism, Islam does not view circumcision as the sole signifier of the covenant between God and his people. Circumcision stands as just one of many tests Abraham performed to demonstrate his unflinching adherence to the true faith. Just as Abraham was willing to sacrifice his son, so too was he willing to sacrifice a part of himself to fulfill God's command. Like many other Muslim ritual practices, circumcision is significant only insofar as it reflects a deeper intent to submit fully to God's will.

In early Sunni legal circles, Islamic scholars debate whether the practice of circumcision is *wajib* (obligatory) or *sunna* (customary), or whether its obligations extend solely to males, or to males and females. Al-Shafi'i considers the practice mandatory for both sexes, whereas Malik and others consider it *sunna* only for males. Those who consider the practice mandatory for males and females look to those *hadith* that combine circumcision with non–gender specific purificatory rituals, such as the removal of armpit hair and the shaving of the pubic region. Female circumcision is supported by relatively few numbers of *hadith*, many of which are attached with some sort of disclaimer. In those that do support female circumcision, the command is to cut, but not to cut too severely for the sake of the woman and her husband. These *hadith*, which stem back to the Prophet himself, condemn practices of excessive mutilation or radical infibulation. In addition to debates about to whom the practice should apply, many legal schools also deliberate the time a circumcision should be performed. Some recommend the seventh day following the birth of a male child (as distinct from Jewish law), while others propose its performance after a child reaches his tenth birthday.

Like their Sunni counterparts, Shi'i jurists support the practice of circumcision. Not insignificantly, the Shi'is do insist that all major prophets, including Abraham and Muhammad, were born purified and circumcised, along with every Shi'i *imam*. The Shi'i view that foreskin, or any other body part that requires cutting, clipping, shaving, or plucking, would somehow mar the flawlessness of a prophet or *imam*, may be what informs this doctrine.

KATHRYN KUENY

See also Birth; Customary Law; Festivals and Celebration; Gender and Sexuality; Hadith; Ibn Ishaq; Law and Jurisprudence; Malik ibn Anas; Muhammad the Prophet; Personal Hygiene; Purity, Ritual; Qur'an; al-Shafi'i; Shi'ism; Sira

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CLIMATE, THEORIES OF

There are two interconnected understandings of climate that developed in medieval Islamic society. The first derives from the rich Arabic geographical

literature that variously divided the world into different "climates" as a framework for topographical description and cartography. These geographical climates were referred to by the Arabic term *iqlim* (pl. *aqalim*), which derived originally from the Greek *klima* (inclination), the basis of the Ptolemaic cartographic system. The use of *aqalim* in Arabic geography is considerably varied and does not simply follow the patterns of the Greek tradition as it was translated through Syriac authors. Several individual geographical treatises, such as that of al-Khuwarizmi, as well as more encyclopedic works, such as Yaqut, tended to reproduce the original seven climates of Ptolemy. These consisted of horizontal bands that began at the equator and progressively moved northward to cover the whole of the northern hemisphere. The width of each band was determined by the length of the day at the summer solstice and therefore did not represent any topographical or anthropological reality. Nevertheless, as discussed in the work of the Ikwan al-Safa' and others, residence in a particular *iqlim* was considered to affect the health of its inhabitants, their capabilities, both mental and physical, and even their body types and skin color. For most medieval authors there was a distinctly marked preference for the middle latitudes, which represented regions of climatic balance, in both temperature and seasonality. One of the chief advantages of this theory was that Baghdad, the official capital of the Caliphate for much of the 'Abbasid dynasty, was located squarely in the fourth/middle climate, thus advantageously placed to represent the essence of *ta'adil* (equilibrium/moderation in all things).

This latitudinal division of the world was largely rejected, or at least significantly reworked, by many medieval geographers who preferred to categorize the world in more civilizational or administrative terms. In maintaining the number seven as definitional to a theory of *aqalim*, certain authors were influenced by the Persian notion of *kishvar* regions, each of which comprised a large empire/civilization. Al-Biruni provided a diagram of the world based on the *kishvar,* such that his climates are represented by circles, not latitudinal bands, with Baghdad's *iqlim* in the center and the other six arranged around it. Within the tradition of descriptive geography that was championed by authors of the so-called Balki school of the tenth century, a more administrative logic would define these regions and also increase their number. In probably the most sophisticated geographical treatise of the medieval period, al-Muqaddasi's *Ahsan al-Taqasim fi Ma'rifat al-Aqalim (The Best Division for Knowledge of the Regions)*, the author describes fourteen regions (six Arab, eight non-Arab) that were described not only using the administrative boundaries but also numerous other cultural and environmental factors, such as ethnicity and cultivation.

In virtually all of the works that used the notion of *iqlim* as part of a theory of geographical classification, the intent was to provide a framework for presenting information on the cities, settlements, populations, and topographical features located in these regions. This geographical literature tended not to prioritize the description of climate in a more meteorological sense, although this was addressed peripherally in many works, particularly compendia of knowledge such as the epistles of the Ikhwan al-Safā'. Rather, this second understanding of climate, distinguished in Arabic by the term *manakh* (climate, atmosphere), which encompasses notions such as weather and seasonality, was often dealt with in other sources. Medieval Arabic texts, particularly those that dealt with the question of the *'aja'ib* (miracles, natural wonders), such as al-Qazwini, have provided extensive information about issues such as the division of the seasons, the influence of weather on the body and culture, and general understandings of ecology and health. Two realms of knowledge have contributed to theories surrounding these questions: (1) Islamic cosmological/theological understandings of the four elements, the three kingdoms, the nature of the physical world, and the role of humanity as steward of God's creation; and (2) "folk" understandings based on practical experience and knowledge of the environment, which are often correlated with economic lifeways (such as agriculture, pastoralism, craft production) or landscapes (such as desert, irrigated agricultural plain, cities). Despite the distinctions between the geographical and meteorological senses of climate, there have been moments of convergence between the understanding of *manakh* and *iqlam,* particularly in connection with the understanding of what constituted the ideal climate for the development of civilizational and spiritual achievements. Ibn Khaldun noted in his seminal work of social history, *al-Muqaddimah,* that the middle three *aqalim* were the most suitable for civilization, particularly the proliferation of great monuments and advanced urban centers, because of the moderation of their meteorological climate. Moreover, these more temperate regions were envisioned as the place of prophets and righteous people, a testament to the link made in medieval Islamic society not only between climate and civilization, but also between climate and morality.

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See also Agriculture; Cartography; Geography; Human Geography; Ibn Khaldun; Meteorology; Nomadism and Pastoralism, al-Qazwini; Yaqut

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CLOTHING AND COSTUME

Although there were regional and temporal variations in clothing styles throughout the medieval Muslim world, there was a distinct civilization-wide mode of dress that Yedida Kalfon Stillman has dubbed "the Islamic vestimentary system." This vestimentary system, which remained remarkably constant throughout the Middle Ages, developed from the gradual fusion of three different fashion systems that existed in the lands, rather cultural zones, that became the caliphate: the Arabian Peninsula, the Hellenistic Mediterranean, and Iranian and Turkish Central Asia. The pre-Islamic Arabian mode of dress was characterized by loose, flowing, untailored garments; the Hellenistic Mediterranean by tunics and wraps; and the Central Asian by fitted or tailored garments such as coats, jackets, and trousers. The process of fusion had already begun in the Arab kingdoms of Hira and Ghassan in northern Arabia that bordered the Byzantine and Sasanian empires and were zones of cultural osmosis just prior to the advent of Islam.

Early Islamic Clothing: Style and Religious Ideology

The general mode of dress of the Muslim community at the time of the Prophet was generally that of pre-Islamic Arabia with some modifications in accordance with new moral sensibilities. The new Islamic notions of corporal modesty were not unlike those of Near Eastern Judaism and Christianity. The Qur'an declares that God revealed *libas* (clothing) to humanity "to conceal your shame" (Sura VII, 26). The medieval Arabic lexicographers even defined *libas* as "that which conceals or covers the sexual organs." (It is noteworthy that in many modern Arabic dialects the word is used to denote underwear, not merely as a euphemism, but in recognition of clothing's essential nature.) Like Jews and Christians, the early Muslims were prudish about pagan society's easygoing attitude toward nudity, and the *hadith* literature stresses the importance of underwear. The basic Arab undergarment going back to Antiquity was the *izar*. This loincloth is already mentioned by Herodotus and still constitutes the lower half of the ritual *ihram* attire worn by male pilgrims to Mecca. During the formative period when Muhammad led the community in Medina (622–632), a new undergarment of Persian origin, *sirwal* (drawers), also came into use. Because not everyone in the early *umma* could afford a separate undergarment, there are numerous traditions warning against exposing one's private parts when sitting, squatting, or trussing up one's garment while working.

The principal article of clothing at the time of the Prophet was one of a variety of body shirts, such as the *qamis*, or tunics, such as the *thawb*. The latter was so basic that the word also simply means "cloth" or, in the plural, "items of clothing." Depending on weather, occasion, or wealth and status, a person might wear over the body-covering a mantle *(rida')*, a wrap *(burd, milhafa, shamla, or izar)*, a coat *(qaba')*, or a sleeveless robe *('aba'a)*. Many of the same garment names are used for male and female attire, although there probably were often some gender differences of style.

Following norms going back to the ancient Near East, covering the head was considered a mark of modesty for both men and women. Exposing one's hair was a sign of arrogance, and the Qur'an threatens the sinner with being dragged down to hell by his "lying, sinful forelock" (Sura 104, 15–16). Early Muslims covered the head with a variety of caps, such as the *qalansuwa* (considered so distinctively Arab that it was specifically forbidden to non-Muslim subjects by the Pact of 'Umar after the conquests), a headcloth, such as the *mandil*, or a turban *('imama)*. The early turban was probably a simple strip of fabric

wound about the head and not the composite headgear of later medieval and early modern times, which consists of one or more caps and a winding cloth. It certainly did not have the significance that it came to have in the later Middle Ages as "the crown of the Arabs," "the badge of Islam," and "the divider between unbelief and belief." Because of the turban's later significance, pious legends about the Prophet's turban abounded, and one of his epithets came to be *sahib al-'imama* (the wearer of the turban). Early *hadith*s, however, mention him appearing publicly with his mantle pulled over his head and held in place with a headband *('isaba)*.

With the exception of Muhammad's wives, whose special status set them apart, strict veiling for women does not seem to have been the norm in the early Muslim community. Around 626–627, the Prophet received a revelation that in public his and the Believers' wives should draw their *jilbab*, an enveloping outer wrap, "close about them. . . .so they be recognized and not molested" (Sura XXXIII, 59). Another Medinese verse (Sura XXIV, 31) enjoins Muslim women to be modest and cover their bosoms with a *khimar*, another female veil-cum-wrap, but makes no mention of covering the face. It would appear that strict veiling practices, together with the seclusion of women, only evolved among the bourgeoisie over the first two centuries of Islam in emulation of the Prophet's personal *sunna* (practice).

Since many of the most stirring prophetic utterances seemed to imply that Judgment Day was nigh, the early Islamic community tended toward sartorial austerity. According to the Qur'an (Sura XXII:23), the Believers will be clothed with raiment of silk and bracelets of gold and pearls in Paradise, but according to the *hadith*, Muhammad forbade men to indulge in such luxuries in this world. He did, however, make exceptions for men with pruritic skin conditions or body lice, as well as for women. During the century following the Islamic conquests, this early austerity in male attire rapidly gave way to greater luxury for the upper classes, and only the poor and the ascetic pietists continued wearing simple garments. Because of their plain wool *(suf)* robes, the ascetics came to be known as Sufis.

Evolution of the Islamic Vestimentary System under the Caliphates

The Islamic vestimentary system evolved in the great caliphate established by the Arab conquests. As noted at the beginning of this entry, the expanded empire included three different cultural zones, each with its own distinctive fashion system. At first, the Arabs, who were a minority in their own empire, tried to maintain identifiable differences of attire between themselves and their subjects. This led to the *ghiyar* (differentiation) regulations, which required the *dhimmi*s, or tolerated non-Muslim population, to be visibly dissimilar in dress from Muslims. These sumptuary laws evolved over a long period but were ascribed by later tradition to the so-called Pact of 'Umar, which was attributed to Caliph 'Umar ibn al-Khattab (r. 634–644). The earliest of these rules probably only date from the time of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz (r. 717–720). The requirement to have distinctly distinguishing clothing also applied to the Arab militia that stood guard over the empire. Arab warriors in the eastern provinces, for example, were forbidden from wearing the Persian *khaftan* (cuirass) and *ran* (leggings). However, by the end of the Umayyad period, the Arabs living in Khurasan had become increasingly assimilated into the local culture, and this certainly included their style of dress.

The fusion of vestimentary styles and a movement away from the earlier austerity were already taking place in the highest echelons of Islamic society shortly after the conquests. Both historical sources and artistic representations attest to the fact that some of the Umayyad rulers wore Persian-style coats, pantaloons, and the regal, high, miterlike hat known as the *qalansuwa tawila*. They also adopted, from both the Byzantine and the Sasanian courts, the custom of wearing special royal garments of such luxury fabrics as silk, satin, and brocade. Umayyad official attire was white, while the protocol of their successors, the 'Abbasids, required black. The Umayyads further emulated the Byzantine and Persian rulers by establishing state factories to produce royal fabrics with embroidered bands *(tiraz)* containing written inscriptions. Along with a mention of the caliph's name in the Friday sermon, having his name inscribed on *tiraz* and on coins came to be regarded as the ruler's prerogative. Garments of these regal fabrics were not only worn by the caliphs and their retinues but also were given as gifts. The bestowal of the *khil 'a*, or robe of honor, became a standard practice in Islamic courts throughout the Middle Ages and continued until early modern times. Not only did the wearing of luxurious clothing spread down from the elite to the bourgeoisie, but also private ateliers began imitating royal *tiraz*. We know both from actual relics preserved in museums and from the documents of the Cairo Geniza that ordinary people who could afford it copied the practice of bestowing robes of honor on family and friends. Valuable articles of clothing were considered part of personal wealth and were handed down as family heirlooms.

Kaftan. Turkish, late sixteenth-early seventeenth century CE (CT22668). Credit: Victoria & Albert Museum, London/Art Resource. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Great Britain.

During the ninth and tenth centuries, fashion consciousness reached new heights in Baghdad. Sartorial style and elegance formed part of the polite cultural ideal of *adab*. In his manual for members of refined society, *Kitab al-Muwashsha' aw al-Zarf wa-l-Zurafa' (The Book of Ornamentation on Elegance and Elegant People)*, the aesthete al-Washsha' (d. 936) devotes several chapters to proper attire and the etiquette of dress for members of both sexes. Many Persian garments were integrated into the Islamic vestimentary system during that time. The 'Abbasids increasingly adopted elements from Sasanian court protocols, such as red leather boots. As a demonstration of their Arabian roots, Islamic legitimacy, and charisma, the 'Abbasid caliphs would on certain ceremonial occasions don the simple woolen *burda* (cloak) that had supposedly belonged to the Prophet Muhammad.

The Fatimid dynasty (909–1171) exceeded both the Umayyads and the ‘Abbasids in their use of clothing as part of their pomp and ceremony. A government agency oversaw the production, storage, and distribution of seasonal ceremonial attire for all officials from the caliph down to minor civil servants. A complete outfit might consist of a dozen articles of clothing. Fatimid ceremonial costumes were mostly white and embroidered with gold and silver thread in accordance with the dynasty’s official image as bearers of divine light *(nur ilahi)*.

Turkish Military Dynasties and Later Medieval Fashion Trends

Yedida Stillman has noted three significant trends occurring in the Islamic vestimentary system during the late eleventh through thirteenth centuries under the Turkish military dynasties of the Seljuks, the Ayyubids, and the Mamluks, and under the Mongol Ilkhanids. These trends were (1) the introduction of new garments and fashions from Central Asia and the Far East; (2) increasing social stratification reflected by clothing; and (3) ever-stricter interpretation and enforcement of the dress code for *dhimmi*s.

The first category included a variety of Asian coats, jackets, and vests *(qaba’ turki, qaba’ tatari, bughlutaq, sallariyya, malluta)*; caps and hats *(sharbush, kalawta, saraquj, zamt)*; and military belts *(hiyasa, band)* and boots *(khifaf)* emblazoned with heraldic devices. Originally reserved only for the ruling military elite, some variants of these items were in time adopted by the bourgeoisie.

The increased social stratification under the feudalistic military regimes was reflected in the dress of the different classes of society. Not only did the “men of the sword” *(arbab al-suyuf)* have their own distinctive fashions, but so did the bureaucrat “men of the pen” *(arbab al-aqlam),* the religious scholars *(‘ulama’),* the urban notables *(al-a‘yan),* the Sufis, the young mens’ associations *(al-fityan),* and the masses *(al-‘amma)*. During this period, for example, the Persian shawl known as the *taylasan* was the badge of qadis and jurists, and the miterlike *qalansuwa tawila*, a symbol of royalty under the Umayyads and a fashionable hat under the ‘Abbasids, became the mark of a dervish.

The strictness of application of *ghiyar* for the clothing of *dhimmi*s was due both to the increased social stratification of the times and to a hardening of attitudes toward non-Muslims. The Mamluks imposed a color code on *dhimmi* women’s outdoor clothing. Jewish women were to be identified by a yellow *izar*, Christian women by a blue one, and Samaritans by red. In Sharifan Morocco, Jewish men (the only *dhimmi*s) had to wear black, and in Zaydi Yemen, Jewish males and females dark indigo. In Safavid Iran, *dhimmi* men wore an identifying patch, while their womenfolk were forbidden to veil their faces like Muslim women.

Overall, the Islamic vestimentary system remained remarkably constant both in its basic form and in ideology throughout most of the Middle Ages. There was continual evolution, introduction of new garments, and regional stylistic variation, but the fusion in different proportions over time and space of the three basic components—Arabian, Hellenistic, and Irano–Turkic—was the essential hallmark of the fashion system. This system would only begin to experience radical changes during the nineteenth century as a concomitant of modernization and the impact of the West.

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See also Court Dress

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COINS AND CURRENCY

Without any own monetary traditions, the Arabs of Mecca and Medina at first adopted the preexisting coinages in the conquered regions. The result was the development of two currencies: the so called Arab-Byzantine in copper and gold and the Arab-Sasanian coinage almost entirely in silver, both with minor modifications to their prototypes. During the reign of the Umayyad caliph ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan, coins of purely Islamic inspiration were struck. In AH 77/696 CE, the caliph issued the first

gold *dinars* at weight of one *mithqal* (4.25 g). Silver *dirhams* followed in AH 79/698 CE, at the "canonical" weight of 2.97 g. These coins were entirely anonymous; the inscriptions consisted of religious phrases. Additionally to those phrases, *dinars* also bear the date, *dirhams,* the mint and date. No such uniform design was applied to the copper coins, called *fulus* (sg. *fals*), which were more or less a local affair. During the 'Abbasid caliphate the epigraphic style of coinage continued with minor changes in the used formulas. In the 770s, the caliph's name often appeared on the coins, as did the names of the designated heirs, local governors, and court officials. From this period on *dinars* started to bear the mint, too. During the ninth century, copper coinage was largely abandoned. It is also apparent that Islamic *dirhams* started to be an important trading medium outside the Caliphate.

The various dynasties that took political authority from the 'Abbasids retained the standard design for their precious metal coinage. Sovereignty is expressed by the right of *sikka* (the mention of the ruler's name on the precious metal coinage). In addition to the existent denominations, new ones were introduced, at first in 'Abbasid Yemen.

As the western lands became independent of the 'Abbasids, they began to strike their own coinage. The Umayyads of Spain continued to strike silver coins like those of the Umayyads and later introduced a gold coinage. The coinage of the Almoravides reflected their fervor for the holy war by introducing pugnacious legends. The Idrisids minted silver *dirhams*, lighter than the contemporary 'Abbasid ones. The Sunni Aghlabid gold coinage, on the other hand, was of normal 'Abbasid type and weight.

In the East the Tahirids were the first to issue coins independently. Their Saffarid and Samanid coins were *dirhams* of the normal 'Abbasid type. The main post-'Abbasid coinage in this region was that of the Buyids, which was predominantly in gold. From circa 940, because of the lack of silver in Islam, the Samanids turned to the production of low-grade silver coins of large model, weighing up to twenty grams. Large, billon- or plated-copper coins were first struck by the Qarakhanids. Most dynasties followed and billon coinage came into prominence. By 1010, fine silver coinage had become uncommon in the Muslim world. Umayyad standards of monetary stability were never reached again.

The first to depart from the classical coin type was the Fatimid dynasty. On his accession, al-Mu'izz introduced new coinage bearing militant Shi'i inscriptions in a concentric coin design. Also, a new dinar with the legend "extremely high" to demonstrate the gold fineness was introduced. The twelfth century had some changes in the coinage of the eastern Islamic lands: copper coins reappeared as important money, sometimes in the form of large copper coins. Also, good silver *dirham* coinage was reintroduced by the Ayyubid sultan Saladin. Because of several monetary reforms, the Mamluks minted distinctive precious metal coins and coppers that displayed a variety of heraldic emblems. In 1225, the dominance of the Venetian gold *ducat* forced the introduction of a new Mamluk gold coinage, the *ashrafi*, at the same standard, which was also adopted by the Ottomans. In the Maghreb, the Almohads also used distinctive new coin types to emphasize their dissident beliefs. Their "square in circle" type of gold coinage and their square-shaped silver coins were adopted by all subsequent Western dynasties.

In the late twelfth and the thirteenth centuries, silver coinage spread to Anatolia, Iraq, and Iran. The Rum-Seljuk *dirhams* were minted copiously. Under the Mongol Ilkhan Ghazan Mahmud, the continued local coinages were abandoned. He created a silver coinage with uniform appearance, weight, and fineness. The early fourteenth century started with a series of reductions under his successors, which went along with changes in the coin design. This system was retained at a regional level by the post-Ilkhanid dynasts. The coinage of the Timurids was based on the Ilkhanid tradition but was dominated by a new and larger silver denomination. Timurid style and denomination spread widely through Safavid Iran and northern India. In their time, each of the great empires, Ottoman, Iranian, and Mughal, had their own diverse and complex coinage.

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See also 'Abbasids; 'Abd al Malik ibn Marwan; Credit; Markets; Mining; Moneylenders; Precious Metals; Saladin (Salah al-Din); Tax and Taxation; Trade, Mediterranean; Weights and Measurements; Umayyads

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COMMANDING GOOD AND FORBIDDING EVIL

The principle of commanding the good and forbidding the evil *(al-amr bi al-ma'rūf wa al-nahy 'an al-munkar),* which is applied to any action promoting what is good and prohibiting what is reprehensible, formulates a religious and moral duty based on the Qur'an. The terms *ma'rūf* and *munkar* in the expression occur in the Qur'an sometimes in tandem, as in *al-amr bi al-ma'rūf wa al-nahy 'an al-munkar* (Q 3:110, 114; 7:157; 9:71, 112; 22:41), and at times separately (Q 4:114; 5:79; 16:90; 29:45).

In its basic sense, *ma'rūf* refers to good manners and behaviors that are well known, recognized, and embraced and that are not considered to be strange when seen among people, while *munkar* is the misdeed that is not approved and accepted. Discussions that took place in the Muslim community in political, dogmatic (confessional), and juristical domains and the distinction of reason and tradition (*aql* and *naql*) resulting therefrom, gave way to the reformation of the meanings of *ma'rūf* and *munkar* in accordance with this distinction. Thus, these two terms, in addition to their religious and moral significance, gained political and juristical content. While most Mu'tazilite theologians called *ma'rūf* what reason deems as good and *munkar* what reason deems evil in accordance with their position on the issue of good and bad *(husn* and *qubh)*, the Salafis and the Ash'arites defined *ma'rūf* as the deeds and utterances that the law says are good, and *munkar* as what the law says is improper. No matter how they are determined, all political, theological, and jurisprudential schools are in complete agreement that performing this duty is obligatory. However, there is a disagreement on whether this duty must be performed individually or collectively. There is a difference of opinion on such issues as to the way in which this principle should be implemented and the means of this implementation. The principle of commanding the good and forbidding the evil appears to have been enforced in two ways: (1) formally undertaken by the state, or (2) left to the individual responsibility of the Muslims. The former was institutionalized with the name of *hisbah* in such a way as to include the preservation of morality and the public order in society. *Hisbah* was intended to deal with the violation of individual, communal, and state rights and with the *munkar* about which there was no disagreement.

Commenting on the verse "*let there be a community of you, calling to all that is good, commanding what is right and forbidding what is wrong*" (Q 3:104), scholars such as Abū Ya'lā, al-Juwaynī, al-Ghazālī, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, Ibn Taymiyya, and Zamakhshari maintained that this duty was to be performed by those who are knowledgeable about *ma'rūf* and *munkar* and the methods of commanding and prohibiting such things and those who possess good qualities.

By citing the prophetic *hadith* that reads "*whoever of you sees wrong being committed, let him rectify it with his hand, if he is unable, then with his tongue, and if he is unable, then with this heart, which is the bare minimum of faith*," Muslim scholars also held that everyone should carry out this duty with their hands, tongues, and hearts in accordance with their ability. Among the scholars, there are those who, restricting this duty to tongue and heart, disapproved of the use of force, and there are also those who contended that the use of force and coercion should be resorted to when tongue and heart are ineffective.

The Kharijis asserted that this duty must be carried out, regardless of the circumstances, with anyone who goes astray, be it the state, the community, or the individual, and that the use of force and arms is required to do it. The Kharijis, who had as their motto the principle of commanding the good and forbidding the evil, accused anyone who did not agree with them of deviating from God's true path, and hence claimed that these deviants from God's path could only be fought through waging holy war against them. Grounding the legitimacy and the necessity of revolting against the state in this principle, the Kharijis had the lion's share in this principle's gaining a political content. The Ibadis, a Khariji faction, though disapproving of the use of weapon against people, believed that the tyrannical ruler has to be hampered and ousted by any means necessary, with or without arms. Although the Zaydiyyah and

the Imāmiyyah of the Shi'i were in favor, like the Kharijis, of the use of force and arms against tyrannical political authority, the Imāmīs in particular suspended this practice until the Imam in occultation appears.

Muslim scholars such as al-Hasan al-Basrī and Abu Hanīfah viewed "the commanding the good and prohibiting the evil" as more of a moral principle and thus did not approve of the use of force against the state and the community on the ground that it would effect mistrust among people, harm the integrity of the community, and cause further social disintegration and unrest.

As against the Khawarij, there was a group who considered *al-amr wa al-nahy* to be subject to the aforementioned conditions, and moreover did not go beyond the confines of the heart and the tongue for its sake. Ahmad b. Hanbal is counted among them. According to this group, a bloody uprising for the sake of struggling against unlawful activities is not permissible. The Salafiyyah, which also includes the people of *hadith,* did not deem it appropriate to resort to the use of force against political authority, even in the event that people are murdered and family members are harmed, in order to preserve social peace, to keep social order unharmed, and to prevent the community from breaking up due to disorder and corruption. Regarding this principle as one of the five fundamentals that complement the faith, the Mu'tazilah held that to make the good prevail in social life and to avoid the evil, gentle language or method should first be used; if it is not effective, then a harsh expression may be employed; and if this does not prevail, then hand or force (sword) are to be used until the goal has been achieved. The Mu'tazilah accepted the conditions for *al-amr wa al-nahy*, but, not limiting to the heart and the tongue, maintained that if the unlawful practices become common, or if the state is oppressive and unjust, it is obligatory for Muslims to rise in armed revolt. The Mu'tazilah perceived this principle as the legitimate source of revolt during the Umayyad period and determined the method and conditions of revolting against the government in accordance with this principle. However, when they rose to power during the reign of the 'Abbasid caliph Ma'mūn, the Mu'tazilah made use of the same principle as a means to coerce others into accepting their views. For them, in order to rise against the authority, certain conditions such as "just imam," "loyal and sincere followers," and "hope of success" must obtain.

In modern times, it is possible to consider within the extension of this principle the activities of the opposition parties in politics and the activities of civil organizations for protecting the rights of the individual in Muslim societies.

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COMMENTARY

Commentary is a type of scholarship that attempts to elucidate, complement, correct, or even sophisticate an existing body of literature. Sometimes the underlying assumption is that the body of literature in question requires a commentary because it was produced at such a time in the past that its meanings and/or historical circumstances are concealed to the current reader or the knowledge in it requires updating. However, in some cases, commentaries are authored precisely to infuse into that body of literature ideas and beliefs that are not there in the first place, and subsequently make it harmonious with those championed by the commentators. Commentaries are extremely important for the proper understanding of

the dissemination of knowledge in the medieval Islamic world. Invariably, it was in commentaries that authors embedded their own views and sometimes corrections on earlier knowledge and dogma and opened new venues for the succeeding generations. In medieval Islamic scholarship, hundreds of commentaries were produced on a variety of religious and secular subjects, ranging from the Qur'an (being the most prestigious subject to compile a commentary on), Hadith, Sufism, and theology, to grammar, poetry, adab, and science.

Qur'an

A commentary on the Qur'an usually engages one or more of the following issues: meaning(s) of particular words and expressions, grammar and proper reading, circumstances of revelation, abrogating and abrogated verses, and political or theological implications of particular verses. The earliest Qur'an commentators from the first century of Islam (seventh century CE) seem not to have had a comprehensive approach to interpreting Islam's scripture. Rather, their commentary glosses are fragmentary and tend to represent one particular point of view. Later, in the second/eighth century, more comprehensive commentaries with a variety of opinions started to appear, such as the *Tafsir* of 'Abd al-Razzaq al-San'ani (d. 211/826). Commentaries on the grammar of the Qur'an also started to appear around that time, such as *Ma'ani al-Qur'an* by al-Farra' (d. 207/822). The most notable commentary from the medieval period is that of al-Tabari (d. 310/923), entitled *Jami' al-bayan 'an ta'wil ay al-Qur'an*, which preserves a large number of commentary glosses by scholars from the first two centuries of Islam whose commentaries, if they ever existed as individual compilations, are otherwise lost to us. Other influential commentaries include *Haqa'iq al-tafsir* by al-Sulami (d. 412/1021), which extracts the "hidden" mystical meanings of the verses of the Qur'an; *al-Kashf wa-l-bayan 'an tafsir al-Qur'an* by al-Tha 'labi (d. 425/1037), which incorporates Sunni, Shi'i, and Sufi interpretations but leaves out, intentionally it seems, the Mu'tazila views; *al-Tibyan fi tafsir al-Qur'an* by Abu Ja'far al-Tusi (d. 460/1068), which preserves the traditions of several Twelver Shi'i imams; *al-Kashshaf* by al-Zamakhshari (d. 538/1144), which preserves moderate views of Mu'tazila commentators; and *Tafsir al-Jalalayn,* started by Jalal al-Din al-Mahalli (d. 864/1459) and completed by his student Jalal al-Din al-Suyuti (d. 911/1505), which is the most popular commentary in the Arab world because of its conciseness.

Hadith

The Qur'an was not the only religious text that received the attention of medieval Muslim commentators. The Hadith, perceived by most Muslims as second in importance to the Qur'an, received its share of commentaries. Such works were authored precisely to verify the authenticity of the *hadith*s they contain and their transmission, as well as the circumstances that allegedly led the Prophet Muhammad to utter them. For instance, several commentaries were authored on the famous *Sahih* of al-Bukhari (d. 256/870); the most notable of them is *Fath al-bari bi-sharh sahih al-Bukhari* by Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalani (d. 852/1448). Similarly, commentaries were written on the *Muwatta'* of Malik ibn Anas (d. 179/796), like the one by al-Zurqani (d. 1122/1710), and on the *Sahih* of Muslim (d. 261/875), like the one by al-Nawawi (d. 676/1277). Commentaries on Hadith were also authored by grammarians who were eager to explain away certain grammatical inaccuracies in the words attributed to the Prophet Muhammad, like the one by Ibn Malik (d. 672/1274) on the *Sahih* of al-Bukhari.

Sufism and Theology

Sufi commentaries were written sometimes to "unveil" the mystical treasures hidden in a given text, like those on the Qur'an, but were also authored to clarify and simplify a complicated, difficult-to-comprehend, mystical language for the novice mystics. For instance, Shams al-Din Shahrazuri (fl. seventh/thirteenth century) wrote a commentary on the Sufi gnostic work *Hikmat al-ishraq* of Shihab al-Din al-Suhrawardi (d. 587/1191). *Ihya' 'ulum al-din* of al-Ghazali (d. 505/1111) was the subject of a major commentary by al-Zabidi (d. 1205/1791), entitled *Ithaf al-sada al-muttaqin bi-sharh ihya' 'ulum al-din*. Several commentaries were authored on *al-Futuhat al-makkiyya* by Ibn 'Arabi (d. 638/1240), including *Sharh mushkil al-futuhat al-makiyya* by 'Abd al-Karim al-Jili (d. ca. 832/1428). Similarly, the mystical poem *Qasidat al-Burda* of al-Busiri (d. 694/1294) was the subject of several commentaries. Theological commentaries were also written on topics ranging from the one hundred names of God, such as *Lawami' al-bayyinat sharh asma' Allah ta'ala wa-l-sifat* by Fakhr al-Din al-Razi (d. 606/1210), to other theological compilations, such as the several commentaries written on the *Kitab al-fiqh al-akbar* attributed to Abu Hanifa (d. 150/767).

Grammar, Poetry, and Adab

Besides the several commentaries on the grammar of the Qur'an, one can mention the *Alfiyya* of Ibn Malik (d. 672/1274), a thousand-line poem (a summary of his 2757-line poem) on Arabic grammar, which received more than forty commentaries, the most notable of which is that of Ibn 'Aqil (d. 769/1367), which in turn received minor commentaries, like the one by al-Suyuti (d. 911/1505). The grammar book of Sibawayh (known as *Kitab Sibawayh*) also received several commentaries. Poetry, especially pre-Islamic poetry, received tremendous attention on the part of medieval commentators. For instance, several commentaries were produced on the seven or ten most-celebrated epics *(al-mu'allaqat)*. Other examples include commentaries on the poetry of al-Mutanabbi (d. 354/955), like *Sharh diwan al-Mutanabbi* by al-Wahidi (d. 468/1075), and on the celebrated *Diwan al-Hamasa*, a collection of poems attributed to Abu Tammam (d. 231/845). The belletristic masterpiece *Maqamat* of al-Hariri (d. 516/1122) received several commentaries as well.

Science and Philosophy

Science and philosophy received their share of commentaries, and it is in such commentaries that one is likely to encounter the original contribution of Muslim, Christian, and Jewish scholars from the medieval Islamic World, who corrected or elucidated the knowledge presented in earlier Greek and Arabic books. Because of their significance, some of these commentaries were translated into Latin in the late Middle Ages and during the Renaissance. Several commentaries were written on Ptolemy's *Almagest* on astronomy, and on Euclid's *Elements* on geometry. With respect to medicine, Ibn al-Nafis (d. 687/1288) probably stands out as one of the most prolific medieval commentators. He authored an extensive commentary on the medical encyclopedia *al-Qanun fi l-tibb* of Ibn Sina (d. 428/1037) and another commentary on the *Aphorisms*, the *Prognostics*, and *De natura hominis* of Hippocrates. Logic was also an attractive subject—Ibn Rushd (d. 595/1198) wrote on the *Logic* of Aristotle *(Sharh al-burhan li-Aristu)*; but it was Porphyry's *Isagogep* that received the most attention, like the commentary on it by the Nestorian monk Abu 'l-Faraj ibn al-Tayyib (d. 435/1043). In philosophy, Ibn Sina's two masterpieces, *Kitab al-Shifa'* and *Kitab al-isharat wa-l-tanbihat,* are the most original philosophical compilations ever produced in medieval Islam and feature extensive commentaries on the philosophies of Aristotle, Plotinus, and al-Farabi (d. 339/950).

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See also Scriptural Exegesis

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COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET

The term *Companions* refers to anyone living in the original community of the Prophet, though the precise definition varies greatly. In Arabic sources, it is rendered *sahaba*. Companions are generally held in high esteem due to their close relationship to the Prophet. They are a source of prophetic traditions, as well as heroes and role models for later generations of Muslims.

Khadija, the Prophet's first wife, was the first to convert to the new faith in approximately 612 CE and may be considered the earliest Companion. She was followed by the prophet's nephew, 'Ali b. Abi Tâlib, the Prophet's adopted son Zayd, and Abû Bakr, who would later become the first caliph. The early conversion of influential and respected Quraysh, such as the Prophet's uncle, Hamza b. Abi Tâlib, and 'Umar b. al-Khattâb, helped establish respect for the new faith.

Many Companions faced persecution for their beliefs. At Mecca, most clans in Quraysh allowed the harassment and, in extreme cases, the torture and execution of kinsmen who converted to Islam. These circumstances led a large number to emigrate to Ethiopia in approximately 615. When the Banu Hâshim withdrew its protection of the prophet after the death of Abû Tâlib, the Prophet and most remaining Companions emigrated to Yathrib, to the north of Mecca, in 622.

The sanctuary at Yathrib, later called Medina, allowed the Muslim community to grow. Because belief in Islam rather than loyalty to a tribe or clan formed the basic bond in the new state, the closeness of companionship, often coinciding with priority in conversion, had important implications in deciding social and political rank. Many Medinese converts became close advisors of the Prophet despite their tribal origin. When the Prophet showed favors to later converts from among the Meccan nobility later in his life, many early converts, including those from Mecca, complained bitterly.

The decision, upon the death of the Prophet, to keep the Muslim community united politically ensured for several decades the primacy of Companions in Muslim government. The caliphate was established in the Quraysh. The first four caliphs, however, were all close Companions. The first caliph, Abû Bakr, was one of the earliest converts and had no important clan affiliation to aid his rise to power.

The caliph ‘Umar b. al-Khattâb formalized the privileged status of Companions. He created a dîwân, which fixed the stipends of Muslims according to the approximate date of their conversion and service to Islam. Those who joined the community before the battle of Badr in 624 received higher stipends than those who converted before the Pledge of Hudabiyya or the Conquest of Mecca.

Much of the prestige and authority of Companions, nevertheless, remained charismatic. As the Muslim conquests brought large numbers of countries and peoples into the Muslim fold, either as converts or *dhimmis*, Companions provided an important link to the original Muslim community at Mecca and Medina. They held themselves as the guardians of the true Islamic tradition. People turned to them for arbitration much as they once turned to the Prophet. They did not hesitate to criticize even a caliph where they deemed him in error.

These different views of companionship led to open conflict during the reign of the caliph ‘Uthmân b. ‘Affân and the First Fitna (656–661 C.E.). Although ‘Uthmân was himself a Companion, many Companions turned the community against him for his innovations and his favoritism of his clan in dispensing favors and appointments. The Companion and son of the first caliph, Muhammad b. Abi Bakr, led a faction that stormed his house and killed him. In the First Fitna, which followed, Companions led and fought on all major sides. At the Battle of Camel, the celebrated Companions Talha b. ‘Ubayd Allâh and al-Zubayr b. ‘Awwâm and the Prophet’s favorite wife, ‘Â’isha bt. Abi Bakr fought against the Prophet’s nephew, ‘Ali b. Abi Tâlib. In the end, Mu‘âwiya b. Abi Sufyân, the son of one of the Prophet’s Meccan persecutors, became caliph.

Subsequent years saw the sharp decline in the political influence of Companions, but not in their general esteem. When Mu‘âwiya died in 680, his son succeeded him as caliph. Although most Companions would have resisted the innovation of hereditary succession, very few survived. Those who remained had been very young at the time of the Prophet’s death and were known mainly for their activities since that time as representatives of one faction or another. Hussayn b. ‘Ali, for example, had become the recognized leader of the Banû Hâshim, representing the Prophet’s extended family and descendants. He revolted, but his following could not match the resources of the caliphal state. He was quickly massacred.

Nostalgia for an earlier era, nevertheless, kept alive veneration for the memory of Companions. A number of piety-minded individuals and groups emulated their simple austere piety. This piety inspired new forms of popular activism. Individuals such as al-Hasan al-Basrî, Ibn Sîrîn, and Ibrahîm al-Nakha‘î became renowned for their modest lifestyles, religious knowledge, and frank judgments. Khârijis, promoting a more radical agenda, disavowed the corrupt centers of caliphal power. They formed small bands in the countryside and waged ceaseless battle against the government.

The development of Islamic law in the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries greatly elevated the moral status of Companions among Sunni Muslims. As scholars sought to validate traditions of the Prophet upon which much of Sunni law rested, they resolved the character of every Companion to have been unimpeachable. If any report could be reliably traced back to one, then it was presumed to be true. This doctrine became known as the ‘‘Rectification of the Companions’’ *(ta ‘dil al-sahaba)*. It eliminated the need to discuss and judge numerous controversies that had divided different groups of Companions and which may have called into question fundamental principles of belief. It led, nevertheless, to disputes over who actually qualified as a Companion, with some insisting a candidate must have attained a mature age or have visited the Prophet before his or her death.

The doctrine had a profound impact on Sunni historiography. Later Sunni historians treat early controversies with great unease. Their descriptions are generally terse. Where they must, they choose reports that are theologically sound and refrain from assigning blame to any known Companion. While they admit something happened, they often claim the reasons for such a thing happening are not known. They criticize earlier historians as indiscriminant in their choice of reports, which ascribe a wide range of motives and calculations to many Companions.

At the same time, while early writers subsumed both Companions and subsequent transmitters of prophetic traditions in their biographical dictionaries, later writers sometimes devoted dictionaries to the lives of Companions exclusively. The later works attempt to decide definitively who was a Companion and to assert their excellent character beyond any doubt. They often add anecdotal information absent from earlier sources without giving documentation. Ibn al-Athir’s discussion of Talha b. ‘Ubayd Allâh and al-Zubayr b. ‘Awwâm illustrates this tendency.

He mentions the great service each provided for Islam, the favors the Prophet bestowed upon them that recognized this service, and the excellent reputations they enjoyed among their peers. However, when he reaches the Battle of Camel, where both opposed the Prophet's nephew and the caliph 'Ali b. Abi Tâlib, he gives only a lengthy account about how each, upon meeting 'Ali on the battlefield, withdrew rather than fight their fellow Companion. Both were later killed against 'Ali's wishes. Despite the detail, Ibn al-Athir never gives the sources of his information.

Shi'is, in contrast, maintained a more critical perspective. Their faith emphasized their loyalty to the Prophet's descendants through 'Ali b. Abi Tâlib and his daughter Fatima. They held most, but not all, Companions to be virtuous. As a group, they failed to support 'Alî's claims to the caliphate. Many were responsible for acts of violence against 'Ali's supporters. The caliph 'Uthmân, for example, exiled the prominent Abû Dharr, thereby bringing about his early death. Talha, al-Zubayr, and Mu'âwiya are also objects of reprobation. Shi'i historical writers, as a result, extol the virtues of 'Ali and his followers but transmit more freely than Sunni sources reports that give more human characterizations, if not impugn the integrity, of many other Companions.

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CONCUBINAGE

In the Muslim world, a concubine was a female slave who had a sexual relationship with her Muslim master. According to Islamic law, concubines, like slaves in general, had to be of non-Muslim origin, on the basis that they were legitimate booty from holy war.

There were benefits and drawbacks for both the master and the concubine. For the master, control over the concubine was much greater than that of a wife. He could initiate and terminate the relationship at will and could have as many concubines as he could afford, unlike the limit of four wives. He also did not have to pledge a dowry to his partner, which wives would often use as a bargaining chip for their own well-being. This relationship of a concubine was also widely respected in Islamic law and most often carried no social stigma. The downside for the master included three points: (1) the initial cost of a slave was often greater than a dowry, (2) he had to respect the offspring of a concubine as his own child, and (3) he owed basic obligations to humane treatment for the concubine as a slave. The concubine often had little power, except when she bore her master a child. At this time she held the status of *umm-i veled*, namely, a mother who could advocate the well-being of his child. The concubine faced many more disadvantages, as she had no power to resist the advances of his master and was subject to his mercy for her financial well-being, including inheritance rights, except for any children. If the concubinage was terminated, she had to wait forty-five days before she could enter a relationship with a second party.

Concubinage was common in the Muslim world, beginning with the initial Arab conquests when a massive influx of non-Muslim captives were taken. A booming trade of female slaves continued throughout the medieval period. Umayyads, 'Abbasids, Fatimids, Mamluks, the Crimean Tatars, Seljukids, and Ottomans alike often took the slaves from the Caucasus, the Crimea, western Ukraine, and the Balkans.

Concubinage was practiced at all levels of society. On a popular level, concubines were most often taken on the frontiers, where slaves were taken by armies, raiding forces, or slave traders. Concubines often had a strategic value for Muslim soldiers in a border garrison, as they could help establish a new social group that would help consolidate Muslim power in the region. This can be seen particularly in the Ottoman-area regions such as Tunis, western Anatolia, and the Balkans, where non-Muslim concubines bore a new Muslim generation that identified itself with the interest of the emerging regime. Concubines were commonly sold in market towns and large metropolitan areas. Many urban Muslim subjects saw concubines as an attractive relationship when the single female population was low.

The most famous concubines were those which rulers and high Muslim administrators took as their own. While a number of 'Abbasid and Mamluk rulers had concubine mothers, the Ottoman dynasty was by

far the most concubine dominated. Sultans started to have concubines as consorts at least since the mid-fourteenth century, when Sultan Murad I fathered his son, the future Bayezid I, with a concubine. Sultans still occasionally took wives, however, since it could help cement regional alliances with outside dynasties. After the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, the Ottoman Sultans began to only have children from concubines, since having a wife entailed granting significant privileges to someone besides the sultan. Concubines also fit very well within an emerging palace system in Istanbul, which regulated all members as slaves of circumstance. Concubines who inhabited the harem, or female section of the palace, and had relations with the sultan had the right to bear only one male child. Having such a child was a greatly sought honor. Yet their male children competed with all their half-brothers to become the next sovereign. In the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, a son who succeeded to the throne regularly murdered all of his half-brothers in the name of a unified sultanic authority. If the son was somehow able to become a successor, the concubine, as the mother of the sultan, could exert enormous privilege, including control over all female members of the court. Even if she did not succeed in this ultimate aim, a concubine held an extremely influential social position that compared with many of the greatest Ottoman military and administrative officials. Many also were eventually married to many of these officials, as they too were originally slaves of the palace.

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THE CONSTITUTION OF MEDINA

The Constitution of Medina is the modern name for an ancient Muslim document embedded in the text of the biography of the Prophet Muhammad by Ibn Ishaq (d. AH 151/768 CE) in the recension of Ibn Hisham (d. 218/833). The document consists of a set of articles that bind the subscribing tribal groupings in the oasis of Medina to a single polity through a strong mutual alliance that is both offensive and defensive. Each clan remains a separate constituent unit of the new polity, with accountability to the whole group and responsibility for the actions of its members. No member clan is to shelter or protect anyone betraying or acting against the Medinan polity, particularly the Qurashi enemies of the Muslims that had recently arrived from Mecca. Nevertheless, the right of protecting other outsiders is accorded to all individual tribal members according to existing custom, except that a woman may only be granted that status with the approval of her own clan.

As a collectivity, the members of the Medinan polity are all identified as believers *(mu'minun)* and one community *(umma)*, whether Muslims or Jews, reflecting perhaps the situation shown in Qur'an 2:62, 3:64, and 5:69, among other verses. That is, in opposition to the pagans, all of the members of the Medinan polity believe in God and the Last Day, providing an ideological basis for the polity. Also, the constitution declares the inner part *(jawf)* of Medina an inviolable sanctuary *(haram)* like Mecca. This declaration further emphasizes the establishment of a zone of safety and peace among the parties to the agreement. The constitution authorizes little internal political structure or enforcement mechanism. Such central authority as exists appears limited to the Prophet Muhammad, who is the final arbiter of disputes that may arise, including those concerning the interpretation of the document, and the Prophet alone having the decisive authority to authorize offensive military expeditions in case of war. He lacks, however, the power to conscript troops, as the permissibility of holding back from fighting is clearly stated. Thus, overall the document pictures a federation of tribes more akin to a republic than an autocracy.

Although scholars disagree about whether this document was written all at once or added to from an original base, most likely all of it dates from shortly after the arrival of the Prophet Muhammad in Medina in 1/622, and certainly it was completed by his death in 11/632. This certainty about the earliness of its date arises because in it the Prophet is not given a clearly sovereign or commanding position as he later attained; the Quraysh, who later became honored nobles, are shown only to be the enemy; and the Jews are included in the polity as allies and members, all suggesting the situation at the beginning of the Muslim era. Despite changes as the Prophet's authority grew, the document probably remained in force, for the Medinan polity remained rather rudimentary

right up to his death. Thus, as shown by the late verses in Qur'an 9:38–50, 81–96, and 118–122, the Prophet had to use exhortation and lacked the power to actually conscript troops right to the end, exactly as in the constitution.

For modern Muslims, the Constitution of Medina has been hailed as a predecessor to modern constitutionalism and rule of law equivalent to the Magna Carta and is often cited as a key precedent for constitutionalism, rule of law, collective leadership, and democratizing reform.

KHALID YAHYA BLANKINSHIP

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CONSULTATION, OR *SHURA*

The word *shura* occurs in the Qur'an and means "consultation." Two verses specifically refer to this concept. The first (Q 3:158–159) states, "So pass over [their faults], and ask for [God's] forgiveness and consult them in matters; then, when you have made a decision, put your trust in God." The second verse (Q 42:38) runs, "And [they are] those who answer the call of their Lord and perform prayer, and who conduct their affairs by mutual consultation, and who spend of what We have bestowed upon them."

Consultation (also referred to as *mashwara* and *mashura*) has been regarded as obligatory *(wajib)* or simply recommended *(mandub)*, depending on the circumstances. The predominant sentiment in the literature is that *shura* as mutual consultation in various spheres (political–administrative, communal, military, familial) is the preferred and desirable method of resolving matters. In the political realm, it is often considered a duty incumbent on the ruler to confer with knowledgeable advisors. For example, the Qur'an commentator Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Qurtubi (d. AH 671/1272 CE) states, "It is the obligation of the rulers to consult the scholars on matters unknown to them and in religious matters not clear to them. [They should] consult the leaders of the army in matters having to do with war, and leaders of the people in administrative issues, as well as teachers, ministers, and governors in matters that have to do with the welfare of the country and its development."

Shura was known in the pre-Islamic period as well. Arab tribes before Islam had a loosely formed council of elders called *shura* (also known as *majlis* or *mala'*), which adjudicated intratribal and intertribal matters through consultation. Like a number of other Jahili virtues and customs, the Qur'an endorsed *shura* as an acceptable and normative practice within Islam. This is evidenced in Muhammad's own adherence to this principle in variegated circumstances and the precedent established by the first two caliphs in particular, as documented in *hadith*, biographical, and historical literature.

For example, during the preparations for the battle of Badr, the Prophet is said to have consulted with Habbab al-Mundhir, recognized for his military expertise, and with Salman al-Farisi before the Battle of Khandaq in 627; on the latter's recommendation the Prophet had a ditch dug around Medina, which successfully prevented a potentially disastrous siege by the pagan Meccans. Before concluding the Treaty of Hudaybiyya in 630, Muhammad conferred with his Companions on the provisions of the treaty and the propriety of acceding to them. Numerous other instances of prophetic consultative activities are to be found in these literatures, creating, in fact, a powerful precedent for succeeding generations. The Companion Abu Hurayra is thus said to have remarked, "I did not see anyone more [predisposed] to consultation *(mushawara or mashwara)* with his Companions than the Prophet."

After Muhammad's death in 632, Abu Bakr publicly declared his commitment to the principle of *shura*. The historian al-Tabari (d. 310/923) refers to the Saqifa episode when Abu Bakr got up to address the Ansar, who at first had opposed his nomination as the caliph. Abu Bakr reassured them by saying that he would not fail to consult them with regard to political matters, nor would he adjudicate matters without them.

The most famous *shura* in the sense of a consultative body is the six-man electoral council set up by 'Umar b. al-Khattab in 644, as he lay on his deathbed, to elect a candidate who would succeed him. The deliberations of this council brought 'Uthman, the third caliph, to power.

As dynastic rule became the norm after the death of 'Ali in 661, the last "Rightly Guided Caliph," invocation of *shura* as a mandated social and political practice became a way to register disapproval of a political culture that had progressively grown more authoritarian by the 'Abbasid period (750–1258). Therefore, some political and religious dissident groups, like the Khawarij, made *shura* their clarion call against dynastic government starting in the Umayyad period. Certain genres of ethical and

humanistic literature *(adab)* continued to extol the merits of consultation in various spheres, including bureaucratic, military, and, of course, political administration.

To this day, *shura* as a religiopolitical principle resonates strongly with a significant cross-section of Muslims, as it had with a considerable number of medieval Muslims, representing just, consultative government as opposed to arbitrary despotism *(istibdad)*. In the contemporary period, reformist Muslims tend to conflate *shura* with the modern concept of democracy.

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COPTIC LANGUAGE

The latest stage of the Egyptian language, Coptic emerged in the second century CE and lasted as a spoken and written language until the eleventh century, after which it remained in use only for liturgical purposes by the Copts of Egypt. From the ninth century onward, Arabic gradually replaced Coptic; today, Arabic is the primary language used in the Coptic Church.

The term *Coptic* is derived from Greek word *Aiguptios* (Egyptian), which was subsequently brought into Arabic as *qibt*. After the conquests of Alexander in 332 BCE, Greek became the administrative language of Egypt and eventually superseded the use of the Egyptian language, which came to exist only in spoken form. Greek language had the advantage of a simple alphabet (the Demotic script had already supplanted the traditional hieroglyphic script); its practical advantage was significant. By the end of the first century CE, in unknown circumstances, the Coptic alphabet had emerged. The Coptic alphabet borrowed the twenty-four letters of the Greek alphabet and added seven letters from Demotic (Egyptian) for sounds found in Egyptian but not in Greek. Although the vocabulary of Coptic was largely Egyptian, many words were borrowed (especially in biblical and liturgical texts) from Greek. Some ten major regional dialects of Coptic have been identified; among these, the Sahidic Coptic of Upper (that is, southern) Egypt and the Bohairic dialect of Lower (that is, northern) Egypt are most important. Sahidic Coptic was the primary dialect for written literary texts (and documents such as contracts, wills, and letters) until the eleventh century; Bohairic emerged somewhat later, was the only dialect to survive after the ninth century, and continues in limited liturgical use until today.

Of the diverse texts produced in Coptic (including documentary and literary texts), the vast majority pertain to Christianity in Egypt; indeed, many of the earliest extant texts in Coptic are Sahidic translations from Greek of biblical books (from both the New Testament and the Septuagint). In addition, apocryphal works, martyrologies, monastic rules and letters, hagiographical literature, patristic works, and other ecclesiastical texts came to be translated into Coptic during the third century and beyond.

One of the most important discoveries for the study of Coptic and the history of Christianity was a cache of thirteen codices (containing fifty-two individual works) found in 1945 at Nag Hammadi in Upper Egypt. Many of the texts in this collection of fourth-century CE Coptic translations of Greek works (which came to be called the Nag Hammadi Library) have been associated with a form of Christianity loosely identified as gnostic in orientation. In texts such as The Apocryphon of John, the Testimony of Truth, the Gospel of Thomas, and many others, there emerges a privileging of esoteric knowledge necessary for salvation.

Literary works originally composed in Coptic began to appear in the fourth-century Pachomian monastic literature and, more importantly, in the writings of the fifth-century abbot of the White Monastery, Shenoute. Although the large literary corpus of Shenoute has yet to be published in a critical edition, much debate has circled around his pioneering use of Coptic for his theological compositions. Was his decision, for example, influenced by his hostility to classical Greek culture? Or was it motivated by his desire to reach a local population that could not understand Greek? When so much of our knowledge of Coptic is mediated through a bilingual lens (as in the many Greek–Coptic bilingual manuscripts), Shenoute's choice of Coptic over Greek deserves continued study.

After the Arab conquests of the seventh century, the subsequent increased Muslim immigration to Egypt, and the conversion of many Copts to Islam, Coptic gradually gave way to Arabic. The transition is readily apparent in the numerous extant Coptic–Arabic bilingual manuscripts. Such manuscripts have provided an important source for the

study of ancient Egyptian and Coptic. Today the academic study of Coptic is particularly vibrant among scholars in the fields of religion (especially the history of early Christianity) and papyrology (the study of ancient papyrus remains). Among the Copts of Egypt today, there have been attempts to revive the use of liturgical Coptic, but Arabic continues to be the primary language of Egypt, even in the Coptic Church.

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See also Alexander; Arabic; Copts; Greek

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COPTS

Origins and Theology

The Coptic Orthodox Church, the native church of Egypt, is one of the oldest Christian churches in the world. The word *Copt* is derived from the Greek word *Aigyptos,* which was in turn derived from "Hikaptah," one of the names for Memphis, the first capital of ancient Egypt.

Tradition holds that the church in Egypt was founded by the evangelist St. Mark in the first or third year of the reign of the Roman emperor Claudius, in 41/42 or 43/44 CE, and Mark is considered the first in an unbroken chain of 117 patriarchs. The new faith spread quickly throughout Egypt, and Alexandria, its capital, soon became a major spiritual center of the Christian church. The Catechetical School in Alexandria, the most important institution of learning in early Christendom, fostered such seminal theological scholars as Clement, Origen, Athanasius, and Cyril of Alexandria. The school worked to prove that reason and revelation, philosophy and theology were not only compatible but also essential for each others' comprehension.

The Egyptian church, like others, suffered intense persecution from its rulers, the Roman government, prior to the 313 Edict of Milan, which granted freedom of worship to Christians within the Roman Empire. In fact, the Coptic calendar, called the Era of the Martyrs, begins August 29, 284, the beginning of the reign of the great persecutor Diocletian. As a result, the concept and ideal of martyrdom is extremely central to the Church's ethos. When "opportunities" for martyrdom diminished, the Egyptian Christians' energies were channeled toward its symbolic substitutes: asceticism and monasticism.

The monastic movement was the truly outstanding contribution of the Egyptian church to world Christianity. The origins of the movement are traditionally ascribed to St. Anthony, who practiced a rigorous asceticism in the Egyptian desert in the third century. All Christian monasticism stems, either directly or indirectly, from the Egyptian example.

From its position at the center of the world Christian church, the Church of Alexandria became marginalized in the fifth century, when its members ended up on the losing side of the controversies over the nature of Christ, which had been raging for hundreds of years. Cyril of Alexandria, concerned to emphasize the divinity of Jesus Christ, refused to accept the pronunciation of the Council of Chalcedon in 451, which proclaimed that Christ was truly God and truly man, and as such possessed two natures (human and divine). By the sixth century, those who rejected Chalcedon had consolidated into three great monophysite ("one nature") churches: the Coptic Church with its daughter church, the Ethiopian; the Syrian Jacobite Church; and the Armenian Church.

History from the Islamic Conquest through the Mamluk Period

The disaffection felt by the Copts for their Chalcedonian–Byzantine (Roman Empire successor) rulers contributed to their lack of resistance to the Islamic conquest of 642. In return for payment of a special poll tax, the Copts were classified as protected people *(ahl al-dhimma)*. The native patriarch Benjamin I, who had been in hiding from the persecution of the Byzantine-appointed patriarch, was encouraged to emerge and reassume the leadership of his church. There was no attempt to force the Copts to convert to Islam; indeed, conversion was rather discouraged because it decreased the base of those liable for the poll tax and thus state revenue.

The Byzantine system of taxation, combining a land tax with a poll tax (for non-Muslims), was basically maintained, though streamlined and centralized. Copts continued to staff the tax and administrative

Woman and her lover in a garden. Panel of woven Coptic textile. Fatimid period, eleventh century. Credit: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY. Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo, Egypt.

bureaus, except at the highest levels, and when the official language of the administration was changed from Greek to Arabic in 705, the Copts learned Arabic and maintained their predominance in that field, increasing the speed of Arabization and the transition of Coptic to a purely liturgical language.

Taxation was heavy, leading to a number of tax rebellions in the eighth and ninth centuries, the most serious being the Bashmuric Rebellion of 829–830. The harsh suppression of these revolts, combined with the heavier taxes and other social disabilities endured by the Copts, contributed to an increased pace of conversion to Islam. Some believe that by the end of this period the Copts' shift from majority to minority had already occurred, while others place that milestone later, in the Mamluk period.

During the Fatimid period (969–1171), the Copts, if not the majority, were still a substantial minority of

the population. While still in the minority, the Copts flourished, participating actively in the social, artistic, and economic life of the country and sporadically even reaching the highest ranks of the government. This era of tolerance was not unmarred, however; the persecution of the caliph al-Hakim (r. 996–1021) is one such example.

The advent of the Crusades led to a deterioration of the position of the Copts, who were suspected of sympathizing with their co-religionists (the Muslims being unfamiliar with the doctrinal differences between the Copts and the Western Christians). In fact, the Crusades were disastrous for the Copts, as the Crusaders scorned them as heretics and forbade them to make their accustomed pilgrimages to Jerusalem.

The thirteenth century, despite its turbulence, turned out to be the great century of Copto-Arabic literature. Led by the four Awlad al-'Assal, brothers theological, linguistic, and historical scholarship, as well as literature, enjoyed a renaissance.

The deterioration of the Copts' situation, however, intensified under the rule of the Mamluks (1250–1517), perhaps due to their perception of themselves as the "defenders of Islam" against outside threats such as the Mongols and the Crusaders. Six hundred years after the conquest, the Copts still filled the ranks of the bureaucracy, for which they were considered to have a natural affinity. Under this regime, most of the bureaucrats had converted to Islam, but their sincerity was doubted and they were still labeled Copts. On numerous occasions the government dismissed the Copts en masse from their bureaucratic posts, only to be forced to reinstate them in the face of the ensuing administrative chaos.

If the Copts were not already a minority before this time, the numerous conversions brought on by the difficult conditions of the Mamluk period assured that they were so by the end of it. The core who remained have clung to their faith and traditions, maintaining their self-awareness as a distinct community that persists to this day.

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CORDOBA

Cordoba, named *Qurtuba* in Arabic and *Córdoba* in Spanish, was the political capital of al-Andalus during the Umayyad emirate and caliphate periods (AH seventh century first quarter of the eleventh century CE). Today it is the capital of the province of the same name. Cordoba is located in the southwest of the Spanish state, overlooking the medial course of the Guadalquivir River (*Wadi al-kabir* in Arabic) on both banks.

The rural area of the south of the city was called *qanbaniya*, approximately the same rural area known these days as "the Cordoba countryside." The plain known as *Fahs al-Ballut* (field of oaks) was located to the north of the province, where the little town of Pedroche is found (known by the Arabs as *Bitrawj* or *Bitrush*.). Until the thirteenth century, the Cordoban region was known for the wheat produced in its countryside and for the gardens and meadows that flanked the river. Nevertheless, the main areas of farming production of al- Andalus were found far from the capital, in the Seville highlands and the Toledo surroundings. Mining exploitation did not completely disappear with Cordoba's decadence, and there is evidence that still in the thirteenth century, Ovejo (located forty kilometers from the capital) was an important center of extraction of cinnabar, from which mercury is obtained.

The city was occupied by the Muslim armies in AH Shawwal of 92/July–August 711 CE. Leading these armies was the manumitted slave Mughith al-Rumi, deputy of Tariq ibn Ziyad. Governor al-Hurr ibn 'Abd al-Rahman al-Thaqafi (r. 97–100/716–719) transferred the capital of al-Andalus from Seville to Cordoba. His successor, al-Samh ibn Malik al-Jawlani (r. 100–102/719–721), repaired the old Roman bridge and some demolished parts of the protective enceinte. Al-Samh also founded the first Islamic cemetery of the city, the *Maqbarat al-rabad* (cemetery of the suburb), in the north bank of the river. In 133/750,

governor Yusuf 'Abd al-Rahman (r. 129–138/747–756) bought the church of Saint Vincent to make it the first cathedral mosque *(al-jami')* of Cordoba. In 138/756, the governor was overthrown by the Umayyad prince 'Abd al-Rahman, who had managed to escape from the massacre of his family in Syria. 'Abd al-Rahman made Cordoba the administrative, political, military, religious, and cultural capital of his new emirate.

In this way, Cordoba came to monopolize most of the artistic activities. Its monumental center was composed of the fortress or alcazar (erected on the remains of the old Visigoth palace), the main mosque, and the bridge. The fortress and the mosque were located on the north bank of the Guadalquivir River, separated from the river by a terrace.

Work began on the mosque in 785, under the rule of 'Abd al-Rahman I, and it was enlarged on several occasions, as a parallel process to the city's growth and development, during the governments of 'Abd al-Rahman's successors, Hisham I (r. 172–180/788–796), 'Abd al-Rahman II (r. 206–238/822–852), and Muhammad I (r. 238–273/852–886). During the rule of 'Abd al-Rahman III (300–350/912–961)—the first to adopt the title of caliph—the city enjoyed its apogee. It was this same caliph who ordered the palatine city of Madinat al-Zahra' three to be built, approximately three miles northeast of Cordoba, at the foot of the mountains. The remains of this city were declared a national monument in 1923. Since then, some of its old rooms have been restored, among which the so-called Rich Room is especially significant. In regard to the old fortress of Cordoba, it has to be said that it was assigned to administrative uses when the court was transferred to Madinat al-Zahra'. Later on, when the palatine city was destroyed, the fortress was used again as the residence of the different governors of the city.

The most important enlargement of the main mosque of Cordoba was carried out by al-Hakam II (r. 350–366/961–976), son and successor of 'Abd al-Rahman III. The last big enlargement was commissioned by al-Mansur ibn Abi 'Amir, the mighty *visir* of Hisham II (r. 366–399/976–1009). Al-Mansur built his own palatine city, Madinat al-Zahira, east of Cordoba. This city underwent the same fate of Madinat al-Zahra' and was destroyed during the widespread revolts that took place at the beginning of the fifth/eleventh century.

After the fall of the caliphate, Cordoba was ruled by the Jahwarids, between 1031 and 1070. It then became a part of the territories governed by the Seville monarch Banu 'Abbad. In 1091, Cordoba was taken by the Almoravids, who built the defensive wall of the eastern part of the city. In 1236, the city passed into Christian hands for good, after its conquest by Ferdinand III of Castile.

After the disappearance of the caliphate and the subsequent loss of Cordoba's political and economic hegemony, the city still kept its intellectual prestige, especially in the area of religious sciences. However, Cordoba was no longer the main representative of Andalusis' cultural life. Rather, it had to share this role with the capitals of the different petty kingdoms into which al-Andalus was fragmented from the eleventh century onward. The city recovered its capital status under the Almoravid rule, but the construction of monuments could never equal the emirate and caliphate periods. Almohads, for their part, clearly showed a preference for the city of Seville.

After the Christian conquests, the process of conversion of churches into mosques, which had taken place during the Islamic invasion of the Iberian Peninsula, was reversed. Cordoba was taken by the Christians in 1236, and its main mosque was converted into a cathedral. The modifications undergone by the mosque did partially alter its original shape. However, contrary to what happened to other mosques that underwent a similar transformation process, the Cordoba temple still keeps a markedly Arabic and Islamic character. This is probably related to the artistic and architectonic singularity of the building, the preferred object of all the descriptions of Islamic Cordoba.

Cordoba was the home of "*ulama*" such as of Ibn Hazm (d. 456/1064), Ibn Rushd (Averroes) (d. 595/1198), and Maimonides (d. 601/1204).

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See also Andalus; Ibn Hazm; Ibn Rushd (Averroes); Maimonides

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COSMETICS

In Islamic times both sexes used cosmetics extensively, continuing a long tradition in the pre-Islamic Near East going back in time to the ancient civilizations of Mesopotamia, Ancient Egypt, and Iran. Cosmetics were used for different purposes and can be studied under different aspects: in connection with cleaning and hygiene; as perfumes; for skin protection, especially from the sun; for hair coloring; for medicine; and also for magical purposes. Generally, cosmetics were linked to traditional views about beauty and appearance, carrying especially for women a sexual aspect. The important role cosmetics played in social life was highlighted at wedding ceremonies. Many cosmetics combine different uses and applications. Henna and *kuhl* (as ophthalmic medicine) possess medical properties as well. Even the expensive ointment *ghaliya*, mainly made of musk and ambergris, had a double use as perfume and medication. Generally, women used cosmetics widely, but mainly in the private sphere, and only slave girls, singers, and the like used it more extensively in public. For men and children the usage of decorative cosmetics was restricted to basics such as *kuhl* and henna mentioned in the traditions *(hadith),* as recommended by the Prophet Muhammad. Cosmetic substances came mainly from plants such as henna, indigo *(nil, wasma)*, saffron, and sandalwood. Others were derived from minerals such as ochre, or metals such as *kuhl;* a few have an animal origin, like musk.

Historical sources give a lot of information: in the works of the medieval Arab and Persian historians and scientists, such as Biruni, Ibn Sina, Nasir ad-Din Tusi, al-Kindi, and others, and also in medical works and in sociocultural writings like those of Ibn al-Washsha'. Some works include hundreds of recipes for cosmetic substances, including their surrogates and falsifications. These existed parallel to innumerable local and individual recipes, transmitted by family tradition and health care professionals.

The traditional ideal of beauty stated that women's skin should be white, soft, smooth, and hairless. Ointments and pastes were used for lightening the skin. For the face, white powders and powdered rouge were used. Often, yellow pastes made of sandalwood, saffron, and similar substances were used to protect the face from sunlight and to soften the skin. A beauty spot made with perfumed crèmes was not unusual. For body hair removal, a large variety of different mixtures were used, based mostly on either sugar or honey. A special technique to remove body hair consists of a twisted thread pulled back and forth by the fingers of both hands.

Coloring the hair was practiced by both sexes. For thick, long, and dark black hair both sexes used mixtures of indigo, oak apple, walnut, and similar materials. Henna could be added for extra shine. Henna was also used to cover gray and white hair, producing shades of orange-red. After cleaning and coloring the hair, perfumed oils and ointments could be added, as mentioned in the traditions of A'isha, the Prophet's favored wife. For the men it was important to have a black beard like the Prophet, and it could be perfumed, as practiced by the Prophet with the precious *ghaliya*.

The primary cosmetic used by men, women, and children for eyes was *kohl (ithmidh, surma)*, a black mixture in use since pre-Islamic times. The best varieties came from Iran. Its main substance was powdered antimony sulphide. Some mixtures contained lead among other metal or mineral substances, and occasionally, organic materials such as nut shells and even soot were used. Other recorded eye cosmetics, equally called *kuhl*, were made from a variety of substances, which produced dark blue, dark red, purple, or even yellow hues.

Henna, partly enriched with indigo (or a substitute such as oak apple ink), was the main body paint used for hands and feet. Medieval Persian and Indian miniature paintings depict ladies and occasionally men with hands and feet dyed in different shades of orange-red. Also, they picture ladies adorned with intricate body paintings in black, blue, or dark brown, or while applying makeup. The important role henna plays in wedding customs all over the Islamic world is especially visible in the "henna night" bearing witness to the magical properties ascribed to cosmetics.

Combs; metal mirrors; mortars; small, narrow-necked vessels for liquid cosmetics and makeup jars for powders and ointments; applicators; makeup palettes; and other small tools and vessels come from all parts of the Islamic world. A variety of materials were used in their production, reflecting local resources, customs and habits, and the user's financial status.

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See also Baths; Marriage; Medicine; Painting; Perfume; Women

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COURT DRESS, ‘ABBASID

By the early tenth century CE, Islamic society was perceived as consisting of four classes: (1) the ruling family, (2) the chief ministers (viziers), (3) the wealthy upper classes and educated middle classes, and (4) “The remainder … a filthy refuse, a torrent of scum” (al-Fadl ibn Yahya, courtier quoted in Levy 1957, 67). It was understood that the individual’s social rank and occupation should be visible in dress; to adopt fabric, styles, and colors associated with a higher class displayed dissatisfaction with the God-given order and thus challenged spiritual and temporal authority, whereas wearing clothing associated with a lower social grade displayed proper humility, so pious Muslim rulers were always recorded as being austere in their attire. At the same time, political statesmen such as Nizam al-Mulk (d.1092) argued for the importance of rich, colorful, ostentatious court dress and ceremonial to demonstrate secure political power, economic prosperity, and social well-being. This apparent contradiction was never resolved.

Caliph al-Mansur (r. 754–775) is traditionally credited with the introduction of black robes as the ‘Abbasid dynastic color to be worn by all court bureaucrats and theologians at audiences and at public investiture of sultans and governors; failure to do so was seen as a public rejection of the regime, the ruler, and his policies. Black banners had heralded the ‘Abbasid uprisings against Umayyad authority, and it was understood that the color signified the need for revenge and mourning for the tragic deaths of the Prophet’s grandsons (*see* Hasan and Husayn ibn Ali Talib). (In contrast, the dynastic color of Egypt’s Fatimid caliphate [c. 969–1171] was white, reflecting luminous splendor and divine light.) At each caliphal investiture, the legitimacy of ‘Abbasid rule was reinforced by donning several relics of the Prophet Muhammad’s, including his *burda* (mantle), implying the transference of authority, and blessing.

The ‘Abbasid court had two main groupings, the military and the bureaucrats, known by their different

Scene from a picnic of the court of Abbas I. Safavid mural, 1640s. Credit: SEF/Art Resource, NY. Chihil Sutun (Pavilion of Forty Columns), Isfahan, Iran.

modes of dress, as their Arabic names imply: *ashab al-aqbiyya* (men of the *qaba'*: the military garment) and *ashab al-darari'* (men of the *durra'a*: voluminous robe). However, the precise structure of such garments is unclear. A third group, the *'ulama* (*see* Theologians) increasingly adopted a distinctive dress indicating their growing separation from the other court power groups, while in time the 'Abbasid caliphs took to wearing military dress for most ceremonial duties, mirroring their growing dependence on army support. Gifts of clothing and other presents *(khil^{c}a)* became an established court ritual, accompanied by due ceremony. It could consist of one garment, but generally four or more items were presented, in one of three price ranges according to the recipient's status. These could be decorated with a *tiraz* (embroidered band, identifying the donor (and thus the honor bestowed), the date, the place of manufacture, and so on (see Tiraz).

While medieval Arabic literature contains a great variety of clothing terms, the exact structure and characteristics of these garments were not detailed, and few items have survived. It appears the wraps and simple garments with minimal seaming (such as the so-called Coptic tunics) of the Umayyad period were replaced by more multiseamed items, perhaps to minimize costly fabric wastage or marking changes in loom technology. Late-ninth-century Baghdadi fashionable citizens were known for their keen knowledge and appreciation of fabrics, obtained from across the Islamic empire (see Textiles, 'Abbasid). Graduated coloring and textural compatibility were important considerations. Strident color shades were best avoided, while thick and thin textiles, and linen and cotton were not to be worn together.

Small fragments of 'Abbasid textiles are found in most major museum collections, but few were acquired from controlled archaeological excavations. *Tiraz* pieces have generally had extraneous material removed, so they provide few clues as to their original placing and the clothing items they once decorated. However, a number of Islamic manuscript paintings produced in or around the thirteenth century (such as *Kitab al-Diryaq*, 1199, probably Northern Iraq, ms. Arabe 2964; and *Maqamat al-Hariri*, 1237, probably Iraq, ms. Arabe 5847, Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris) are known, and these, along with figural depictions on contemporary ceramics and metalwork, help the dress historian. However, for the early 'Abbasid period, aside from murals located in the remote eastern regions of the empire, the pictorial evidence is virtually limited to wall paintings from the Samarran palaces (see Architecture, 'Abbasid).

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COURT DRESS, FATIMID

The Fatimids, who ruled Egypt from 969 to 1171 CE, followed the conventions of other Islamic dynasties in their adoption of an official dynastic color. The Fatimid color was white. Most court costumes were a white luxury fabric (fine linens, silks, or brocades) with inscribed or ornamental bands (tiraz), and embroidered with gold or silver threads. Every member of the court received a ceremonial costume, often for the public celebration of a festival in the Islamic calendar. These costumes often were complete outfits (including underclothes) and consisted of anywhere from five to fifteen separate pieces. The base material, the number of pieces in the costume, and the amount of gold or silver in the costume were tied to rank. Our sources provide almost no information about tailoring of these garments, which is typical of the period, where there were a limited number of styles and most garments were woven in a single piece.

In the sources dating to the early eleventh century, most court garments are described as being woven or embroidered with gold *(muthaqqal, mudhahhab)*, but silk is mentioned rarely. Inventories describing clothing distributed for festivals from the early twelfth century onward, however, mention numerous garments of both silk and gold, often woven into or embroidered onto a linen base. Silk was so readily available in the twelfth century that its presence in an inventory is not necessarily a sign of high rank, but the presence of gold (a more expensive commodity) always indicates high rank. The gold thread used in

the production of textiles for the court was produced under the supervision of the director of the caliph's mint. The predominance of linen as a base material for court costumes is a function of the central importance of flax to the Egyptian agricultural economy of the Middle Ages.

Clothing in the Fatimid period was a form of capital, and the luxury materials used in the production of court costumes carried significant economic, as well as symbolic, value. The Fatimids kept large treasuries of fabrics and costumes that were distributed at designated times for use by court personnel. The detailed inventories of the contents of these wardrobe treasuries show that they formed a significant part of the Fatimid dynasty's wealth. In the 1060s, the caliph al-Mustansir was forced to sell the contents of his wardrobe treasuries to raise money to placate his rebellious army. When the economy recovered, his successor replenished the wardrobes and multiplied the number of costumes distributed on ritual occasions. The textiles and garments were produced in government factories. Many of them had inscribed or ornamental borders *(tiraz)*. The caliph did not wear a crown, but rather an elaborately wrapped turban. His eunuch bodyguards also wore specially wrapped turbans, with a "tail" left hanging down to the side or back. His highest-ranking eunuchs were distinguished by wrapping the tail under their chin (called *muhannak*). Princesses of the royal family received gold robes, while their eunuch guardians received garments of silk. The most luxurious costumes came in wrappers of fine linens or in chests.

In addition to the costumes given to courtiers at festival times, dignitaries received robes of honor *(khil'a,* pl. *khila')* as a mark of special favor, to mark important events, and when invested with office. The term literally means "cast-off," and originally a *khil'a* was a piece of clothing actually worn by the ruler and then given to another. By the tenth century, these honorific robes were only rarely actual cast-offs, and the caliphal textile mills produced robes specifically for this purpose. At the Fatimid court, honorific robes were typically given whenever an official was appointed to an office at court, and the phrase "he was invested with a robe of honor" clearly meant that he was appointed to office. These robes carried both prestige and material value, since they were made of luxury fabrics at a time when clothing was a form of capital and could represent considerable wealth.

The noncourtier middle and upper classes imitated court fashions by wearing luxury fabrics, giving robes of honor as gifts, and wearing inscribed bands (or bands that created the appearance of being inscribed) on their robes. Important officials of the Jewish community, for example, conferred embroidered silk robes of honor upon scholars, and men of higher status conferred robes of honor as gifts upon men of lesser status. Such costumes were extremely expensive, often costing as much as twenty dinars, a sum of money sufficient to support a lower middle class family for nearly a year.

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See also Fatimids; Gifts and Gift Giving

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COURT DRESS, MAMLUK

As in 'Abbasid times, the two major court groupings were distinguished by dress: the military, calf-length *qaba'* garment with close-fitting sleeves, which was designed for riding and fighting and worn with breeches tucked into high boots; and the ample, full-length robes of bureaucrats (*arbab al- 'ama'im,* turban wearers), worn with loose trousers. It appears the basic, simple robe and wraps of the early Islamic period had been set aside for more tailored garments, using the fabric loom width to form the front and back with, if required, extra material in the form of triangular inserts or gussets added to the selvage sides of the main panels. Indeed, by the late fourteenth century CE, tailoring was perceived as a mark of civilized urban society (Ibn Khaldun 1967).

The Mamluk sultanate retained the Ayyubid dynastic color (yellow) for battle dress, but for court parades and ceremonials, certain military sections jealously guarded their exclusive right to various dress items and colors; thus, in 1498, the royal Mamluks reacted aggressively to the sultan's honorific presentation *(khil'a)* of their short-sleeved *sallari* tunic and special turban form to the black commander of the musketeers, instead of that section's usual red wool cloth *(qaba')*. The *khassikiya* (royal bodyguard) was renowned for its meticulous dress, which

incorporated a section of *tiraz zarkash* (see Textiles), presumed to be a highly decorative band woven with gold or silver metallic thread, perhaps with an honorific inscription, placed at the (dropped) shoulder-sleeve join. The terminology suggests there were at least five or six types of *qaba',* and possibly the method of fastening still denoted the ethnic origins of the wearer as in Mongol times (see Mongol Dress); certainly the so-called *qaba' tatari* (diagonal fastening from left shoulder to waist) and the *qaba' turki* (from right shoulder diagonally to left) implied this. There was also a great variety in headgear, with some forms worn by the Bahri Mamluks falling out of favor by the mid-thirteenth century CE, the so-called Burji period. Certain court members were permitted blazons *(rank),* which were displayed on their belongings, their buildings, and their servants' clothing; these could be simple shapes, say of a lozenge form (the royal napkin holder's serviette), or a stylized composite design indicating the various court responsibilities associated with the owner (see Heraldry).

Our knowledge of bureaucratic dress mainly derives from historical descriptions of the *khil'a* awarded by the sultan for loyal service, at least twice a year at the major Muslim festivals, but also given to mark new appointments, honorable dismissals, and so on. As with the military, bureaucrats were presented with robes according to status. Viziers and chief secretaries could expect white *kamkha* (patterned woven silk) robes decorated with embroidery and lined with squirrel and beaver, whereas lower ranks were given cheaper fabrics in other colors, and fur-trimmed only. Similar voluminous robes with long, wide sleeves were presented to members of the *'ulama,* but generally speaking, because of theological antipathy to men wearing silk, theirs were made of wool. The 'Abbasid caliph in exile (see 'Abbasid caliphate) wore black at all court ceremonies and invested each new Mamluk sultan with black robes, thus symbolizing the legitimate transference of authority with his blessing (see *Burda*, *Khirqa* of Muhammad).

Apart from market regulations *(hisba)* concerning tailors, dyers, cobblers, and so on, sumptuary legislation was regularly issued by the sultan, often at the request of the *'ulama*. Male and female descendants of the Prophet Muhammad were required from 773 AH/1371–1372 C.E. to wear in public a piece of green fabric about their clothing, so that due respect could be paid. However, the chief targets for such legislation were women's attire and that of non-Muslims (see Dress, *dhimmi*). Insisting street patrols policed matters, the *'ulama* bitterly criticized the outrageous sums spent on women's garments, the excessive amounts of fabric used particularly for sleeves, bejewelled hems, and shoes, and railed against ladies wearing headcoverings based on men's styles, and the fashion of wearing *sirwal* (trousers) low on the hips.

Few complete dress items have survived—the occasional shoe (Keir Collection, London; Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto), caps (minus turban cloths) (V&A Museum, London; Ashmolean Museum, Oxford), and embroidered tailored linen shirts (Royal Ontario Museum; Textile Museum, Washington, DC; V&A Museum). Nevertheless, garment fragments in the major collections often possess informative cutting and tailoring details as to buttons, loops, and seams. Mamluk manuscript illustrations provide useful information about certain styles, although artistic license may have impinged on depictions of garment colors and patternings; similarly, the inclusion of Mamluk men and women in European paintings (such as the work of Giovanni Bellini, d. 1516) should be viewed as "Orientalizing" additions rather than accurate records of contemporary fashion.

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CREDIT

Many scholars have cited the lack of credit as a reason why Islamic societies were unable to effectively compete with the Western European commercial interests that emerged during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This argument is based on the premise that only Western Europeans tolerated the development of financial interest and profit as commercial practice.

It is clear, however, that Islamic notions of profit and interest also developed to a substantial degree during the medieval era.

Both Muslim and non-Muslim merchants who engaged in long-distance trade constantly risked social

alienation. Most outsiders viewed the overseas and caravan trade in luxury items such as spices and silk as sinful because the money spent on non-necessities could have been used for the greater social good. Only those who gained a profit—namely the state, which took custom imposts; the merchants; financiers and adventurers who ran the trade; and the patrons and retailers who purchased the items—saw the venture in positive terms. On a number of occasions and places, others sought to prevent "injustices," most often invoking the religious principle that merchants and traders who took financial interest and profit exploited the productive forces in society.

Merchants in the Islamic world sought a number of legal means to protect themselves against such allegations. The first of these constructions were joint-venture contracts for long-distance trade, either in credit *(şirket'ül-vücüh)* or involving both labor and capital *(commenda; mudaraba)*. In both cases the merchant and financiers involved would combine their assets before the venture, and later would split the profits. Such arrangements circumvented measures against interest. These merchants also developed a new means of transferring funds *(havale),* which involved one permanently based merchant issuing a deed to another, who would redeem the promise once the traveling merchant brought it to the permanently based merchant. This practice was absolutely critical because coinage was often in very short supply, was bulky, and was very liable to be stolen.

As in most European economies, merchants in the Muslim world faced considerable resistance from local manufacturers and traders. These local urban economies were organized into guilds that continually tried to monopolize economic activity. Guilds wielded considerable power in enforcing "just regulation" among the urban populace. Many historians argue that merchants made little headway in developing commercial capital among these local economies.

However, a number of intriguing recent studies have pointed to commercial development, particularly in the sixteenth-century Ottoman Empire. Commercial activity again established itself through Islamic legal institutions, in particular the pious foundation *(waqf),* a welfare institution that often formed the basis of each city quarter *(mahalle),* a structure arguably as central to urban life as the guilds themselves. Although early *waqfs* were donations of land and immovable property for the good of the Islamic community, donations of cash *waqfs* began to boom in the mid-sixteenth century. Cash from these *waqfs* was lent to merchants and other parties at interest *(rib)*. This innovation was justified by Ebu's-suud, the leading Ottoman religious authority, who argued that taking of interest was justified if it served the public welfare of the Muslim community. While this author has only seen detailed evidence of this in Sarajevo, there are also signs of the practice in other major urban centers of the empire, such as Istanbul, Edirne, and Bursa. Some scholars have commented that the interest this money was lent at was very high, sometimes reaching 25 percent or even 50 percent. Nevertheless, the prevalence of a rate of 8 percent to 10 percent in Sarajevo at least might beg a reconsideration of the issue as a whole.

Finally, merchants were increasingly used as a means for the state to develop their treasuries, particularly when they were to embark on military campaigns, as seen most clearly in the conflicts between Muslim and non-Muslim Mediterranean powers in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. It was during this time that the Ottoman sultan, like his French and northern European counterparts, came to rely heavily on long-distance merchant families who had just suffered persecution as Jews from the Iberian Peninsula. These merchant families became an attractive asset to the state because they could garner considerable amounts of cash. They additionally could more effectively collect revenues, even though they too made a hefty profit from the transaction. One should not ignore, however, that Muslim merchants made up a majority of the tax farmers, particularly in provincial settings. In time they would work alongside emerging urban elites, such as the money changers and jewelers, and would help break down the barrier between the commercial and local urban economies.

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CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

To appreciate the general concept of crime in Muslim societies requires appreciating very different properties of the legal framework. Due to the composite

nature of the *Shari'a*, the assessment of a crime is contingent on multiple types of reasoning—those of religious law rooted in Tribes and Tribal Customs developed and transformed into a legal scholar's law, and finally, legal doctrine often reconciled to new social and cultural conditions. Our discussion will be confined to the most elementary categories of crimes and punishments according to Muslim jurists, to the social meaning of retaliation and collective liability, and to the question of judicial arbitrariness.

Taking the perspective of a legal scholar's law, criminal acts are basically grouped into six categories: (1) interfering with the order of descent, such as by adultery; (2) affecting another's honor by slanderous accusation; (3) detriment to one's own power of reason, such as by intoxication; (4) illegal seizure of wealth as through theft or highway robbery; (5) attacks against life or physical integrity; and (6) perturbation of public order. The first categories, in particular fornication, wrongful accusation, drinking wine, theft, and highway robbery, comprise the *hadd,* or limit penalties. They are rights or claims of God *(huquq Allah)* explicitly stated in the *Qur'an* (Q 24:2 f.; 24:3 f.; 5:33; 5:38; 5:90 f.). The pursuit and the punishment of these crimes are incumbent on the Muslim community—that is, the legal authorities. Such crimes require corporal punishment ranging eighty lashes for slanderous accusation and capital punishment, either by stoning for fornication or, for highway robbery, by crucifixion or decapitation. Apostasy does not fall into the judicial categories of crime. From a religious point of view, the punishment of the apostate belongs to the hereafter; however, in this world he is condemned to death inasmuch as he places himself out of the bounds of the social community.

The fifth category comprising homicide and bodily injury—and occasionally other damages as well—is known as *jinayat* (offenses). Since they belong to the rights of humans *(huquq adami),* prosecution of such crimes only takes place at the request of the offended party. The penalties vary based on either an intentional or an erroneous commitment of the crime (Schacht 1964, 181). In the case of voluntary murder, there follows a threefold penalty: the punishment in the hereafter, the loss of inheritance rights, and retaliation for the damage of the victim's group. The latter can change its claim on the culprit's life into recompensation *(diya)*, which might also be paid, in the case of involuntary homicide, by the "blood-money group" *('aqila)*.

The term *'aqila* signifies the agnatic descent in its largest sense and refers to tribal notions of collective liability. However, the importance of the *diya*—a fact of which medieval Muslim jurists were particularly aware—resides in the function of replacing or restricting the circular exchange of violence resulting from blood feuds of the tribal factions (Brunschvig 1960, 338; see, for example, Hart 1996, on the mechanisms of tribal feuds). It has often been aptly stated that the introduction of the *diya* in early Islam marks a major shift in the transition from private revenge to penal law. Furthermore, legal doctrine transcended gradually the tribal notion of collective liability toward a concept of responsibility based on the obligations of property and geographical closeness (Johansen 1999, 370). In a comparable way the scholars elaborated definitions of theft to the effect that they translated divergent variants of economic and social patterns into the legal doctrines of their respective Schools of Jurisprudence. Since progress of law offers a rather tautological explanation for these developments, only detailed studies of relevant social and historical backgrounds could shed more light on the primary agents of legal change (Johansen 1998).

In cases of uncertainty about an offense punishable by a *hadd* penalty, as well as in instances of transgression of the public order, the decision is left to the discretion of the judge. He is authorized to pronounce a wide range of punishments, such as public announcement of the crime, imprisonment, exile, corporal punishment, or monetary fines. However, all these punishments shall not be more severe than the *hadd* penalty. The judge's discretionary power *(ta'zir)* has given rise to the famous Weberian formulation of *Kadijustiz,* which points to a state of legal uncertainty and arbitrary justice. A number of studies criticize this statement on the ground that it lacks the necessary reflection about judicial considerations of social relations or legal doctrine. The ongoing discussion focuses on the importance of the legal sphere (Powers 2002, 23–52; Dakhlia 1993).

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See also Commanding Good and Forbidding Evil; Ethics; Peace and Peacemaking; Police; Prisons; Thieves and Brigands; Usury and Interest; Wine

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CRUSADES

Crusades is the name commonly given to a period of conflict between Roman Catholic Christians and non-Christians that lasted, at its height, from the eleventh to thirteenth centuries CE. It is important to note that this term is a modern label applied to this period retrospectively by historians. The numbering of the major expeditions of the Crusades (First Crusade, Second Crusade, etc.) is also a modern invention used merely for convenience's sake; in reality, the passing of warriors from Europe to the Levant was a much more continuous process.

Although the major targets of the Crusades were the Muslims of the Levant, Crusades were also conducted against a variety of groups in other locations, including non-Christians, heretics, and political opponents of the papacy in various parts of Europe. However, as far as the Muslim world is concerned, it was the Levant that felt the greatest impact from the Crusades.

The First Crusade (1096–1102) was launched by Pope Urban II (d. 1099) in 1095. At the Council of Clermont in France he exhorted his Catholic brethren to march to the aid of the Christians of the East, who were suffering under Muslim rule, in return for which he promised his listeners remission of their sins. The call was answered by both of Urban's intended targets: the knightly classes, and members of the lower classes who were stirred up with religious fervor. Starting in 1096, a number of armies marched to the Levant, the most successful ones fighting their way across Asia Minor and down the Levantine littoral, establishing Catholic Christian states at Antioch, Edessa, and Jerusalem. A fourth Catholic state, based at Tripoli, came into being when Crusaders took the city in 1109. A number of major expeditions to the Levant were launched over the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, one of which, the Third Crusade (1189–1192), took Cyprus from its Byzantine ruler in 1191, establishing yet another Catholic state there.

After the initial shock of the loss of Jerusalem, the third holy city of Islam, had passed, the Muslim response to the arrival of the First Crusade was largely one of apathy and compromise. While a number of Muslims, particularly preachers and poets, called on their political authorities to respond to the Crusader invasion, and some undoubtedly did, many rulers were preoccupied with struggles with other Muslim rivals and found that it was actually more convenient to ally themselves with the Franks, as the European Crusaders were called by the Muslims; indeed, one finds several cases of Muslim and Frankish leaders joining together to fight against other Muslims, Franks, or even both! Thus the Crusaders became integrated into the political framework of the region. However, over time, and particularly during the reigns of the sultans Zanki (r. 1127–1146), Nur al-Din (r. 1146–1174), Salah al-Din (Saladin, r. 1169–1193), Baybars (r. 1260–1277), and Qalawun (r. 1279–1290), there was a gradual hardening of Muslim hostility to the Franks that led to an increase of the *jihad* (holy war) against them, resulting in the gradual reconquest of territory by the Muslims. The last Frankish stronghold on the coast, Acre, fell to Qalawun's son, al-Ashraf Khalil (r. 1290–93), in 1291, while Cyprus lasted until 1570, when it was conquered by the Ottomans. By this time, despite further attempts that had been made to launch Crusades to the East, the era of Catholic states in the Levant had come to an end.

However, it would be a mistake to see the Crusadeing period as merely one of conflict. During the period there was a vibrant trade of goods between the Levant and Europe that experienced only temporary hiatuses during periods of increased hostility between Muslims and Crusaders. Some features of the Franks, especially military prowess, seem to have been admired by the Muslims, and a number of genuine friendships, transcending the religious barriers, seem to have formed. That said, in the sources, Muslim perceptions of the Franks still tend to be tinged with an air of superiority. While Franks clearly adopted Muslim habits and practices that were more suited to life in the Middle East, the Muslims seem to have felt that the Europeans had little to teach them in return.

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See also Abu Shama; Architecture, Secular: Military; Ayyubids; Baybars I; European Literature about Medieval Islam; Fatimids; Franks; Ibn al-'Adim; Ibn al-Athir; Ibn al-Furat; Ibn Shaddad; Ibn Taghribirdi; Ibn Wasil; Interfaith Relations; Jerusalem; Jihad;

Mamluks; Manzikert; Muslim–Crusader Relations; Nur al-Din ibn Zanki; Pacts and Treaties; Saladin (Salah al-Din); Seljuks; Sibt ibn al-Jawzi; Trade, Mediterranean; Warfare and Techniques; Weapons and Weaponry; Zankids

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CURSING

Although using the name of God in promissory oaths is perfectly acceptable Muslim practice, invoking God's power against fellow Muslims in the form of a curse *(sabb, la'n)* is regularly condemned in the *hadīth* literature. The Prophet is remembered never to have cursed a Muslim (although he is said to have cursed his enemies), and to have included among the rights of a wife that she not be cursed by her husband. In one report, the Prophet is shown to have equated cursing a believer with murdering him, a statement that reflects a widespread belief in the power of curses to do real harm. Oaths were, in fact, sometimes strengthened with self-curses (''May God blacken my face if I fail to do such-and-such''), although swearing in this manner was widely disapproved of by the legal scholars. Even so, exposing oneself to curses was the central feature of the judicial procedure known as *li'ān*, an ordeal used to resolve accusations of adultery in cases where neither confession nor witnesses were on hand. The Prophet is said to have invited a delegation of Christians from Najran to resolve their dispute with him by recourse to reciprocal cursing *(mubāhala)*, an invitation that was not in the end taken up.

Early Muslims commonly expressed their affiliation with a particular faction by dissociating from and cursing its enemies. 'Ali was cursed by the Umayyads soon after the First Civil War ended, and those who supported 'Alid claims likewise cursed 'Uthman and Mu'awiya. Eventually, Imami (and some Zaydi) Shi'is would incorporate cursing of the first three Caliphs into their supererogatory prayers. (The *qunūt*, understood in classical Sunni and Shi'i law as a prayer of supplication, in fact, began as an imprecation against enemies used by Muslims of various sects.) More generally, Muhammad's Companions were cursed by Imamis and some Zaydis; in certain contexts, this ''vilification of the Companions'' *(sabb al-s.ah.āba)* could take place during public festivities commemorating the Prophet's designation of 'Ali at Ghadīr Khumm.

KEITH LEWINSTEIN

See also Oaths

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CUSTOMARY LAW

With the establishment of the Islamic sphere of influence in North Africa and Asia, large segments of the rural population, such as Berbers or Kurds, progressively converted to Islam and became, in theory, subjects of Islamic law and jurisprudence. However, sedentary tribes, as well as Arab Bedouins, retained distinctive types of jurisdiction, to such an extent that the fourteenth-century CE historian Ibn Khaldun stated in regard to the notion of common descent, "The only meaning of belonging to one or to another group is that one is subject to its laws and conditions" (Ibn Khaldun 1967, 267). The question of customary law in the Islamic world touches accordingly on the problem of accommodating concurrent normative orders, as well as the negotiation of group identities in the context of state expansion into tribal areas.

Approaches, Sources, and Terminology

In studies of Muslim societies, the term *customary law* usually adopts one of three meanings representing different approaches to the subject. First, customary law might refer to a body of rules or to judgments, enacted either by state agencies or by Muslim jurists, and stating or regulating generally accepted social practices. In this case, the legal character of custom is acknowledged because it has been sanctioned by formal authorities. The research interest then focuses on the particular modes of sanctioning, that is, the conditions under which a specific custom might become integrated, temporarily or permanently, into the normative body of the *Sharı'a* (cf. Libson 1997; Johansen 1999). Second, customary rules and judgments were also pronounced by informal authorities, such as tribal assemblies, arbiters, charismatic leaders, and so on. Since the legal character of these customary rulings is not immediately apparent, most studies of tribal jurisdiction are indecisive about whether they deal with "custom" or with "law." Some authors, mostly of Islamic studies, have applied the first approach in classifying any custom not in accordance with Islamic law under "social practice" (cf. Coulson 1959–1961). Colonial legal practitioners and social anthropologists have proposed rather two distinct spheres of Islamic and customary jurisdiction (cf. Milliot 1932; Gellner 1969). The importance given to custom in this latter framework characterizes the third meaning, according to which Islamic law scarcely produced social significance in tribal contexts (cf. Chelhod 1971). The activities and notions considered as "customary law" might then encompass the whole range of social practices. As a result, the legal aspects of custom are determined by the respective research interests and vary considerably; the investigated subjects include such different topics as folklore and ethnology, popular religion, social structure, vengeance and blood money, and arbitration procedures. However, since most of these questions belong to Tribes and Tribal Customs (q. v.) in general, we will limit our discussion to the first two meanings.

A central feature of tribal customary law is the fact that it was only occasionally written down. The sources are therefore unevenly distributed, and most of the material dates back merely as far as the eighteenth century. Throughout the medieval period, no testimonies other than the consideration of custom by formal authorities meet the requirement of sufficient documentation for analytical purposes. However, this author believes that it is relatively safe to further define the characteristics of tribal customary law from more recent material, if some precautions are observed. A number of studies suggest that customary law evolves in close relationship to other normative conceptions within legal pluralistic settings. Therefore, all too factitious presumptions on its immutability—expressed, for example, in the widely accepted evaluation of custom as a pre-Islamic residuum—are sometimes misleading. Another important factor restraining the general value of some assertions about the contents of customary law is the actual diversity of local practices. Both the adaptivity to changing social and cultural conditions and the variability of practice contribute to a multifaceted picture of our subject hardly obtainable within narrowing definitions.

The textual basis for considering custom in Islamic law appears in the *Qur'an* (Q 7:199): "Observe forgiveness, and command what is just" *(khudh al-'afw wa 'amur bil-'urf)*. Despite the fact that the translations of the term *'urf* in this verse differ widely, it refers literally to "what is known." In this sense, *'urf* evoked a local or a general custom and could acquire the legal value of a contractual stipulation. The other main technical term for designating custom, *'ada,* or literally "what is repeated," is not attested in the *Qur'an*. In the vocabulary of the legal sciences, it appeared with the meaning of "common usage" after the tenth century. *'Urf* and *'ada* are often mentioned in law texts as a pair. Some authors tried to arrive at a general definition allowing discrimination between *'urf* and *'ada* (see Libson 1997, 133, n. 4). However, the technical usages of both terms varied according to the contexts of text production and might be best traced in considering the texts of selected discursive fields throughout a certain period.

Customary Law According to the Schools of Jurisprudence

The attitudes of the four Sunni schools of jurisprudence toward *'urf* and *'ada* show remarkable differences. Social practice among the people of Medina became an important part of nascent Maliki legal doctrine under the precondition that it had been confirmed as judicial practice *('amal)* by Malik ibn Anas or his contemporaries (cf. Dutton 1999). From the tenth century onward, the *'amal* evolved into a juridic tool enabling judges to pronounce legal solutions founded on local *'urf*, even if these solutions differed from the majority doctrine *(mashhur)*. Andalusian and Maghrib cities such as Cordoba, Fez, and Qayrawan established in this way their distinctive, unified judicial practice. The prerequisites for this procedure had been summed up by the Moroccan jurist Miyyara (d. ca. 1662–1663 CE) and included the confirmation of the *'urf* by righteous witnesses, a continuous legal precedence of exemplary jurists, and the principal conformity with Islamic law (on Maliki *'amal*, see references in Toledano 1981:14 f.; Libson 1997:134, n. 8). Besides the *'amal*, there are numerous general statements of renowned Maliki jurists, from Abu 'Imran al-Fasi (d. 1038) to Ahmad al-Dardir (d. 1786), on the necessity of considering *'urf* in legal evaluation.

Whether or not custom constituted a formal legal source in early Hanafi law is a question still awaiting further research. The prevailing opinion among Hanafi jurists came to be the preference of textual authority found in *Hadith* and *Qur'an,* which would definitively override deviating *'urf*. In cases in which the texts were silent, the jurists disagreed whether local *'urf* could be taken into consideration. However, when the *'urf* in question enjoyed universal acceptance among the Muslims, it possessed the force of legal argument. There are some noteworthy exceptions from the majority opinion, such as the Egyptian scholar Ibn Nujaym (d. 1563), who openly argued against Hanafi doctrine by first acknowledging certain local customs of Usury and Interest not explicitly mentioned in the texts and then trying to establish his judgment as a principle (see Johansen 1999; Libson 1997, 142–154; Hallaq 2001, 215–233).

The positions regarding custom in the Shafi'i and Hanbali schools have not been thoroughly studied. The prolific Shafi'i scholar al-Suyuti (d. 1505) dedicated a full chapter of a treatise to custom, but he could nevertheless entirely avoid the problem of local *'urf* in his response to questions emerging in the central Sudanese Tekrur (Libson 1997, 154; Hunwick 1970). Driven by obvious political motives, the Hanbali scholar Ibn Taymiyya (d. 1328) denounced in his condemnation of the Mongol rulers of Baghdad their adherence to Mongol custom despite their previous conversion to Islam, and turned it into a primary reason for declaring them to be unbelievers. Finally, in Shi'i legal literature, *'urf* figures merely in the sense of "habit" and no allusion is made to specific tribal custom. However, the particular notion of legal reasoning in Shi'ism might have contributed to its greater flexibility in adjusting custom and legal doctrine.

Tribal Customary Law

The case of Maliki law in North Africa, which recognized custom to a large extent, affords significant insights into the modes of negotiating the concurrent normative orders of tribal groups. Berber customary law differed from Islamic law in several important, and by no means tolerable, aspects; for example, denial of inheriting real estate by females, the dower for a wife's family at marriage, the taking of interest, and the avoidance of bodily punishments. Moreover, state jurisdiction *(hukm al-sultan)* and officially appointed judges were almost absent in tribal areas. Instead, tribal assemblies *(jama'at),* as well as arbiters *(muhakkamun)*, delivered legal judgments.

It is possible that most tribal actors conceived customary law in the framework of "their" *shari'a*, the only semantic reference to law available for them (see Rosen 1995). However, both sides, jurists and tribes, spent considerable effort to adjust conflicting norms of customary and religious law. On the one hand, various legal remedies of Islamic law, from gifts and sales to endowments, were intentionally employed for legalizing inheritance practice (*see* Powers 2002, chapters 4 and 6). On the other hand, the authors of a tribal resolution from 1749, declaring overtly female disinheritance and laying explicit claim to the equal value of *'ada* and state jurisdiction, carefully sought to satisfy the formal requirements for the establishment of a Maliki *'amal* (cf. Patorni 1895). Both accommodation and self-authorization, different modes of dealing with the same problem, demonstrate the awareness of distinct legal orders, which nevertheless intersect and interact within the legal process.

Though there are no empirically founded reasons to presume a common language of the *'ada* forming the equivalence of legal doctrine, legal and political discourses generated images of tribal *'ada* reduced to changing features of unbelief, from disinheritance to highwaymen. A comprehensive study on the selective

processes of these contested markers of customary law promises important insights about the transformations of Muslim rural societies.

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See also Agriculture; Irrigation; Muslim Conceptions of Past Civilizations; Pagans and Pagan Customs

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CYPRUS

Cyprus (*Kıbrıs* in modern Turkish, *Kubrus* in old Ottoman or Arabic text, and *Kypros* in Greek) is the largest island in the Eastern Mediterranean. The first encounter of Cyprus with Islam began in 632 CE when the Arab invaders under Abu Bakr, according to the Arab and Greek chronicles, showed themselves in Cyprus capturing the Byzantine city of Salamis (Constantia) and converting the large basilica of St. Epiphanios into a mosque. During another expedition by Mu'awiya, governor of Syria in 649, Umm Haram bint Milhan, wife of Ubada ibn as-Shamit, a close relation of the Prophet, died by a fall from her mule in Larnaca. Hala Sultan Tekke, a *külliye* including her mausoleum erected at the spot of her tomb, marked by a megalithic monument, is the most venerated Islamic monument in the island.

The Arab expeditions continued during the Latin Crusading Kingdom between the eleventh and sixteenth centuries. In one of these, the Memelouk Sultan Emir Tanriverdi al-Mahmoudi from Cairo landed at Limassol with his army in 1426 and proceeded as far as Nicosia, where he enjoyed the luxury of the Lusignan king's palace and demanded a quarter to be allocated to them in the capital city, as well as making an agreement of an annual tribute.

Islamic societies took part sometimes as allied forces beside the Lusignans against the Byzantines or the Genoese. However, there is not much known about the extent of the spreading of the Islamic culture in Cyprus dating back to pre-Ottoman rule, although medieval chronicles referred to mosque building and the presence of the Turcopoles on the island. There are several Ottoman buildings (St. Ömer Tekke, Kirklar Tekke, and Ömerge Mosque) dedicated to the early Islamic martyrs.

The Ottoman conquest during the reign of Selim II in 1570/71, with the consent of the *Sheyh ül Islam,* introduced the permanent Islamic culture on the island. An organized settlement policy by forced migrations from Anatolia, mainly Konya, Karaman, Larende, Niğde, Ichel, Menteshe, Denizli, and Zülkadiriye, created a Turkish Islamic population beside the Orthodox Greek natives. Institutions of the Ottoman administration and the Islamic religion were established, the most significant being the *Evkaf (waqf)* institution, which still functions as the administrator of the religious and philanthropic affairs as the greatest property holder in the island. Trade activities from the Islamic countries also increased during this period.

Cyprus became a chief principality governed by a *Beylerbeyi* in Nicosia and *Sancak Beys* in the *kazas,* including some provinces in Anatolia such as Ichel, Sis, Alaiye (Alanya), and Tarsus until the early decades of the seventeenth century. British rule terminated the Ottoman administration in 1878, although the Turkish Islamic culture continued.

The language of the Turkish Cypriots is in the southeastern dialect deriving from Oghuz Turks.

Büyük Han in Nicosia, c. 1571. © N. Yıldız.

Islamic architectural heritage is of Ottoman character. Büyük Han, Büyük Hamam, Ömeriye complex, Arap Ahmet and Agha Cafer Mosques, Hala Sultan and Mevlevi Tekkes, aqueducts, fountains, and the castles in Paphos, Larnaca, and Limassol are the most notable ones from the sixteenth century. Also, Latin monuments, mainly Selimiye (Ayia Sophia) Mosque in Nicosia, Lala Mustafa Pasha (Ayia Sophia or St. Nicholas) Mosque in Famagusta, the city walls, and citadels and domestic buildings, restored and renovated according to Turkish culture during the last quarter of the sixteenth century, is a sign of the respect of the Ottoman administrators toward the cultural heritage. Several others were constructed during the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries, including Bekir Pasha Aqueduct and Sultan Mahmut Library. Museums located in Mevlevi Tekke, Dervish Pasha Konak, and Canpolat Bastion display art and ethnographical collections of Islamic origin. Islamic manuscripts and Ottoman documents in the possession of the Turkish Cypriot Archive and Documentary Centre and the *Waqf* Administration in North Cyprus and the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive in Istanbul show the legacy of the Islamic culture in Cyprus.

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See also Abu Bakr

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D

DAMASCUS

Damascus (Dimashq) is the current capital of the Arab Republic of Syria. In popular usage, it is widely referred to as *al-Sham,* a term that is also used to refer to greater Syria (i.e., *Bilad al-Sham*).

Damascus owes its existence to the river Barada, which springs from the eastern slopes of the Anti-Lebanon mountain range, and, after crossing Damascus, empties into the eastern and southern desert, forming around the city a fertile agricultural land known as *al-Ghuta*. The abundance of water and agriculture, along with the city's strategic location on the internal highway that connects the south (Egypt and Arabia) and the north (Mesopotamia and Asia Minor), allowed Damascus to play a significant role in Near Eastern trade and communication, and, at times, in politics, too, from antiquity to modern times.

The city plan took its shape inside the surrounding wall and its seven gates during the Roman period. The main east–west street (decumanus) is still partly in existence, and approximately in its middle was the Temple of Jupiter (which was converted during the Byzantine period into the Church of St. John the Baptist) and the market place (agora), the ruins of which still exist just outside the southern gate of the Umayyad Mosque. The town's houses were arranged in quarters on both sides of the main street, with small alleys and paths leading to them.

Damascus fell to the Muslim army in AH 15/636 CE and ever since has been under Islamic rule. It rose to significance under the Umayyads (r. 41–132/661–750), who chose it as their main capital and reorganized it as an imperial city. During that period, the first mosque built on a grand scale in Islam (the Umayyad Mosque) was constructed by orders from Caliph al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik (r. 86–96/705–715), who also ordered the construction of the Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem. The site of the Umayyad Mosque and its courtyard was originally occupied by the Church of St. John, which included a small chapel built to house a casket that was believed to contain St. John's head. After the Islamic conquest, an earlier mosque was built in the southern corner of the Church's courtyard, although some Muslim historians suggest that the Church itself was divided into two sections: one for the Muslims and another for the Christians. Al-Walid ordered the confiscation of the property, and all preexisting buildings, including the Church and the earlier mosque, were razed to the ground to allow for the new mosque. The casket containing St. John's head was incorporated into the main mosque, where it still exists today. In 61/680, the head of al-Husayn b. 'Ali, the grandson of the Prophet Muhammad and the third Shi'i Imam, was buried in the eastern side of the mosque complex; however, it was moved shortly after 359/970 and buried in Cairo, in a mosque built for that purpose by the Fatimids of Egypt (the al-Husayn Mosque). These two figures of tremendous religious and spiritual authority made the Umayyad Mosque a center especially for local pilgrimage and subsequently augmented the religious symbolism (fada'il) of Damascus.

In addition to the two key figures mentioned above, local legends identify Damascus and its surrounding

area as the birthplace of Abraham and the burial place of Moses and Mary, the mother of Jesus. Similarly, Jesus is believed to have escaped to Damascus with Mary and Joseph at the time of the Massacre of the Innocents—hence its association with the Qur'anic reference "wa-awaynahuma ila rabwatin dhati qararin wa-ma'ini" (23:50); it is also believed that He will descend into the city to usher in the End Times. The town's main medieval cemetery, Maqbarat al-Bab al-Saghir (this is outside of the southern Small Gate, which is also known as Bab al-Hadid), contains the graves of a large host of significant Muslim public figures and religious scholars, including companions of the Prophet Muhammad. All of this bestowed on Damascus—and, by extension, on Syria—additional holiness.

The city grew outside its walls, but it gradually lost most of its prestige and centrality, especially as compared with towns in Syria like Aleppo (Halab) and Hims after the ousting of the Umayyads. It reclaimed its political, intellectual, economic, and religious supremacy back when Sultan Nur al-Din (d. 569/1174) captured it in 549/1154 and made it his capital city, although its political prominence was lost again with his death. Nur al-Din ordered a major facelift for the city, including major renovations of some of its existing monuments and the addition of new ones, such as a hospice (al-Bimaristan al-Nuri), several schools for religious sciences (e.g., Dar al-Hadith al-Nuriyya), and several mosques. Since the time of Nur al-Din, Damascus has become one of the most prestigious centers for Sunni Islam, and its scholars (both natives and residents) played a significant role in the promotion and diffusion of Sunni Islam in Syria and the Middle East. During the Ottoman period, Damascus rose back to political supremacy, especially with the al-Azm family during the eighteenth century. Many members of the family were governors of the wilayet (province) of Damascus, which extended east to the Bekaa valley in modern-day Lebanon and south to Jordan and northern Palestine. The al-Azm family left their mark on the city, with their splendid palaces and public undertakings, including construction and renovation of the city's markets and caravanserais.

Damascus gave its name to several types of merchandise that were initially produced there and traded widely during the Middle Ages. The two most notable items are *damask*, which is a firm, lustrous fabric that blends linen and silk, and the *damask rose* (ward juri), which is a very fragrant red rose. A special syrup is made from the damask rose and used in desserts and a few other recipes; if diluted in water, the syrup becomes a refreshing drink that is usually served at weddings and on special occasions.

SULEIMAN A. MOURAD

See also Syria; Umayyad Mosque

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DANCING

At least from the early 'Abbasid period, Muslim authors were troubled by the active role of female participants in various popular festivals, the mingling of genders, and the sensuality that accompanied some of these rites. They particularly addressed the issue of music and dancing during these ceremonies; hence, the prevalent attitude of Muslim writers toward dancing is concentrated in works that criticize Sufi customs or condemn manifestations of popular Islam.

That these questions alarmed some writers is reflected in an anecdote narrated by Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam: Yazid ibn Abi Habib wrote to 'Umar and asked him about playing music and using tambourines and guitars at weddings. In response, the righteous caliph prohibited the playing of guitars but let the public beat tambourines. According to 'Umar, this denotes the difference between a wedding and fornication (sifah).

The jurists turned their attention mainly to those circles of Sufis that—through tambourine (daff) and flute (shabbaba) playing, hand clapping, and dancing (raq*s*)—attracted audiences to their public performances. Chanting, playing musical instruments, and dancing were magnets for the populace. Interestingly, the jurisprudents did not dwell on the music and dancing that were performed in the royal palaces.

An examination of hisba manuals and bid'a criticism confirms that dancing and music were not approved of. Condemnation of them is particularly conspicuous in works that criticize the quasi-Sufis (fuqara'). It is not surprising to find that those who wrote against popular culture and expressed disapproval of music and dancing also participated in campaigns against the manners and customs of the fuqara'. It seems that the principal objection of these fuqaha to music and dancing sessions (sama) was the sexuality associated with them, which would also explain their objection to singing (ghina).

A well-known example of such writers is Ibn Hajj al-'Abdari. This famous jurisprudent took a particularly fierce stand against the mingling of men and

Marriage of Akbar's brother at Agra in 1561. Folio from the Akbar-nama. Moghul miniature, c. 1590. (CT3443). Credit: Victoria & Albert Museum, London/NY. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Great Britain.

women in any social or religious situation, and this was also the attitude of Ibn Taymiyya toward dancing and music playing as expressed in several of his works. In his discussions of the sama', Ibn Taymiyya provides his readers with extensive descriptions of the fuqara's' rituals and performances as well as with information about popular Islam.

Ibn Taymiyya differentiates between two types of spiritual concerts (dhikrs): one is legal (sama' shar'i), but the other one oversteps the bounds of Islamic law (kharij shurut al-masha'ikh). Ibn Taymiyya argues that, during the forbidden dhikrs, music is used to bring the participants to a state of ecstasy. He compares this practice to the consumption of alcohol or the use of drugs, both of which are strictly prohibited. He considers the deeds of the quasi-Sufis' to be a taboo, and he deduces that the shari'a forbids sama' that leads to ecstasy.

Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya opens his examination of music and dancing with a pseudo-fatwa (dated 740/1339). The question reads as follows: "What is the stand of our learned masters *(al-sada al-'ulama')* regarding *sama'*, which consists of playing musical instruments such as tambourine and flute, hand clapping, singing, and amusement. Men and women mingle and recite Qur'anic verses. Claiming that this ritual brings the participants in these ceremonies closer to Allah, the partakers argue that if a person dance his sins will be forgiven."

The question posed by Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya triggered answers by other fuqaha, thereby raising a wide range of issues. Some scholars imposed a total ban on music. They depicted behavior by the Sufi brethren that led some to brand such a group as "a band of disgrace." Moreover, they were incensed by scenes of women and young men dancing and chanting in the presence of mixed audiences. In one case, the heads of the Kilaniyya brotherhood applied to the Hanbali qadi of Cairo (in 852/1448) to ban singing and the playing of musical instruments. They further appealed to the sultan to prohibit the playing of drums and flutes in al-Rifa'i's lodge.

It goes without saying that the fulminations against music and dancing achieved only limited results. Rigorous 'ulama never succeeded in eliminating music from Arab, Turkish, or Persian societies, as can be deduced from chronicles and biographies; proof is to be found in the performances by Sufis that used music as an instrument to attain unity with God, in works by authors favoring music, and in accounts of the activities of professional musicians. The tariqa Mavlawiyya (Mevleviler) are perhaps the best–known examples that support this proposition.

The failure of the puritans might explain the position arrived at by other jurists, who distinguished between licit and illicit poetry. These fuqaha' regarded loud supplication (awrad) and the reciting of Qur'anic verses as noble, and they permitted the chanting of hymns. An example of this line of argumentation can be seen in the writing of 'Alwan al-*H*amawi.

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DARA SHIKOH (1615–1659)

The eldest son and the heir apparent of the Mughal Emperor Shahjahan (d. 1657) and his favorite wife Mumtaz Mahal and himself an Emperor manqué, Dara never showed much interest in political affairs. He took part in one military campaign to Kandahar in 1659, which resulted in failure, and he only accepted the governorship of Allahabad in 1645 so that he could be near the Chishti mystic and philosopher Muhibb Allah Ilahabadi (d. 1648); he never took up his post in Allahabad and merely corresponded

with the philosopher. Along with his favorite sister, Jahanara, he spent more time with literati and Sufis, affiliating himself with the Qadiri order. Their political disinterest led to his younger brother Awrangzeb to launch a successful bid to become emperor and outflanking Dara Shikoh. European travelers such as Bernier and Manucci regarded him as an aloof and arrogant man who had no real convictions and was hence interested in syncretism.

Dara was already associated with the Qadiri order at the time of Miyan Mir (d. 1635), but, along with his sister, he only formally joined in 1640, paying allegiance to Mulla Shah Badakhshi (d. 1661), Miyan Mir's successor. This in itself was a significant act: the heir apparent pledging allegiance to a Sufi master was an almost unique step during the Mughal period. Dara wrote two hagiographies of famous Sufis of the past and of the Qadiri order: *Safinat al-Awliya'* in 1640 and *Sakinat al-Awliya'* in 1642. However, his major literary contribution came later. In 1646, he completed his best work, *Risala-yi Haqq-numa*, which was a defense of monism that was steeped in the learning of the school of Ibn 'Arabi. His growing interest in following in the footsteps of his great-grandfather Akbar led to his encounters with Indian thought. In 1653, he met the kabirpanthi ascetic Baba La'l Das and asked him questions about truth, religion, and community, a conversation that was recorded for posterity in an intriguing mix of Persian, Sanskrit, and Hindavi by Dara's secretary, Candrabhan Brahman.

Dara's most obvious expression of syncretism came in 1655 with the completion of *Majma' al-Bahrayn (The Mingling of the Two Oceans)*. Drawing on Qur'an 18:60, he argued that the essences of Indian religions (he meant the Vedanta and Natha paths) and Sufism were the same. A rather mediocre work, its significance lies not in the quality of its composition but rather the identity of its author. It does seem that Dara had a good grasp of Sanskrit and of the technical terminology of the Vedic schools, because he himself translated this work as *Samudrasangama*. He extended this by commissioning a translation of the Upanishads. which was completed in 1657 with the title *Sirr-i Akbar (The Great Secret)*. He claimed that the Upanishads were the "hidden scripture" alluded to in Qur'an 56:78.

A patron of the arts, Dara commissioned paintings and albums that included depictions of himself that still survive. Awrangzeb, who was seen as a heretical aesthete, took advantage of Shahjahan's illness in 1658 and had Dara declared a heretic. During the ensuing trial, Dara was condemned, and he was executed on August 12, 1659. His political failure meant that he could not call on powerful defenders for his cause. Since then, historians and Indians have debated what might have been. Awrangzeb has been cast as Dara's opposite, associating with Naqshbandis and treating non-Muslims harshly; this was in contrast with Dara's syncretic idea of "universal peace." Dara's real problem was that, by focusing on lofty ideals and transcendental unity, he had little understanding of political realities.

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See also Akbar; Mughals; Sufism

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DATES AND CALENDARS

The Islamic calendar, also known as the Hijra calendar, is based on a lunar cycle that has twelve months of approximately twenty-nine to thirty days each. The term *Hijra* refers to the emigration of the early Muslim community in Mecca to the northern oasis of Yathrib (later known as Medina), a seminal event in Islamic history. 'Umar b. al-Khattab (r. 634–644 CE), the second Rightly Guided Caliph, designated the year that the Emigration (Hijra) took place (622 CE) as Year One of the Islamic calendar in 638. It has become a standard convention of the modern scholarship of Islamic history to provide both dates, with the Hijra year first, followed by the Gregorian calendar-based Common Era (CE) date: for example, 450/1058. Conversion from the Hijra calendar to other calendars is not an exact science, and detailed data (i.e., the day of the week, the month, and the year) are required before one can obtain an accurate conversion. This is due in large part to the methods that have been traditionally used to determine the changeover from one month to the next.

According to traditions that predate the rise of Islam, each new month begins with the sighting of the new crescent moon right after sunset and lasts until the sighting of the next new crescent moon; this system of dating based on the movement of celestial bodies or the moon with the sun is also known as a synodic system. Although this is fraught with potential human error, medieval scholars eventually settled on a more consistent system of giving the odd-numbered months thirty days each and the even-numbered months twenty-nine days each.

The twelve months of the Islamic calendar, in order, are as follows: (1) Muharram; (2) Safar; (3) Rabi‘ al-Awwal; (4) Rabi‘ al-Akhir (or al-Thani); (5) Jumada ’l-Ula; (6) Jumada ’l-Akhira; (7) Rajab; (8) Sha‘ban; (9) Ramadan; (10) Shawwal; (11) Dhu ’l-Qa‘da; and (12) Dhu ’l-Hijja. For administrative and agricultural reasons, medieval Muslims also used derivations of existing solar and/or fixed-month calendars from the region; these include aspects of the Ancient Egyptian seasonal calendar, the Roman Julian calendar, and the Persian calendar. Although the Islamic calendar and dating system was the overarching system used by medieval Muslims (especially with regard to religious holidays [*eids*]), Muslims from such places as al-Andalusia, Central Asia, and India would retain their traditional calendars and practices at the local level. Some key days in the Muslim calendar are Eid al-Adha (The Feast of the Sacrifice), which commemorates Ibrahim’s willingness to sacrifice his son, Isma‘il (10 Dhu ’l-Hijja); Eid al-Fitr (Breaking of the Fast), which is celebrated at the end of Ramadan; and Laylat al-Qadr (The Night of Power), which occurs during one of the last ten nights of Ramadan; on this night, the prayers of sincere Muslims are said to be answered. In addition to these days, such local traditions as the Persian Nawruz (Festival of the New Year) are observed, regardless of their non-Islamic origin. It should also be noted that, within Islamic society itself, there are some minor deviations in terms of ritual practice concerning dates and calendars between the Sunni and Shi‘i communities. The most famous difference involves the commemoration of Ashura (10 Muharram); within the Sunni community this has some significance, but, within the Shi‘i community, it is the commemoration of the martyrdom of Husayn b. Ali, the grandson of the Prophet, in 680 at the hands of Umayyad forces.

The Islamic calendar of twelve lunar months creates a year with 354 days; the result of this is that, over decades, the Islamic months actually travel throughout the solar-based seasonal year. The practical effect of this can be seen with the example of Ramadan, the Islamic month of fasting, during which Muslims refrain from drinking and eating between sunrise and sunset. At one point, Ramadan will fall during the winter season, when the days are shorter; a decade or so later, Ramadan will fall during the summer, when the time between sunrise and sunset is much longer. Medieval scholars of both the religious and natural sciences wrote numerous works about the proper methods for ascertaining the change in months as well as about their astronomical observations. Modern scholars have used these works, in addition to more modern calculation methods, to create reliable conversion tables; students and scholars also have Internet-based conversion tables at their disposal that allow for day-to-day conversions.

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See also Astrology; Astronomy; Festivals and Celebrations; Nawruz; Pagans and Pagan Customs

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DEATH AND DYING

Qur’anic Themes

“Every soul shall taste of death,” declares the Qur’an in verse 3:185, in an expression suggesting why death ought to be a universal concern. Yet human beings, in the Qur’anic understanding, are not equally preoccupied with their mortality. Their attitudes differ strikingly, depending on whether or not they believe in the afterlife.

According to the Qur’an, infidels enjoy life without giving much thought to the hereafter. They cultivate the vineyards of this world, pay no heed to the Hour of Reckoning, and doubt that God has the power to recreate life from bones and fragmented corpses. A harsh surprise awaits them, for, after passing away from this life, they will suffer a second death, an

afterlife of torment in the fire of Hell. Believers, by contrast, live in awe of God's power to create and destroy. They argue against the infidels that, if God can revivify with vegetation a lifeless land, so too can he quicken the dead, and that, on the Day of the Resurrection, they shall be rewarded with eternal life in the Garden.

This polemic dialog, recorded in verses 36:78, 56:47–8, and elsewhere, does not necessarily reflect actual exchanges between incredulous infidels and believing Muslims. However, regardless of its historic truth, the dialogue served to emphasize—if only in believers' minds—the reassuring notion that an omnipotent God would allow life to continue after death. The related belief that God controlled life and death—and that in fact He decreed or predetermined the very moment at which every individual's life should end—also offered consolation. Muslims, unlike early Arabic poets, did not see death as a misfortune striking loved ones unjustly and arbitrarily; rather, death for them was a part of God's wise—if inscrutable—plan.

Such consolation derived special meaning in an environment in which, as a result of tribal warfare and the military struggles of the first Muslims, the way of death was often violent. In fact, the theme of violent death is an essential one in the Qur'an. It recurs most frequently in the so-called Medinan verses, as O'Shaughnessy has pointed out. There are references to the persecution and violent death of several prophets, and one reads about killing by drowning, stoning to death, burning to death, and crucifixion. These ways of dying, although gruesome, need not be feared by those fighting in God's path, for martyrs only *seem* to undergo death: in reality, they continue to live with God.

Upon death, as during sleep, God sends angels to take the souls of women and men. He returns the souls of the sleepers to their bodies so that they will continue to live until their predetermined end, and He keeps with Him the souls of the dead. Deceased wrongdoers plead with God, asking Him to allow them to return to Earth, where they hope to accomplish the good works they had neglected to do during life. However, a barrier that shall be breached only on the Day of the Resurrection, according to verses 23:99–100, prevents the dead from crossing over into the realm of the living. In death, they must live with the consequences of their actions in the physical world.

The Ideal Way of Dying

Throughout early Islamic times, the Qur'anic ideal of suffering a violent death in the name of Islam remained appealing. In biographical works and in the hadith, the bravery of warriors for the faith, who expressed a yearning to die of battle wounds, was celebrated. Thus, Khubayb ibn 'Adiyy (d. 625 CE), who, according to Muslim tradition, inaugurated the custom of offering a special prayer before suffering death in captivity, boasted in a poem that mutilation was in no way a concern to him, convinced as he was that God would bless the limbs of his amputated body. The reward of Paradise was on the minds of holy warriors, according to Muslim tradition, and this belief inspired them to fight bravely even while anticipating the disfiguration of their bodies beyond recognition.

The hadith granted the status of martyr not only to those who died on the battlefield but also to several other categories of Muslims. For instance, those who died of plague, of a stomach ailment, by drowning, or in the destruction of a building were considered martyrs. The logic underlying this formulation seems clear: to undergo a painful, gruesome death counted as a way of meriting in the afterlife the rewards of martyrdom. It was essential, however, for the dying person, in agony, to not succumb to desperation; to reach Paradise alongside the martyrs of the battlefield, one needed to retain until the end a sense of composure and patience supported by trust in God's judgment.

Dying of old age in one's bed was less admirable than dying in battle, but Muslims who anticipated a peaceful death could undertake certain preparations to reach the end of life properly. First, they would need to discharge any unpaid debts. Failure to fulfill this financial obligation would result in suffering in the afterlife, according to the hadith. Second, dying persons were obliged to provide loved ones with instructions about what shrouds they wished to wear to the grave. This was an important specification to make, because burial attire was typically very expensive and often purchased after death. Muslims typically expressed in their last will not only a desire for modest clothes (as noted by Ibn Sa'd in his biographies of famous women and men), but they also often specified that their funeral procession should not be accompanied by candles, which seemed a superfluous expenditure, nor by professional wailers, whose laments seemed to protest God's decree to terminate an individual's life.

These deathbed instructions may not appear particularly Islamic, but Muslims did develop certain idealized, Islamic forms of reaching the end of life. Reiterating the name of Allah and reciting Surat Ya-Sin or another section of the Qur'an dealing with the resurrection of the dead were considered exemplary ways to die. However, the most striking of the Islamic

forms of dying involved one's physical orientation. It was associated in the first instance with Muhammad's daughter, Fatima (d. 632). Anticipating death, she asked for her bed to be placed in the middle of the house, and she then lay down on it facing the qibla, the Muslim direction of prayer. This way of dying became an ideal that, according to biographers, pious Muslims such as Caliph 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz (d. 720) followed in the moments before death.

Natural and Unnatural Death

Death as a result of illness, old age, or holy war did not require theological explanation. It seemed clear in such cases that the event had been decreed if not predetermined by God. What was harder to explain was death by an unnatural or accidental cause, as in the cases of murder and suicide. A death of this sort seemed, in the eyes of some Mu'tazilites, to cut short the natural span of one's life, of which God knew in his prescience. Murderers and suicide victims, they argued, followed their own wills in terminating life prematurely and acting against God's foreknowledge of the time at which death would have occurred had the divine plan not been interfered with. It was wrong to commit murder or suicide, they reasoned, and therefore unreasonable to believe that God in his justice and goodness predetermined such a way of dying in advance. Orthodox theologians disagreed. In their predestinarian view, the moment of death was always anticipated by God, whether the death seemed just or unjust; divine justice was postponed until after death. Persons who killed others or themselves would be tortured in the afterlife in a retributive scheme, punished in Hell with the same instruments they had used to terminate life.

Natural death was the subject not of theological but of medical explanation. In the view of Ibn Sina (d. 1037) and other exponents of Greco-Muslim medicine, this way of dying appeared to be the endpoint of the process of senescence. With aging, the human body gradually loses the ability to balance its primary qualities and constituent humors. Because, in old age, the innate heat (one of the primary qualities that burns most vigorously in youthful bodies) begins to fail, the body enters a state of disequilibrium. It steadily loses moisture, and it becomes drier and colder; eventually this process results in death. In juxtaposition with this explanation, which follows the Aristotelian view of the etiology of disease, Muslim authors also presented the Galenic–Hippocratic scheme of humoral pathology. According to this scheme, disease was caused by a disturbance of the mixture of essential bodily fluids: blood, phlegm, black bile, and yellow bile—the four humors. A pronounced disorder of humoral composition could also end in death.

To prevent natural death from occurring is not the aim of medicine, Ibn Sina clarified in *The Canon of Medicine*. Natural death occurs by divine decree, whenever a person reaches his or her appointed end, which depends on one's own individual constitution. The purpose of the art of medicine was simply to maintain, through a regimen that took both dietary and environmental factors into account, a person's body in a state of equilibrium. In his treatise about the ailments of the body in Egypt, Ibn Ridwan (d. 1068) lists exposure to overly dry air, an abrupt change in diet, and drinking water contaminated with dead matter as factors leading to epidemic disease and widespread mortality.

This discussion about the natural and unnatural causes of death was of course theoretical: it reveals attitudes toward death, but it does not provide a concrete idea about how Muslims usually died, how long their life spans were, and so on. Such knowledge could come only from archaeological excavations of Muslim cemeteries, accompanied by paleopathological analysis. Unfortunately, the archaeology of death in Islam is still in its infancy, and such analysis is lacking. However, there is one short study of a cemetery in Alexandria, whose burials dating from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are worthy of report. Of 489 subjects, 172 were adult males, 193 were adult females, 115 were children, and 9 were of undetermined age or sex. The mean age of the adult males was forty-five years; of the females, it was thirty-five years. Spondylitis, an inflammation of the vertebrae, affected many of the older men and women, who lived beyond the age of sixty and seventy. Neoplastic tumors and skull traumas were not uncommon. These findings provide us with some indication of the high incidence of mortality in children (nearly a quarter of the total deaths) as well as some measure of the average life span of women and men in a late-medieval city.

Status of the Corpse

Collections of hadith and of law and jurisprudence include numerous regulations regarding the care of the dead. Normally they devote an entire volume to the subject under the title *Kitab al-Jana'iz (The Book on Funerals)*; however, occasionally, discussion of the topic is subsumed under the volumes devoted to

prayer and purity. In this corpus, the acts of the Prophet Muhammad and of the first generation of Muslims figure prominently. One learns from this literature about the proper way for Muslims to mourn, wash corpses, process toward the cemetery, and bury and pray for the dead. These rituals are discussed elsewhere in this encyclopedia (see also: Burial Customs) and by Halevi in his social history of death. Here it will suffice to mention something about the status of the corpse in relation to notions of purity.

The ability of the deceased to produce impurity in corpse handlers was a key subject of discussion in Islamic law. Jurisprudents debated in particular whether or not corpse washing and pall bearing subjected one to a state of major ritual impurity; positions on these subjects varied. At one extreme, certain Sunni jurisprudents subscribed to a ruling by ʻAbdallah ibn ʻAbbas (d. 687), according to which deceased Muslims were considered pure and therefore in no way sources of impurity. At the other extreme stood Shiʻis jurisprudents, who regarded deceased human beings as generators of major ritual impurity. What did this divergence of opinions entail? For Shiʻis, it seemed necessary to perform a major ritual ablution after disposing of a corpse; for Sunnis, this seemed to be optional.

Pondering Death

The most famous medieval authors of books about death—Ibn Abi al-Dunya (d. 894), al-Ghazali (d. 1111), Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 1350), and al-Suyuti (d. 1505)—had moral lessons to impart. They described the process of dying and the afterlife to warn believers to lead a virtuous life, and they encouraged readers to imagine in detail their own deaths—down to the worms feasting on a putrefied corpse—to emphasize the basic notion that death was not an endpoint but rather a point of transition toward an afterlife that could be blessed or horrible.

These authors represented the process of dying as being most painful for the wicked. The spirit of an evil person was violently extracted from the body by terrifying angels. Then, after a brief tour of the hereafter, it was deposited in the grave to dwell in the corpse until the final judgment. During this period of the afterlife between death and the resurrection, sinners suffered tortures. The spirits of Muslims who died a natural death, who had prayed diligently, who had performed good deeds, and who had thought about the hereafter also inhabited the grave between death and the resurrection. However, these spirits—unlike those of sinners—experienced a blessed existence in the grave as a foretaste of Paradise.

Life in the grave was in some ways remarkably similar to life before death. The inhabitants of the grave lacked the ability to move their bodies, but they possessed an intellect. They were able to hear (according to an oral tradition that to some degree contradicted a Qur'anic pronouncement), and they could communicate with the living, mostly by the mediation of dreams. In these dreams, they would sometimes ask the living to perform deeds on their behalf—deeds from which the dead would draw tangible benefit, as Kinberg has shown. The gift of prayer would fill the grave of the deceased with light, and this light would ward off the dark tortures of the grave.

The stories by Ibn Abi al-Dunya and others regarding death and dying suggest a stark contrast between the fate of the blessed and the doomed; in this respect, they echo the sharp Qur'anic division between infidels bound for Hellfire and believers bound for Paradise. However, this similarity in moral outlook should not obscure two significant changes. The original post-Qur'anic stories dwell on the condition of the dead in the grave between death and the resurrection, a period of the afterlife neglected by the Qur'an, which concentrates instead on the fate of souls on the Day of the Resurrection and thereafter. More importantly, the post-Qur'anic stories admit a certain ambiguity in the status of believers after death. The tortures of the grave concern not only infidels but also Muslims who failed to pray earnestly or to pay their debts before dying. These Muslims could still hope to reach Paradise, but only after suffering retribution in the grave.

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See also Afterlife; Black Death; Burial Customs; Disease; Epidemics; Inheritance; Suffering

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DECADENCE: NOTION OF

In the context of the analysis of cultures and the writing of their histories, the notion of *decadence* (and, by extension, the phrase ''age of decadence'') is used to describe a process of ''falling away'' (the literal meaning of the word) and of ''decline.'' By implication, therefore, other phases or periods in accounts of developments within that cultural tradition are portrayed as being on a ''higher'' level from one or more points of view, that being a necessary prerequisite for the process of decline. The criteria that are involved in making such assessments involve assigning value to certain cultural trends while devaluing others. The entire matrix fits within what may be called the ''rise and fall'' model of cultural history, a term and title adopted by a variety of composers of narratives, Edward Gibbon and Edgar Allan Poe being two of the better-known examples.

An age of decadence is thus normally seen as a kind of ''middle'' period, one akin to eras otherwise known as ''dark ages'' or even ''middle ages.'' The implication is that, although such periods may possess their own particular traits and trends, they are generally less worthy of the ascription of cultural value than those periods that precede and follow them. The precedent period is often regarded as a ''classical'' era (sometimes also called a ''golden age'' within the logic of such terminology), that being the time period during which a particular cultural system chooses to find the major bases for its sense of heritage and the system of moral values that are implicit in the construction of such a heritage. Such a classical period is normally seen as being brought to a close by one or more of a series of cataclysmic events, mostly involving invasions by outside forces. At the other end of such a central era, a process of modernity commences with yet another contributor to this model of history, in the form of a renaissance, whereby a movement of ascent out of a ''lower'' (dark, decadent) level of cultural production (however determined) leads inexorably toward the contemporary period, from which the concept of modernity and the process of modernization can be assessed.

The application of these ideas to the organization and sequencing of Islamic history has been a complex process. What seems clear is that, although there were indeed several significant invasions of the Islamic world that had profound effects on the cultural history of the regions involved (e.g., the sacking of Baghdad in 1258 CE, the fall of Constantinople in 1453, the fall of Granada in 1492, and the fall of Cairo to the Ottomans in 1516), the way in which these transformations of the balance of power have been applied to the sphere of cultural production has created a set of historical divides that tend to de-emphasize those continuities that provide a more plausible logic for the analysis of creativity and changing trends in esthetics and critical thinking.

The very term *decadence* (inhitat) and its use to describe—or even to create—an historical sub-period in Arab–Islamic history seems to have been, in fact, an import to the region, one based on studies undertaken by both Western specialists on the Middle East region and Islam and also by the large number of Middle Eastern intellectuals who, beginning in the nineteenth century, traveled to Europe to receive their higher education. For example, the great Egyptian scholar Taha Husayn (d. 1973) wrote a dissertation about the historical theories of Ibn Khaldun (d. 1406) and encountered the writings of the French scholar, Gustave Lanson (d. 1934) about the nationalist project of writing literary history. He returned to Egypt after his studies in France to advise his fellow countrymen to return to the great era of the eleventh century and earlier in their quest for inspiration rather than looking into the creativity of the seven or so centuries of the more immediate past and its precedents.

Quite apart from the peculiar kind of logic represented by this attitude, it was to have an enduring effect on the sense of modernity that has been the topic of considerable debate throughout the twentieth century: any assessment of the balance between the

indigenous and the imported, the Islamic and Middle Eastern on the one hand and the Western on the other, was heavily tilted in favor of the latter of the two. More recent times have seen attempts at a total reassessment of this balance, involving not only a re-examination of cultural movements during the nineteenth century but also research into the cultural production of the so-called period of decadence itself to come to some conclusions about not merely the nature of the postclassical and premodern within Arab–Islamic cultural history but also the esthetic bases for the evaluation of the creative production of the time. These bases, to put it mildly, emerge as radically at odds with those of Western critical norms and expectations; these issues, one might suggest, are the origins of the entire problem.

Within the context of the Arab–Islamic heritage, one consequence of this set of scholarly attitudes has been a tendency to downplay and often to ignore some seven centuries of scholarship and creativity. This period is, almost by definition, indeterminate, but it can be seen from a cultural (i.e., nondynastic) perspective as stretching—mostly by default—from roughly 1150 until 1830. This is the period during which a short list of renowned writers would include the following: Ibn al-Farid (d. 1235), Ibn al-'Arabi (d. 1240), Ibn Khaldun, Al-Qalqashandi (d. 1418), Al-Maqrizi (d.1441), Jalal al-din al-Suyuti (d. 1505), Al-Maqqari (d. 1631), and 'Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulusi (d. 1731). However, apart from the relatively limited amount of attention that has been paid to these and a few other notable figures, there is a great deal else that is habitually glossed over as being part of an age of decadence and thus lacking in interest or importance. In more recent times, the earlier half of this lengthy time period—often dubbed the "Mamluk" period (a term, needless to say, that can only be used to refer to the more Eastern segments of the total region)—has been the subject of more concentrated attention. A somewhat more detailed and accurate picture is now beginning to emerge of at least the earlier centuries of the period—a picture that reveals the continuingly elaborate structures of court life, with its hierarchies of bureaucrats and chancellery officials, many of whom were contributors to the preservation and advancement of knowledge. If their predilection for compilation and their tendency to digress and to indulge in elaborate wordplay have failed to interest or excite Western scholars who choose to base their evaluations on entirely different criteria than those favored by the indigenous culture, that should be seen as implying a confrontation of approaches but not an ascription (or condemnation) of "decadence."

By contrast, the period from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century remains almost a closed book in many disciplines of Arab–Islamic scholarship. The reasoning that suggests that the diminution of inspiration and output in Arabic scholarship and creativity can be attributed to the use of Ottoman Turkish in administrative matters appears on the surface to have only the most limited validity. This period is, above all, the one during which the label of decadence appears to have been the most harmful in that, apart from the efforts of a very few scholars, almost no attention has been paid to the cultural milieu of the times. As noted earlier, any assessment of the nature and process of the nineteenth-century movement known as *al-nahdah* (renaissance) is radically compromised by this lack of information and scholarly interest.

The notion of decadence as a culturally evaluative term is one that is in need of a complete re-examination within the context of Arabic and Islamic scholarship. The (mis-)use of the term as a way to leapfrog from a classical period directly to a purportedly modern one continues to distort current understanding of those continuities whereby today's Arab and Islamic worlds link themselves to their heritage.

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DEGREES, OR IJAZA

Meaning "permission, license, or authorization," the term *ijazah* refers to several distinct types of academic certificates in common use in medieval Islamic scholarship. The best known of these are the license of transmission (ijazat al-riwayah) and the license of audition (ijazat al-sama', sama'), which originally (or ideally) served as written records of the direct audition of a text on the part of the recipient from the transmitting authority, whether the text was a single hadith report, a work by the transmitting teacher

himself, or a work by a third party. The ijazah played an important role in the transmission of texts in all fields, and it was meant to guarantee the accuracy and authenticity of the student's manuscript copy. In an age before printing, the ijazahs recorded in series at the end of a manuscript often provided an accurate codical genealogy that reached back to the original author. In the field of Prophetic hadith, the formal transmission of a report from one authority to the next in the chain of transmission (isnad), authorized by an ijazah, was considered an important indication of its authenticity.

Technical discussions of textual transmission in works about hadith criticism (usul al-hadith or mustalah al-hadith) and in chapters about scriptural reports (akhbar) in manuals of jurisprudence (usul al-fiqh) assign the highest degree of reliability to direct aural contact, in which the student hears the dictation of the transmitting authority or reads the text back to that authority, descending by degrees to munawalah (the ''handing over'' of a text by the authority to the student) and wijadah (the ''finding'' of a text in the hand of the author). This scheme reflects a formal stress on the value of oral/aural transmission that early on became archaic, particularly when most of the texts so authorized were standard published works (e.g., the six canonical compilations of Sunni hadith). In practice, the ijazah of transmission was often a formality that did not guarantee that direct audition had taken place. In fact, the sources often report that a scholar transmitted a text ijazatan (by license) to indicate that he had not studied or heard it directly from the transmitting authority, which is in contradistinction with qira'atan (by reading). Teachers granted ijazahs for a book after the recipient had read out a few lines from its opening pages. They granted ijazahs by correspondence to ''students'' they had never met, or they granted ijazahs for all of their own works to students who could not possibly have studied them all. Young children—even babies—received ijazahs for attending dictations they could not understand. Students often received a general certificate (ijazah 'ammah) that granted them blanket permission to relate all of the works that a given teacher had the authority to transmit. Referring to this practice, Ibn Hazm remarks that the license that is in common use by his contemporaries is invalid, and he insists that the transmitting authority must list the texts for which he is giving authorization completely and exactly.

The acquisition of ijazahs played an important part in establishing scholarly status by documenting links to earlier generations of scholars in the Muslim community. The ijazah granted scholars permission to teach the fundamental works of the Islamic sciences and to cite them authoritatively. In some ways, however, ijazah collection became a symbolic activity. Al-Suyuti, for example, related hadith from more than six hundred authorities, and Ibn Qadi Shuhbah mentions another scholar who received ijazahs from thirteen hundred authorities; it is unlikely that these contacts could have involved any sustained study. Nevertheless, the piles of certificates that such scholars assembled were often collected into volumes, and they represented symbolic academic capital and served the important social function of establishing a scholar's identity and credentials. Shi'is and other minority figures could divert suspicion by collecting ijazahs from prominent scholars whose orthodoxy was unimpeachable. In addition, the exchange of ijazahs became a part of professional academic camaraderie. Certificates were usually expressed in elaborate rhymed and rhythmical prose (saj'), and they provided opportunities for scholars to impress their peers, flattering them with honorific epithets and showing off their skills in artistic prose composition.

There were no set texts for ijazahs, which could vary in length from a single paragraph to a sizable volume, but they did follow a relatively standard outline: (1) an opening prayer, praising God and blessing the Prophet Muhammad; (2) an introduction of the student, with genealogy and flattering epithets that were intended to indicate his academic accomplishments and relative scholarly merits; (3) some description of the circumstances under which contact occurred and under which the ijazah is being granted; (4) permission to transmit or teach, expressed by the term *ajaztuhu* (''I hereby permit him'') and followed by the list of works subject to this permission; (5) a summary of the authority's own chains of transmission, establishing his right to transmit said works; (6) the authority's own bibliography, listing the works he has written for which he is granting permission to the student (this was not always included); and (7) a colophon giving the precise date on which the document was granted and often recording the place as well. Ijazahs were often issued in response to an istid'a' (written petition); the scholar so petitioned would record the ijazah on the same sheet of paper. Little is known about payment for ijazahs, but it is likely that payments or gifts were expected in some cases.

Al-Qalqashandi defines three categories of ijazah in common usage in Mamluk Egypt and Syria, including not only the license of transmission but also the 'ard (presentation of books) and the ijazat al-ifta' wa'l-tadris (license for issuing legal opinions and teaching law). Before embarking on advanced study, students would memorize introductory textbooks in various fields and then present them in an oral

examination (‘ard). The examiner would open the book chosen and ask the student to recite from memory the passages on which he alighted. One generally performed this ‘ard in one’s teens and repeated the performance before a number of scholars. For example, Muhammad b. Tulun (d. AH 953/1546 CE) received ijazahs for presenting one set of books from eightteachers at the age of fourteen. The certificate was written on a small square piece of paper, and several examiners might write certificates on the same sheet.

The license to teach law and issue legal opinions (ijazat al-ifta’ wa ‘l-tadris; also ijazat al-tadris wa’l-ifta’ or simply ijazat al-ifta’) is the type of ijazah that resembles the medieval European university degree most closely, for, rather than authorizing the recipient to transmit or teach a particular text, it attests to his or her mastery of an entire field (in this case, the law) and permits entry into professional categories: law professor (mudarris) and jurisconsult (mufti). The main difference between the two is that the granting authority is an individual professor, in the Islamic case, rather than a corporate institution in the case of the university. Despite this point, Makdisi has likened the ijazat al-ifta’ wa’l-tadris to the medieval Latin *licentia docendi* and suggests that it served as a model for that degree. The license to teach law and issue legal opinions was clearly an actual document of official or legal standing. Al-Qalqashandi reports that such licenses were written in the riqa‘ script on Syrian or Egyptian paper, in folio, with evenly spaced lines a finger’s width apart; this is the same format that was used for other important legal documents, such as patents of probity (isjalat al-‘adalah), which established the candidate’s qualification to serve as a notary or official witness. Al-Qalqashandi himself received a license to teach Shafi‘i law and grant legal opinions in 778/1376–1377, at the age of twenty-one, from the leading jurist Ibn al-Mulaqqin (d. 804/1401). He copies the original document, with minor omissions, in Subh al-a‘sha. Like the patent of probity, the license was often drawn up before a judge and signed by witnesses in addition to the granting authority. This license shows many similarities to the medieval Rabbinic semekha, although the relationship between the two has not been investigated to date.

The license to issue legal opinions is said to go back to the eighth century. Malik b. Anas (d. 179/795) was supposedly authorized to give legal opinions by seventy teachers. Al-Shafi‘i (d. 204/820) was reportedly granted permission by his Meccan teacher Muslim b. Khalid to issue legal opinions when he was either fifteen or eighteen. The Maliki judge Isma‘il b. Ishaq (d. 282/896) was authorized to issue legal opinions by Ahmad b. al-Mu‘adhdhal (d. ca. 240/854–855). In these instances, it is not clear that a written certificate was granted. At this point, it is clear that the practice of granting such licenses had become prevalent in Egypt and Syria by the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, because the sources quote or describe a number of actual licenses, usually restricted to the law of one of the four recognized Sunni legal madhhabs from this period. Research to date does not indicate when the practice first became widespread. Occasionally, women also received the license: ‘A’ishah bint Yusuf al-Ba‘uniyah (d. 922/1516), scion of the distinguished Ba‘uni line of Damascene scholars, studied law in both Cairo and her native Damascus; she obtained the license to teach law and grant legal opinions, and she gained wide recognition as a jurist (al-Ghazzi, 1945–1948, pp. 287–92) In Sunni circles, granting of the ijazat al-ifta’ wa’l-tadris seems to have lapsed after it was replaced at al-Azhar by the European-inspired shahadat al-alimiyah (degree of scholarly status) in 1871. Called *ijazat al-ijtihad,* it survives to this day as part of traditional Twelver Shi’i legal education at the centers of learning in Najaf and Qum.

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DESSERTS AND CONFECTIONS

Traditionally, the Arab cardinal virtues of generosity and hospitality are expressed by means of lavishly giving meat; milk, bread, and salt also play their parts in the rituals of hospitality. However, when food is lovingly described for its own sake, it is the sweet rather than the savory that takes pride of place. The pre-Islamic Arabs relished their dates and honey, both of which were beloved by the Prophet and extolled in the Qur'an; they remained important throughout Islamic times. Already, however, in pre-Islamic times, the inhabitants of Mecca had a foretaste of the sweet luxuries that were to become commonplace after the early Islamic conquests: 'Abd Allah ibn Jud'an, who had been at the Sasanid court, introduced the Persian sweetmeat called faludhaj (paludag in Pahlavi), a relatively simple affair made from wheat flour and honey but considered a great delicacy. It was in Persia that the conquering Arabs were to encounter a sophisticated cuisine that boasted numerous kinds of sweetmeats and confections. Its impact is visible in the Arabic culinary vocabulary, in which many names of the most popular confections are derived from Persian. In addition to faludhaj (which remained, in more elaborate forms [usually with almonds and sugar], among the most beloved sweets), one finds judhab (Persian gudab), sanbusak (Persian sanbusa; a kind of pastry or pie), and khushk-nanaj (Persian khoshk-nana, a kind of sweet biscuit), among others. An interesting hybrid is the very popular lawzinaj, which is made of almond paste wrapped in flaky pastry. The first half of its name is the Arabic word for almonds (lawz); the word entered many European languages, through medieval translations of Arabic medical treatises, as *lozenge*. The word *marzipan* (another sweet based on almond paste) has also been said to derive from Persian or Arabic; although this seems likely, none of the conjectures that have been proposed are entirely convincing.

The precise translation or identification of these and other sweetmeats is made difficult by the instability of the dishes: many different recipes are given for the same term throughout the centuries, with a variety of ingredients and methods of preparation, and they may even waver between the sweet and the savory as a result of the common habit of adding sweeteners to meat dishes. Gudab, for instance, is described in a Persian–English dictionary as follows: "Syrup of dates boiled down; a dish of meat, rice, vetches, and walnuts, on which a condiment of vinegar and syrup is poured; food dressed under roast meat." Alternatively, in a poem about a judhaba by the ninth-century poet Ibn al-Rumi, it is called (in Arberry's translation) "sweeter than the sweet…It is more sweet than sudden peace/That brings the quaking heart release." Another meat dish with sweet ingredients (honey, sugar, or molasses of dates or grapes) is sikbaj, a great favorite.

In addition to the Persian terms, however, there are many Arabic ones, such as *khabisa* (for a wide variety of puddings and jellies), *fatira* (a kind of pancake-like bread), *qatifa* (a kind of crêpe or pancake), *kunafa* (a kind of shredded-wheat pastry), *'asida* (a kind of pudding, already known from pre-Islamic times), and *halwa,* in its many forms, a term that itself means "sweet." Colorful names include *asabi' Zaynab* (Zaynab's fingers), a sweet pastry filled with nuts, and *luqaymat al-qadi* (the qadi's tidbits), sweet pastries shaped like dinars (according to a Mamluk cookery book) made with pistachio nuts and flavored with nutmeg, cubeb, clove, saffron, and musk, according to taste.

Although honey remained important as a basic sweetener, it had a serious rival in cane sugar (sukkar), which became known in early Islamic times, the word as well as the substance coming from Persia and ultimately India. The less wealthy would use the cheaper dibs (treacle or molasses). Although the place of sweets and desserts during the course of a formal dinner was by no means as invariably at the end as it is in modern

practice, they tended to come toward the conclusion of a meal during medieval times as well. This seems to be reflected in the cookery books, in which the sections on sweet dishes are usually found toward the end. Large quantities of sweets were traditionally consumed at certain festivals, such as the end of Ramadan and the birthday of the Prophet. A "war" between meat dishes led by King Mutton and sweets (aided by vegetables and dairy products) under King Honey, with a wealth of culinary information, is the subject of an amusing literary composition from Mamluk times.

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See also Food and Diet

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DHIMMA

Dhimma is the term used in Islamic law for the covenant of protection (also called *aman*) that exists between the Islamic state and the tolerated members of the Qur'anically recognized non-Muslim religious communities (Christians, Jews, Zoroastrians, and Sabaeans) who live permanently within its boundaries. The medieval Arab lexicographers explained the word as being derived from the root for "blame," meaning that to violate the covenant was blameworthy. The protégés under this covenant were designated individually as *dhimmis* and collectively as *ahl al-dhimma* (people of the covenant). Although the specifics of dhimma came to be elaborated over the centuries, its essence goes back to two legal precedents: a Qur'anic verse and the theoretical treaty of surrender between the Christian communities of Syria and Palestine and the Muslim armies.

Sura IX, 29 enjoins Muslims: "Fight against those to whom the Scriptures were given...and follow not the true faith, until they pay tribute (*jizya*) out of hand, and are humbled." That is, after the scriptural peoples *(ahl al-kitab)* have surrendered, accepted the suzerainty of the Muslim community, and become humble tribute bearers, they are to be accorded permanent protection. The form of tribute paid for this protection was not regularized during Muhammad's lifetime. The Jews of Khaybar and of the oases of northern Arabia paid half of their annual date harvest; the Christians and Jews of Yemen paid a poll tax of one dinar that fell upon all adults of both sexes, and they had to furnish certain services to the dominant community.

The second precedent was the so-called Pact of 'Umar, which was supposedly a writ of protection (*dhimma* or *aman*) from the time of Caliph 'Umar ibn al-Khattab (r. 634–644). It was based on several capitulation agreements, most notably the agreement with Sophronios, the patriarch of Jerusalem. The text of the document was probably redacted during the caliphate of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz (717–720), when there was a hardening of attitudes toward dhimmis in Islamic public policy. The Pact of 'Umar stipulates that, in exchange for the guarantee of life, property, and religious freedom, dhimmis accept a host of restrictions that reflect their subject status. Among these are the following: they may never strike a Muslim; they may not bear arms, ride horses, or use normal riding saddles on their mounts; they may not sell alcoholic beverages to Muslims; they may not proselytize, hold public religious processions, build new houses of worship, or repair old ones; and they may not teach the Qur'an (for polemical purposes), prevent kinsmen from embracing Islam, dress like Arabs, cut their hair like Arabs, or adopt Arabic honorific names *(kunyas)*.

Many of the provisions of the pact established a social hierarchy, with Muslims being dominant and dhimmis subordinate. Certain provisions, such as the obligation to provide hospitality to the Arab troops, to supply military intelligence, and to not harbor spies, reflected the first century after the Islamic conquests, when the Arabs were a minority occupying a vast empire; these eventually fell into desuetude. Other provisions, such as the prohibition against dhimmis building their homes higher than those of Muslims, clearly reflected a much later period; during the early years of Islamic rule, Muslims tended to settle in their own fortified camp towns and not in close proximity to the subject population. Other provisions (e.g., prohibitions against building or repairing houses of worship) seem to have been observed only sporadically. Because many of the new cities founded by the Arab conquerors came eventually to have dhimmi inhabitants with their own churches and synagogues, it was clear to all that they were built after the Pact of 'Umar had gone into effect. Sometimes a church or synagogue was found to be in violation of the pact, but usually the payment of a bribe or fine sufficed to avoid demolition or confiscation of the offending building. So, too, the many decrees throughout the Middle Ages renewing the stipulations that dhimmis wear dress that

distinguished them from Muslims indicate that there was a lack of consistent enforcement. The fact that the Pact of ‘Umar mentions only Christians is immaterial, because the Shari‘a makes no juridical distinction among the ahl al-kitab. As a social reality, however, Christians and Zoroastrians were more highly regarded during the early Islamic centuries than were Jews, a fact that is noted by the essayist al-Jahiz (778–868/869) in his polemic against Christians, and that is also reflected in popular lore.

As Islamic law, institutions, and administrative practice evolved, the rules of dhimma became more highly defined and ramified. The tribute paid by the conquered peoples varied greatly from one province to another, depending on the terms of surrender made with the Arab commanders. Eventually, Islamic law required all adult dhimmi males to pay a graduated poll tax (jizya) of five dinars for the wealthy, three for the middle class, and one for the working poor (although not for the totally indigent), as well as a land tax (kharaj) for those who owned real estate. In his treatise on taxation written for Harun al-Rashid, the qadi Abu Yusuf (d. 798) discusses the proper administration of the jizya, kharaj, and percent ushur (literally tithes, but, in this case, tariffs). Dhimmis were required to pay a 5 percent tariff on their merchandise, as opposed to the Muslims, 2.5 percent. This still gave them a distinct advantage over foreign merchants, who paid a ten-percent rate. Abu Yusuf clearly states that dhimmis ‘‘are not to be oppressed, mistreated, or taxed beyond their means.’’ He specifically rules out torture as a means of extracting payment of taxes, although he does require imprisonment. Nevertheless, jurists came to view certain repressive and humiliating aspects of dhimma as *de rigueur*. Dhimmis were required to pay the jizya publicly, in broad daylight, with hands turned palm upward, and to receive a smart smack on the forehead or the nape of the neck from the collection officer.

Differentiation (ghiyar) in dress from Muslims, which was probably originally a security measure after the Islamic conquests, came to be interpreted as a mark of humiliation. The Pact of ‘Umar mentioned only that dhimmis should wear Arab headgear and that they should wear a distinctive belt (the zunnar). Specially colored garments and patches on outer clothing were added to the distinguishing costume by a decree of Caliph al-Mutawakkil in 850. Although this imposition was probably short-lived, distinguishing garments became the norm for non-Muslims during the later Middle Ages, particularly during the Mamluk Empire (1250–1517) and in the Maghrebi states. The muhtasib (inspector of markets and censor of public morals) was in charge of seeing that dhimmis complied with the dress code and the other restrictions on their mounts, saddles, and general comportment.

From the earliest days of the Islamic conquest, dhimmi officials had not only been left in charge of their own communities but were employed because of their administrative skills in the wider bureaucracy. The imposition of Arabic as the sole language of government records and correspondence under ‘Abd al-Malik (r. 685–705) did not change this situation. In the eastern provinces, Nestorian Christians and Zoroastrians were particularly prominent in government offices; in Egypt, the same was true for the Copts, and, in North Africa and Spain, it was so for Jews. The only position not normally open to a dhimmi was that of vizier. Conversion to Islam, however, easily removed this obstacle to advancement, and, in a few instances, even this formality proved unnecessary. Muslim jurists and preachers decried dhimmis holding any positions of authority over Muslims, and pious edicts by rulers, such as the decree of al-Mutawakkil, occasionally purged non-Muslim officials. However, these bans proved only temporary. Islamic law finally came to justify the situation. The constitutional theorist of Islamic government, al-Mawardi (974–1058) ruled that a dhimmi could even hold the vizierate so long as it was a ministerial position of tanfidh (i.e., executing orders from the ruler) rather than one of tafwid (i.e., delegated with fully initiating powers). Public demonstrations of pomp and power by non-Muslim officials were viewed by the pious and by the Muslim masses as violations of the dhimma and at times led to violence not only against the offending official but against his entire community. The uprising and assassination of the Jewish vizier of Granada, Yehosef ibn Naghrela, in 1066, was accompanied by the wholesale destruction of the Jewish quarter of that city. The assassination of the Jewish vizier Aaron ibn Batash in Fez in 1465 not only entailed massacres of Jews throughout Morocco but brought down the Marinid ruler, ‘Abd al-Haqq, and his dynasty as well.

There was a marked rise in anti-dhimmi sentiment and increasingly restrictive implementation of the rules of dhimma throughout the Islamic world during the later Middle Ages as a result of profound changes in the spiritual, social, and economic climates. The Reconquista in Iberia, the Crusades, and the Mongol invasions heightened the antipathy toward non-Muslims. Islamic society became more institutionalized around religious brotherhoods, guilds, and state monopolies. Graduates of madrasas (Islamic schools of higher education) increasingly squeezed non-Muslims out of the bureaucracy. The secular and humanistic atmosphere of the Hellenistic renaissance of the ninth through twelfth centuries also waned.

However, the basic notion of the dhimma as a binding compact of protection for the ahl al-kitab was never rescinded, except under heterodox regimes such as that of the Almohads during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

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See also Almohads; Christians; Churches; Clothing and Costume; Copts; Diplomacy; Interfaith Relations; Al-Jahiz; Jews; Al-Mawardi; Synagogues; Zoroastrianism

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DIPLOMACY

Diplomacy has been a core feature of Islamic political life since the days of the Prophet Muhammad. The earliest recorded instances of envoys and ambassadors appear when Muhammad dispatched message-bearing representatives to various oasis settlements in the Arabian Peninsula and to a number of political states (e.g. Byzantines, Sasanians) in the Hijaz, North Africa, the Holy Land, and the Iranian Plateau. Likewise, the Prophet was involved in negotiating and establishing a number of treaties, most notably the one of Hudaiba in 628, with non-Muslim communities. This early diplomatic activity was framed by a strong ethical agenda and sense of religious conviction; the Prophet's message to rival communities and empires was clear and unambiguous: submit and accept Islam or suffer the consequences. It is this polarized view of the relationship between the ummah and surrounding states that defined the future mechanics of international diplomacy, whereby the known civilized world was divided into the dar al-Islam (house of Islam) and the dar al-harb (house of war; everywhere that Shari'ah was not practiced). It was the obligation of every Muslim to expand through effort (jihad) the boundaries of the house of Islam at the expense of the house of war. However, during the initial phases of Islamic conquest, well-populated regions in Syria, Egypt, and Iran would capitulate and negotiate settlements whereby an annual tribute (kharaj or jiyya) was remitted in exchange for religious independence and military protection. The jurists were eventually forced to address this dilemma as the frontiers of the Islamic empire continued to expand: Which "house" did these autonomous non-Muslim regions belong to? Some, like Abu Hanifa and Ibn Hanbal, were committed to the traditional polarity, but others, like al-Shafi'i, accepted the existence of a third house: the dar al-'ahd (house of the covenant). It would appear that most medieval Islamic states accepted this schema for reasons of practicality and *realpolitik*. This was especially true for those densely populated peripheral areas of the Islamic world in which frontiers between dar al-Islam and dar al-harb had emerged: the Iberian peninsula, the Balkans, the Caucasus, and the Deccan.

In this context, the dispatching of ambassadors (safirs) by states such as the Cordoba Umayyads, the 'Abbasids, the Fatimids, and the Seljuks to negotiate ceasefires, peace treaties, and tributary arrangements became a regular occurrence in Islamic political activity. By the ninth century, there existed in 'Abbasid Baghdad a special government office entitled divan al-rasa'il wa'l-sirr (office of letters and confidential records). Moreover, as the 'Abbasid empire fragmented and semiautonomous states began appearing in Central Asia and North Africa, envoys (qasids) were sent regularly to Baghdad to secure appointments of investiture ('ahd, manshur) from the caliph. Nizam al-Mulk's eleventh-century *Siyasat Nama (Book of Government)* contains a chapter that describes the prerequisites for an ambassador: piety, diligence, loyalty, gravity, and—above all else—keen eyes. In addition to reporting the events of his mission, an ambassador was also expected to provide detailed information to his king about a rival empire's army, defenses, road networks, public works, and so on. The sending of ambassadors for such purposes became especially common in Spain and the Holy Land during the respective crusading periods, and it would appear that the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were especially formative for medieval Islamic diplomatic sensibilities. This sense of growing importance is attested to by the emergence of 'ilm al-insha (the science of epistolography) in different Islamic administrations and the production of a number of didactic and formulaic texts addressing standards of diplomatic correspondence for chancery officials.

Ambassadorial missions became increasingly elaborate and politically ambitious during the post-Mongol age; indeed, the Mongols themselves considered ambassadors to be sacrosanct representatives of a ruler, and they were shocked and outraged at the

Khvarazmian ruler 'Ala al-Din Muhammad's misguided decision to murder a retinue of Mongol ambassadors (ilchis) at Utrar in 1219. The Mongols used their affinity for diplomacy effectively after their invasions of the Islamic lands, receiving all manner of emissaries at the great tent-court in Qara Qorum and negotiating and concluding diplomatic arrangements with the Christian Crusader states in the Levant. Confessional divisions became less of a consideration during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as Ottoman rivals (Aq Qoyunlu, Safavids) approached various Christian powers (Venice, Hapsburgs, Spain) with proposals of Muslim–Christian alliances; indeed, the Ottomans arranged such an agreement with Francis I in the 1530s against Charles V. By the sixteenth century, ostentatious ambassadorial trains—with equally grandiose diplomatic communications and lavish gift-giving ceremonies—were the diplomatic norm in the Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal empires. In fact, it was diplomacy and gift giving that allowed for the transmission of all manners of cultural artifacts across the central Islamic lands: scientific treatises, literary texts, illustrated manuscripts, *objets d'art*, and innovative craftsmanship and technology.

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See also Archives and Chanceries; Cultural Exchange; Espionage; Gifts and Gift Giving; Interfaith Relations; Muslim–Byzantine Relations; Muslim–Crusader Relations; Muslim–Mongol Relations; Nizam al-Mulk; Pacts and Treaties; Peace and Peacemaking; Political Theory

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DISABILITY

The study of disability in the medieval Islamic world is still in its infancy. Preliminary evidence indicates that infectious diseases and epidemics were the foremost causes of disabilities; other causes included wars, old age, and heredity. Although primary sources attest to the presence of a variety of disabilities, such as lameness, hemiplegia, and deafness, the extent and significance of such conditions—as well as attitudes toward them—remain largely unexamined. Scholarly studies of blindness, leprosy, and insanity in the medieval Islamic world do exist, however.

Blindness was one of the most common disabilities in the medieval Islamic world. Causes were many and included accidents, aging, and contagious infections like trachoma and smallpox. Glaucoma, cataracts, and ophthalmia also appear to have been widespread. In addition, consanguineous marriages may have resulted in a relatively high incidence of hereditary blindness. Blindness appears in a variety of works composed in the medieval period. Physicians wrote extensively about eye diseases, and they paid special attention to developing surgical treatments for cataracts. Biographical sources abound in descriptions of blind men (and, far more rarely, women). For example, the Mamluk official Khalil ibn Aybak al-Safadi (d. 1363) composed a biographical dictionary devoted exclusively to 313 distinguished blind men who lived

between the seventh and fourteenth centuries. These include, among others, poets, scholars, physicians, political figures, muezzins, and those skilled in Qur'anic recitation. In addition, at the other end of the socioeconomic spectrum, sources indicate that blind beggars were a fairly common phenomenon. As for societal attitudes toward the blind, preliminary evidence implies that the blind were not necessarily stigmatized or marginalized and that their condition was not associated with moral, mental, or spiritual deficiencies (Malti-Douglas 1989).

Leprosy (Hansen's disease) appears to have occurred with moderate frequency. Medical, legal, and popular beliefs about the disease were complex and often contradictory, and the attitudes toward the leper were ambivalent. Some sayings of the Prophet Muhammad recorded in the hadith literature, such as "one should run away from the leper as one runs away from the lion" (Al-Bukhari, VII, pp. 408–409), were interpreted by some as an indication that leprosy was a punishment from God and/or contagious (although the Prophet himself denied the transmissibility of diseases in other sayings). Medical writings stressed belief in the contagious and hereditary nature of leprosy, and Islamic law curtailed some of the leper's rights, especially in matters of marriage and divorce. Although lepers were sometimes confined to hospitals or leper houses, they more often had freedom of movement, and, like the blind, many appear to have survived by begging. One historian has concluded that, unlike in contemporaneous Western European societies, "there was no social opprobrium" for leprosy (Dols 1983, 913).

The complex subjects of insanity and mental illnesses in medieval Islamic societies have received the most scholarly attention and are the subject of one monograph (Dols, 1992). A multifaceted picture emerges from a wide range of medical, legal, and literary sources, and from chronicles and travel accounts. There were several different types of conditions that today would be grouped under the categories of "madness" or mental illnesses, such as the following: the *majnun* (madman), who was often believed to be possessed by a jinn (spirit); the *majdhub* (holy fool); the melancholic; and the feeble minded. The legal rights and obligations of those considered feeble minded or insane were considerably curtailed, and a legal guardian was usually entrusted with their welfare. Physicians emphasized the physiological causes of mental illnesses, and they believed that most disturbances could be healed by restoring the correct balance of humors. Healing practices, however, were highly pluralistic: other treatments included religious healing, amulets, incantations, magic, and exorcisms. Although the family would usually be responsible for its mentally ill members, hospitals usually included a section that was reserved for the insane.

Much more research is required before any meaningful conclusions can be drawn about societal attitudes toward physical and mental disabilities in the various regions of the Islamic world between the seventh and sixteenth centuries. Nevertheless, preliminary evidence suggests that the physically and mentally disabled were not necessarily stigmatized or marginalized.

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See also Disease; Epidemics; Mental Illness

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DIVINATION

Divination in Islamic cultures—known variously as fal, tira, zajr, kihana, and jafr—consists of a wide variety of practices in which predictions about the course of future events are derived from the letters of the alphabet ('ilm al-huruf), numbers (hisab al-jummal), God's Beautiful Names (al-asma' al-husna),

the stars (‘ilm al-nujum), the reading of the patterns of tea or coffee left at the bottom of a cup (qira’at al-finjan), and the interpreting words and letters in the Qur’an (fal-i Qur’an) or verses composed by poets such as Hafiz (d. AH 792/1390 CE). Many divinatory practices—whether they emerged from the analysis of books (bibliomantic) or the interpretation of visions (oneiromantic)—were related closely to the religious concepts of revelation, prophecy, and the Apocalypse (Fahd 1987; Fahd, ‘‘Fa’l’’).

Falnamas (divination books) were composed for rulers in need of guidance during military campaigns or who were caught in difficult political circumstances. Among many such works were those executed for the Ottoman Sultan Mehmet II (d. 886/1481), who conquered Constantinople/Istanbul in 1453 CE (Ates 1953), and Cem Sultan, who vied for the Ottoman throne and died in 900/1495 while in exile in Naples (Ersoylu 1981; Ertaylan 1951, 38–42). During the sixteenth century, a variety of other apocalyptic–prognosticative (jafr or malahim) texts, some illustrated with paintings of the Mahdi (Messiah), Christ, Dajjal (the Anti-Christ), and so forth (TSK B. 373 and IUK T. 6624), were commissioned by Ottoman rulers and officials as well (Fleischer, 1990). At the same time, Sultan Murad III (d. 1004/1595) commissioned a Turkish translation and illustration of a fal-i anbiya’ or fal-i payghambaran (divination by the prophets). At least two manuscripts of the work survive (Morgan 788, 242), both of which draw substantially on the text and iconography of a Jalayrid anthology of astrological and divinatory texts in Arabic that was executed in Baghdad in 801/1399 (Bodleian 133, 163v-169v; Carboni 1988).

Divinatory works (risala-ya fal or falnama) attributed to the last Shi‘i imam Ja‘far al-Sadiq (d. 148/765) (at times also attributed to the Prophet Muhammad’s son-in-law ‘Ali) use the verses and letters from the Qur’an for divinatory purposes or for seeking guidance (istikhara) from God (Duvarci 1993:53–116). Such works survive today either as autonomous treatises known as *Divination by the Qur’an (Fal-i Qur’an)* (e.g., BnF Sup Turc, 26; Sup Turc, 49; Turc, 191–192); more often they were inserted at the very end of Qur’an manuscripts and were given the titles *Fal-i Mushaf (Divination by the Codex)* and *Fal-i Kalam Allah (Divination by God’s Words)*. Even the famous Mamluk historian Ibn ‘Arabshah (d. 901/1495) composed a treatise about divining by the Qur’an (al-tafa’ul min al-kitab al-‘aziz), a copy of which was executed in 1080/1670 (Princeton, Yahuda, 4639). Although many sixteenth-century Persian and Ottoman Turkish *Fal-i Qur’an* treatises survive today (*inter alia* Keir VI.42, VII. 48, VII.49, VII.52; Bodleian Or., 793, fs. 334v-336r; Staabi Ms. Or. Oct. 86, fs. 370v-371r), this divinatory genre has not yet been subject to systematic research.

Scholarly attention has started to focus more carefully on the illustrated falnama genre, which typically combines large-scale paintings and facing texts that provide advice to the augury seeker (sahib-i fal) about when to get married, engage in trade, or set out for battle. The majority of these works were made in Iran, Turkey, and India from approximately 1540 to 1630 and bear the imprint of the earlier Jalayrid illustrated fal-i anbiya’ mentioned above (Bodleian Or. 133). The earliest two falnamas were commissioned around 1540 to 1560 by the second Safavid ruler, Shah Tahmasp (r. 1524–1576). One is dispersed, and its paintings are held in a number of libraries, museums, and private collections (e.g., Lowry 1988:120–129; Robinson 1992, cat nos. 89–92; Welch 1985), whereas the other manuscript, although damaged, remains complete (Dresden Eb 445; Rührdanz 1987). These manuscripts combine representations of the prophets, Shi‘i legends, folk stories about heroes and rulers, astrological symbols, and apocalyptic events such as the Day of Judgment.

Both Safavid-illustrated falnama manuscripts appear to have served as prototypes for a large illustrated falnama made in Istanbul for Sultan Ahmet I in 1019/1610 (TSK H. 1703) and another illustrated *Book of Divination* made in Golconda around 1610 to 1630 C.E. (Leach 1998, 221–227). A number of Mughal illustrated falnamas were made during the seventeenth century (Falk and Digby, 1979, pp. 13–9), and at least one late-eighteenth-century Persian manuscript survives as well (Robinson 1992, 297).

In general, divinatory procedures arose from folklore, although they flourished under the aegis of rulers. Finding Qur’anic roots to legitimize a number of such practices (in particular dream interpretations [Lamoreaux, 2002, cf. *Dreams and Dream Interpretations*]) or theological opinion toward divination was ambivalent at best and hostile at worst. Many practices thrived in the form of ‘‘licit magic,’’ whereby prognosticative customs were seen as seeking guidance from God rather than seeing into the future.

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See also Amulets; Astrology; Magic; Talismans and Talismanic Objects; Mythical Places; Mythology and Mythical Beings

Institutional Abbreviations

BnF	Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris
Bodleian	Bodleian Library, Oxford University
Dresden	Sächsische Landesbibliothek—Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Dresden
Keir	Keir Collection, London

IUK	Istanbul Universitesi Kütüphanesi, Istanbul
Morgan	Pierpont Morgan Library, New York
Princeton	Princeton University Library, Rare Books and Manuscripts Collection
Rotterdam	Rotterdam Wereldmuseum, Rotterdam
Sackler	Sackler Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC
Staabi	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Berlin
TSK	Topkapi Sarayi Kütüphanesi, Istanbul

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DIVORCE

The legal dissolution of marriage in Islam includes four basic procedures: (1) the talaq (lit. ''release''), which is the divorce of the wife after the triple pronouncing of a legally valid formula by the husband; (2) the tamlik (assignment) of the full power of dissolution to the wife in a contract; (3) the dissolution of the marriage by khul', which is the restitution of the bride dowry by the wife or her relatives; and (4) the divorce in mutual agreement and release of all respective rights (mubara'a). There are several other procedures, mainly different types of oaths and vows, that are provided for by the law but that are shown only limited social relevance.

The talaq is, according to a definition of the Tunisian jurist Ibn 'Arafa (d. 1400 CE), agreed on by most of the schools of jurisprudence as ''a legal state that denies the husband the right to enjoy the benefits of his wife, and, if repeated two times by a free man and one time by a slave, renders his wife forbidden to him until after another husband intervenes'' (Ibn 'Asim 1958, 318, n. 401). The latter clause pertains to the important judicial distinction between talaq raj'i and talaq ba'in (revocable and definite divorce). After the first and the second utterance of the divorce formula, a marriage is still legally valid and the reestablishment of marital relations a simple matter of revocation. After a triple divorce, remarriage is only possible with the intervening of tahlil: the former wife has to conclude a marriage with another man who subsequently divorces her. Legal proceedings—namely the intervention of a judge or a court session—are not a necessary prerequisite for the validity of talaq; more important are the choice of the right moment by the husband (a divorce should not take place during the wife's menses) and the observance of the waiting period ('idda) of three menstrual cycles of the wife. Another significant consequence of talaq addresses economical considerations: the wife preserves her own possessions, particularly the dowry that the bride received for the conclusion of the marriage.

The husband might assign the right for repudiation to his wife by allowing her choice (takhyir). However, the constitutive element of a tamlik contract is a predefined formula; for example: ''Your divorce is in your hands'' (talaquki bi-yadiki). The parties often set up conditions that delimit the wife's right to the occurrence of special circumstances (e.g., a prolonged absence of the husband, his marriage to another woman).

The definition of *khul'* by the Egyptian Khalıl b. Ishaq (d. ca. 1365) emphasizes the judicial analogy with definite divorce: ''The *khul'* is [...] a *talaq* with compensation'' (Khalil b. Ishaq 1885, 96). Whereas a

khul‘ divorce has to be initiated by the wife, its success depends on consent by the husband. However, if he is not willing to pronounce the talaq, his acceptance of a khul‘ divorce is more likely, because he could expect a significant restitution of his prior financial investment.

If both parties agree, divorce is possible with no compensation whatsoever. The opinions differ regarding whether divorce with mutual renunciation (mubara’a) constitutes a special form of khul‘ or a stand alone procedure of dissolution. Although there are no quantitative studies of this subject, one should not underestimate that, in a tribal context, most divorces seem to involve mutual consent (Layish 1991, 46).

Despite an obvious focus on divorce in the debates about Islamic family law, the state of research has remained rather behind most arguments. The literature is essentially marked by a lack of symmetry between the description of legal foundations and the evaluation of legal and social practice. As a result of this disproportion, most general statements about divorce in the Muslim world assess the provisions laid down in the Qur’an (notably verses 2:228–32 and 65:1–6) and in early Islamic jurisprudence (Schacht 2000). A small selection of more extensive firsthand sources is also available in English editions (Malik ibn Anas 1989, 221–238; Spectorsky 1993; Ibn Rushd 1996(2), 71–120). The evolution of divorce in customary law had been studied in tribal areas, from which one may infer more traditional situations (Layish 1991; Hanoteau and Letourneux 2003(2), 125–133; Schacht 2000, 155). Another approach to the social relevance of family law lies in case studies. For example, they have exemplified that women could acquire and use expert legal knowledge for the pursuit of their personal interests (Powers 2003). The attested-to material is, however, not yet sufficient to establish widely recognized patterns, and there is no doubt that social roles in divorce need further investigation.

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See also Adultery; Family; Gender and Sexuality; Marriage; Love; Tribes and Tribal Customs

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DOME OF THE ROCK

The Dome of the Rock (Qubbat al-Sakhra) in Jerusalem is the oldest standing monument of Islamic architecture. It was built on the site of the Jewish Temple by orders from the Umayyad caliph ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwan (d. AH 65–86/685–705 CE), and its construction was completed in 72/691–692. The Dome of the Rock, along with the Aqsa mosque (al-Masjid al-Aqsa) constitute the Haram al-Sharif, which corresponds to Herod’s enlarged Temple Mount area.

The Dome of the Rock is a unique monument as compared to other Islamic monuments. It is not a mosque, and it was not intended to function as such. Whatever the reason for its construction might have been, it was and remains the most impressive example of Islamic religious architecture. The shape of the building is octagonal, with a diameter of forty-eight meters, and the structure consists of two ambulatories that surround the Rock, which are believed to be the site of the biblical story of the binding of Isaac (Genesis 22). The building stands on two arcades: an inner circular arcade that supports the dome and comprises twelve columns and four piers, and an outer octagonal arcade that consists of sixteen columns and eight piers. The dome is approximately twenty meters in diameter, and it rises approximately thirty meters above the building floor. In the panel on top of the octagonal arcade, there is the 240-meter-long foundation inscription that is coated in gold. At the beginning of the inscription, one encounters the name of the ‘Abbasid caliph al-Ma’mun (r. 196–218/812–833), but this is because, when he authorized the

Exterior View. Completed in 691 CE Umayyad caliphate. Credit: SEF/Art Resource, NY. Dome of the Rock, Jeruselem, Israel.

renovation of the building, he ordered the name of ‘Abd al-Malik to be effaced and replaced by his own. Part of the text of the inscription quotes Qur’anic passages (the most obvious cases are the references to Jesus [3:18-19, 4:171–172, and 19:33–36]), making it the earliest dated reference to the Qur’anic text.

The architects and artisans who constructed the building were local Christians, and they were well versed in that particular style of architecture, which is also found in similar monuments—especially *martyriums*—in Jerusalem and Syria. In its decoration, which blends Byzantine and Persian styles, the creators used marble, painted wood, mosaics, and colored tiles. The outside of the dome was originally covered with gold sheets, which were later removed by the ‘Abbasids. The building has undergone several major renovations; the most recent one, made between 1956 and 1964, restored the entire building, including the current gilded dome.

There are many explanations for why ‘Abd al-Malik built the Dome of the Rock. The first explanation is that he was eager during the challenging first years as caliph to create a pilgrimage shrine in his domain to which Syrians would journey, for the

Ka'ba in Mecca was under the control of his enemy, Caliph Ibn al-Zubayr (d. 73/692). 'Abd al-Malik, according to this explanation, wanted to prevent any possible influence that Ibn al-Zubayr might exercise on the Syrians during the pilgrimage season. The town of the Jewish temple, Jerusalem, was the most appropriate choice for 'Abd al-Malik, and it was probably the only option. It has been also suggested that the Dome of the Rock was meant as a proclamation of the triumph of the new faith over the other two monotheistic traditions, Judaism and Christianity. With this second explanation, too, Jerusalem was the obvious choice because of its centrality to Jewish and Christian thought. A third explanation, which lacks support in Islamic literature, is that 'Abd al-Malik was rebuilding the Temple. A few contemporary Christian and Jewish accounts attest to this, including a Jewish *midrash* that names 'Abd al-Malik as the one who rebuilds the Temple.

Sometime after the completion of the Dome of the Rock, the site was identified as the place from which the Prophet Muhammad ascended to Heaven (mi'raj). This association, which represents the fourth and most popular explanation for why it was built, bestowed on the Dome of the Rock—and by extension, on Jerusalem—an additional, exclusively Islamic layer of holiness. Muslim legend has it that the Rock lifted itself when the Prophet stood on it to start his ascension; hence the widespread popular Muslim belief that the Rock is hanging up in the air. The inscription from the time of 'Abd al-Malik does not reflect any connection between the building and Muhammad's mi'raj.

Throughout Islamic history, the Dome of the Rock has attracted a cult of minor pilgrimage among the local population of greater Syria, and, to a lesser extant, Egypt, especially as a stop on the way to perform the major pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina. This practice generated protest from theologians like Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328), who wrote against the practice of the minor pilgrimage to Jerusalem. In recent years, the Dome of the Rock has become widely used as the representative symbol for Jerusalem in Palestinian, Arab, Islamic, and even Israeli media.

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See also 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwan; Al Ma'mun; Jerusalem; Palestine

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DREAMS AND DREAM INTERPRETATION

Terminology and Genres

Hulm, manam, and *ru'ya* are the three main terms that the Arabic language uses for "dream" (for Persian dream literature, see Ziai *Encyclopaedia Iranica*: 549–551). All three terms appear in the Qur'an (Kinberg 2001, 546–553) and in different genres of the Islamic Medieval literature (for Sufism, see Corbin in Grunebaum, 1996; for Shi'i Thought, see Ziai *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 549–551, and Cemal Kafadar and Katz 1996). Hulm and manam occur during sleep, whereas ru'ya can take place either in sleep or in wakefulness (for ru'ya as a vision, see Fahd and Daiber 2002, 645–649). Manam and ru'ya usually indicate reliable and "true" dreams, whereas hulm is mostly associated with "false" dreams or nightmares (adrath ahlam).

Medieval Islamic literature makes a clear distinction between dreams and dream interpretation. As two separate genres, each is characterized by its own goals and styles. Dream interpretation is known in Arabic as *ta'bir* (interpretation of dreams; oneirocriticism), and it exists as an independent genre or as part of the inclusive adab literature. Dreams consist of dream narratives, known as *manamat* (pl. of *manam,* which means dream). Dream narratives have never developed into a separate genre and can be considered part of the hadith literature.

Works that belong to the ta'bir literature and that specialize in the interpretation of dreams often function as reference books. They provide general information about the scientific aspects of oneirocriticism, deal with the necessary qualifications that dream interpreters should acquire, discuss the dreamer's mental and physical conditions that are critical to the right understanding of dreams, and state strict rules for interpretation. These works are often arranged thematically, or they may take the form of a lexicon and deal with the items that appear in the dreams. Prominent representatives of the Muslim oneirocriticism

works that have survived out of a much larger number of works (for a list of dream-interpretation works, see Fahd 1966:330–61) include the pseudo Ibn Sirin's *Muntakhab al-Kalam fi Tafsir al-Ahlam*; *'Ibarat al-Ru'ya* (manuscript) by Ibn Qutaybah (d. AH 276/889 CE); *al-Bisharhah wa-al-Nidharah fi Ta'bir al-Ru'ya wa-al-Muraqabah* (manuscript) by Abu Sa'd al-Khargushi (d. AH 406/1015 CE); *al-Isharat fi 'Ilm al-'Ibarat* by Ibn Shahin al-Zahiri (d. AH 873/1468 CE); and *Ta'tīr al-Anam fi Tafsir al-Ahlam* by 'Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulsi (d. AH 1144/1731 CE). Although the pre-Islamic heritage (especially pre-Islamic poetry) and the Islamic spirit (especially Qur'anic verses) inspire large portions of these books, their methodology is based on the old Greek system of dream interpretation. The latter was introduced into Islam during the third/ninth century, mainly by Hunayn Ibn Ishaq's (d. 260/873) translation into Arabic of the book of dreams of Artemidorus (see Mavroudi for the relationships between five medieval Arabic dream books, Artemidorus' work, and the *Oneirocriticon of Achmet*).

Dream narrations (manamat) have nothing in common with ta'bir manuals. The former are not concerned with oneirocriticism, they rarely use symbols, and they belong to works that impart verbal communication and bear self-explanatory messages. As a result of their explicit nature, these dreams naturally release the dreamer from the need to consult a dream interpreter. They are distributed in various genres of the classical Islamic literature, either in separate chapters within general works (each of the canonical hadith collections has a chapter dedicated to dreams) or as separate narrations scattered among traditions that do not use the medium of dreams (mainly biographical dictionaries). The only extant exception is the book of dreams, *Kitab al-Manam,* by Ibn Abi al-Dunya (d. 281/894); this is a collection of more than three hundred dream narratives that are mostly short and that follow a set of basic patterns (Kinberg 1994). The introductory part of the book addresses the relationship between the dead and the living and illuminates the general purpose of the work: to supply the inhabitants of the present world with moral advice that has originated in the other world and been delivered through dreams.

Function

From the earliest days of Islam, dreams have been treated as the bearers of transcendental knowledge, and they have consequently functioned as a reliable source of guidance. A widely circulated prophetic hadith regards dreams as the continuation of the Prophet's preaching, as part of prophecy, and as a compensation for prophetic guidance that has come to an end (Wensinck, 1/181, *b.sh.r.*). This notion is confirmed in another well-known hadith that declares that a vision of the Prophet in a dream is deemed equal to his actual appearance (Wensinck, 7/53, *n.w.m.*). In other words, it is not merely the actual meeting or the physical hearing of the Prophet that instructs people about how to behave; prophetic words heard in dreams may have the same impact. Since the vision of the Prophet in a dream is equal to actually meeting with him, Muslims who lived after the Prophet's death (10/632) may nevertheless "consult" with the Prophet in a dream. The ability to see the Prophet in dreams conveys a comforting notion of guidance that accompanies the righteous Muslims of all generations in their sleep.

It would be a major misunderstanding of the nature of the Islamic dream literature to assume that authorization through dreams was possible only with the Prophet's appearance. A saying ascribed to one of the leading dream interpreters, Muhammad Ibn Sirin (d. 110/728; see http://www.ibnsereen.com), states the following: "Whatever the deceased tells you in sleep is truth, for he stays in the world of truth" (*Ithaf al-Sada al-Muttaqin* 10/431). This saying is not focused on the Prophet's appearance but rather recognizes the authority of any dead person who appears in dreams. Here it is the medium of the dream—and not the presence of the Prophet—that creates authenticity. This idea underlies the hundreds—even thousands—of dreams found in classical Islamic literature in which a dead person appears in a living person's dream advising, instructing, preaching, or just telling about his or her own experience in the afterlife. The dreamer takes the advice or analyzes the implications of the condition of the deceased and acts accordingly. These dreams are based on the idea that the dead know (ya'lamun) but cannot perform, whereas the living can act (ya'malun) but do not know (Kinberg 2000, 425–444). The living are able to carry out deeds, yet they are not aware of their future significance; for this they need the special insight of the dead.

Guiding dreams, in most cases, are good dreams (manamat salihah) sent from God, whereas bad dreams (hulm, pl. ahlam) originate from the Devil (Wensinck, 1/504, *h.l.m.*; 2/205, *r.'.y.*). Having good dreams is considered a divine grace that is bestowed only on pious people; thus, when a righteous Muslim has a dream, it definitely contains trustworthy advice to be adopted and followed in daily life.

The large variety of dream-supporting statements created confidence in dreams and encouraged people

to use this medium to promote their ideas. At the same time, however, it may have encouraged the misuse of dreams. It may be assumed that various trends and tendencies in Islamic society were furthered by groups using this medium and making up dreams to legitimize their ideas and goals. This means that, when examining dream material, one should not inquire about its authenticity but rather about the time and place in which it was told (Kinberg 1993, 279–300). Dreams of the manamat kind, therefore, should be evaluated as historical pieces of evidence. Like hadith, they should be treated as products of given circumstances that prevailed at a given time and place, made to answer certain questions or to approve of existing phenomena; like hadith, they should be considered as a mirror of their environment.

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See also Adab; Death and Dying; Greek; Hadith; Hunayn Ibn Ishaq; Ibn Qutayba; Muhammad, the Prophet; Qur'an; Translation; Shi'i Thought; Sufism and Sufis

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DRUZE

Druze historical origins are often traced to eleventh-century Fatimi Egypt, particularly to the year 1017 CE, when the propagation of Druzism began. The term *Druzism* is nearly one hundred years old and refers to the Druze religious doctrine, which advocates a strict form of Unitarianism (tawhid). Like other esoteric traditions, Druzism began covertly, and the Druze manuscripts speak of a twenty-one-year period of secret missionary activities between 996 and 1017. Both the historical accounts and the Druze manuscripts agree that the propagation of Druzism continued until the year 1043. Three leading figures—al-Hakim bi-Amr Allah, Hamza ibn 'Ali al-Zawzani, and Baha' al-Din al-Samuqi—were important during the initial years of the movement (996–1043).

From what little is known about the connection between al-Hakim and Druzes, it can be concluded that, between 996 and 1021, al-Hakim did not ban the Druze missionaries but rather permitted their activities, protected their followers, and approved their epistles. In 1021, al-Hakim left on one of his routine trips to the hills of al-Muqattam east of Cairo and mysteriously never returned. Unlike al-Hakim, his successor, al-Zahir, did not protect members of the Druze movement and instead ordered their persecution, because they recognized him as caliph and not as imam. This instigated a period of hardship that lasted several years.

Hamza Ibn 'Ali, the second leading figure, came to Cairo from eastern Iran in December 1016. A few months later, in May 1017, al-Hakim granted him the title of imam and the freedom to preach his reform doctrine openly. However, public resistance to Hamza's teachings increased as he spoke against corruption, the practice of polygamy, the remarriage of one's divorcee, and other social customs. During this external resistance, an internal rivalry arose between Hamza and one of his subordinates, al-Darazi. Darazi deviated from the essence of the movement's

message and falsified the writings and teachings of Hamza to present al-Hakim as divine. He had hoped that al-Hakim would favor him over Hamza, but instead public opposition to Darazi's teachings increased. Darazi then redirected the public's resistance by declaring that he had acted on Hamza's instructions. Consequently, instead of attacking Darazi, the crowd turned against Hamza and his associates, who were in the Ridan Mosque at the time. Although Darazi was eventually killed and his teachings repudiated, many early and later observers, ironically, attribute the Druze doctrine to Darazi and do not mention Hamza at all. To date, Druzes and the Druze manuscripts consider Darazi the most heretical apostate. More importantly, Hamza is considered to be the actual founder of Druzism and the primary author of the Druze manuscripts.

During the same year that al-Hakim disappeared, 1021, Hamza went into retreat and delegated the affairs of the community to the third leading figure, Baha' al-Din al-Samuqi. Baha' al-Din continued public preaching with the approval of Hamza, who was in an undisclosed location known only to Baha' al-Din and a few other missionaries. He wrote epistles to both prospective members in new destinations and to those followers who had seceded from the teachings of the movement. He also sent missionaries to strengthen the believers and to provide further spiritual direction. Baha' al-Din continued his activity until the closing of Druzism in 1043; from that year to the present, no one has been permitted to join the Druze movement. During the same year, Hamza Ibn 'Ali, Baha' al-Din, and the other leading figures left Egypt. Druzes believe that these individuals will return on the Day of Judgment.

After this establishment period of the Druze movement, the Druze princes of the Buhturi (1040s–1507) and then the Ma'ni (1507–1697) families provided leadership to the Druze masses and protected the continuity of the religious reforms issued by Hamza Ibn 'Ali. Prince Fakhr al-Din al-Ma'ni II (r. 1590–1635) is often mentioned by some Lebanese historians as the early founder of Lebanon and as the source of Lebanese nationalism. Druze history itself was not, of course, devoid of both internal and external tribal rivalries. For example, to guarantee their survival, Druzes and their allies often fought against or cooperated with different Muslim regimes, including Mamluks, Ayyubids, and Ottomans.

Today there are approximately one million Druzes in the world, the majority of them living in four Middle Eastern countries: Lebanon, Syria, Israel, and Jordan. In addition to these larger concentrations of Druzes, smaller diaspora communities can be found in Australia, Canada, Europe, the Persian Gulf nations, the Philippines, South America, West Africa, and the United States.

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See also al-Hakim; Isma'ilis; Fatimids

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E

EARTHQUAKES

Vast regions of the Islamic world frequently experienced earthquakes during both medieval and modern times. The main zones of high seismicity within the Islamic heartlands have been areas such as the Red Sea, the valley of the Jordan, and the Anatolian fault zone, which are situated on the borders between the Eurasian plates to the north and various plates to the south (most importantly the Arabian, the African, the Anatolian, and the West Iranian Plates). These zones display significant differences in their tectonic evolutions: whereas some are characterized by spreading and the formation of new oceanic crust (Red Sea), others are characterized by collision and subduction (Eastern Mediterranean). However, these regions have in common a long-standing history of active tectonic developments, and these have continued through the present. Alternatively, some regions (e.g., the Arabian Peninsula situated on the Arabian shield) belong, with the exception of Yemen and the Hejaz (incorporating Mecca and Medina), to the most seismically stable areas in the world. Although the inland of North Africa (the modern states of Egypt, Libya, and Sudan) is rather aseismic, it has been subject to infrequent earthquakes of considerable size.

In the self-view of the Muslim community, its history itself started with an earthquake: the birth of the Prophet Muhammad was purportedly accompanied by a violent seism felt throughout the known world. The early awareness of living in a seismically active region was also expressed by the fact that year 5 of the Muslim calendar was named the Year of the Earthquake and that the Qur'an contains an Earthquake Chapter (Sura 99, surat al-zalzala).

Reliable quantitative data about the occurrence of earthquakes during medieval times or even their effects are not available, and one has to rely to a large degree on anecdotal evidence. Furthermore, the sources present a highly biased picture, because earthquakes far from urban centers hardly found entrance into the written record. Consequently, knowledge of the geographical distribution of earthquakes during the medieval period reflects at least as much patterns of population density as the occurrence of earthquakes themselves.

Among the most destructive earthquakes in the medieval period were those in northern Persia, which were centered on the town of Qumis in 856 CE and felt throughout the Middle East, with a reported death toll of two hundred thousand; in northern Syria, which centered on the town of Aleppo in 1138; and again in Syria, in 1202, with the epicenter on the Lebanese coast. The effects of these and other earthquakes were similar: high death tolls, the wide-ranging destruction of fortifications and buildings, and the ensuing economic losses for most sections of the population.

The 1202 earthquake, for example, destroyed several towns situated on the Syrian coast, such as Acre, and it also destroyed large numbers of buildings inland, in towns such as Nablus and Damascus. The effects of the shock were felt in distant regions such as Sicily and Iraq, and they caused destruction as far away as Cyprus and Egypt. Sources quote a death

toll of more than one million for the years 1201 and 1202 in Syria and Egypt, the latter also having been ravaged by famine and epidemics. Although such figures were rough estimations with a strong tendency toward exaggeration, they may be used at least as an indicator to show the extent of destruction; the total of thirty thousand casualties for the Nablus region alone for the 1202 earthquake, as quoted by a local source, reinforces this impression.

Such catastrophic events shaped the course of medieval Islamic history in demographic, economic, and military terms. The severe death toll and the material destruction caused by a series of earthquakes that ravaged Syria during the late eleventh century (1050, 1063, 1068, 1069, 1086, and 1091), for example, arguably contributed to the successful Crusader conquests during the following years. Earthquakes (as well as other natural catastrophes) proved to be highly destructive for much medieval building structure, because the traditionally used materials for houses in regions such as Persia—mud walls and adobe bricks—were of very limited stability when it came to withstanding seismic shocks.

For medieval Muslim authors, the occurrence of earthquakes was a phenomenon to be dealt with on many different levels. Chroniclers registered earthquakes and their effects generally quite laconically, without going into too much depth. Nevertheless, some members of the elite wrote about such catastrophes in more detail, such as the twelfth-century military commander and litterateur Usama ibn Munqidh, who composed a lengthy poetic work after he lost most of his relatives in an earthquake that destroyed the clan's stronghold in middle Syria.

A number of scholars wrote treatises that were specifically devoted to this subject, as did medieval scholars about other catastrophes, such as famine and plague. For example, the third-century philosopher al-Kindi dealt with the *Occurrence of Winds under the Earth Which Cause Many Earthquakes and Eclipses,* and Ibn 'Asakir (d. 1176) authored a *Book Of Earthquakes* (both of these have been lost); the Egyptian polymath al-Suyuti (d. 1505) included a detailed list of earthquakes in his treatise about the subject. These authors differed with regard to the explanations that they advanced for earthquakes. Some earlier scholars argued, under the influence of antique pneumatic theories of earthquakes, that they were caused by gases under the surface that could not condensate or escape. According to writers such as al-Kindi, al-Biruni (d. 1050), and Ibn Sina (d. 1037), the increasing pressure led finally to the seismic vibrations of the earth and its crust.

A second group of authors (especially after the eleventh century) ascribed earthquakes to God's immediate will and advanced elaborate cosmological descriptions to explain how He caused them. These descriptions focused either on the Mountain Qaf that, in their view, surrounded the earth and was linked to it by subterranean ramifications, or on the idea that the earth was placed on the horns of a bull that was carried by a fish. According to this group of authors (e.g., al-Suyuti), earthquakes were either the result of deviating behavior (adultery, usury, and consumption of alcohol) or signs of the approaching Last Judgment, an idea that is based on the Qur'anic Earthquake Chapter. In this worldview, God caused the Mountain Qaf or the bull and the fish to move so that the earth was seized by a wave of shocks as a punishment. A third set of explanations was brought forward by chroniclers who treated earthquakes only briefly in their writings; this group of authors suggested that the causes of earthquakes were astrophysical circumstances, such as planetary constellations or comets with long tails.

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See also Floods, Epidemics

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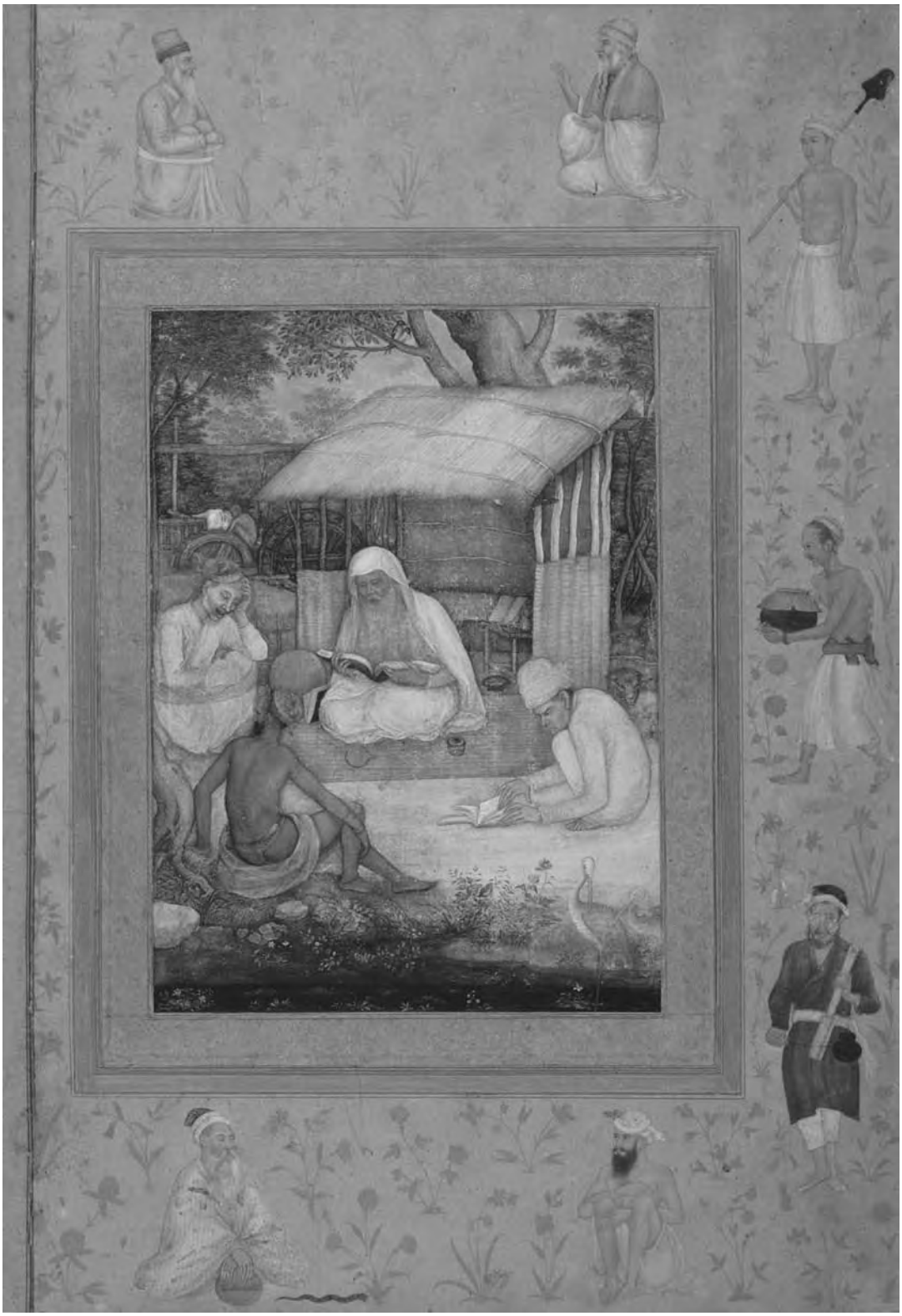
EDUCATION, ISLAMIC

Education in Islam is understood as nurturing, raising, and teaching knowledge and moral values to improve oneself or somebody else spiritually, intellectually, and morally by following the orders of Allah and learning how to obey His will (Ittihad 1994). In



School, Moghul. Holy man with three disciples commenting on a text in a rustic setting. Indian miniature, Mughal school, early thirteenth century. Credit: Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY. Musee des Arts Asiatiques-Guimet, Paris, France.

the Qur'an, God is referred to as *Rabbul-ul Alemeen,* which includes the meaning "the educator of all the worlds," thus showing the importance that Islam gives to education. Education is one of the most important factors of a healthy society; it is a means for a creature to achieve the purpose for which God created it, and, as such, belief and education cannot be separated from each other (Ittihad 1994; Gülen 2003).

Education in Islam is based on Qur'anic concepts. The Qur'an, according to Islamic teachings, is the literal word of God and contains all of the information that is required to lead a fulfilling life in this world and in the hereafter. The Qur'an states the following in verse 16:89: "And We have sent down to thee the Book explaining all things, a Guide, a Mercy and Glad Tidings to Muslims." The first revealed verse of the Qur'an is "Read," which demonstrates the importance that is placed on knowledge and learning.

An understanding of hadith (the teachings of Prophet Muhammad) is necessary to fully understand the Qur'an. This point is expressed in verse 16:44: "And We have sent down unto thee the Message that thou mayest explain clearly to men what is sent for them, and they may give thought" (Abdul-Rahman Salih Abdullah 1982). Prophet Muhammad said, "He who leaves his home in search of knowledge walks in the path of God" (Himiuddin Khan 1967, 2–3). This search for knowledge was the goal of every Muslim man and woman, whose foremost duty was to learn the Qur'an, the rituals of prayer, and the divine revelation (Ahmed 1968, 30).

In Islam, education covers all aspects of life, including knowledge of the Qur'an and the laws of Islam, as well as the customs, knowledge, and skills that people need to function effectively in daily life. The aim of education is to prepare a person for a moral and religious life, thereby creating sincere, practical people who can win spiritual blessings and God's favor in the hereafter (Himiuddin Khan 1967, 171).Whatever action man performs should be linked to God, indicating that God cannot be restricted to a certain period of life or to certain aspects of a person's actions (Abdul-Rahman Salih Abdullah 1982).

During the Medieval Period, education in the Islamic world achieved great success, with immense respect given to scholars. The encouragement in Islamic teachings for education created an environment in which people could freely exchange ideas. During the European Dark Ages, the Islamic world established a golden age of education. During the ninth century, the library of the monastery of St. Gall was the largest in Europe, containing thirty-six volumes. At the same time, most cities in the Islamic world built public and private libraries, with some cities like Cordoba and Baghdad possessing libraries with more than 400 thousand books. The accumulated knowledge in the Islamic world later became the basis for achievements in the European Renaissance (Horace Mann, WP; Himiuddin Khan 1967, 133).

The education of Muslim children began at home around the age of four, when they began the study of the Qur'an (Himiuddin Khan 1967, 172). There were two levels of education: primary and advanced. Primary education was conducted in schools called Kuttab and Maktab (Ahmed 1968, 41). The purpose of these schools was to teach the Qur'an, basic principles of Islam, and reading, writing, and mathematics. Advanced studies were conducted in the Halka systems before the establishment of the Madrasa system (Ahmed 1968, 52). Subjects studied included philology, grammar, syntax, rhetoric, literature, reading and recitation (of the Qur'an), hadith, jurisprudence, Islamic law, theology, logic, tasawwuf, tafsir, scholastics, medicine, genealogy, and astronomy (Ahmed 1968 32–39; Himiuddin Khan 1967, 134). There was also an emphasis on physical education, because Islam gives importance to the training of the body as well as of the mind (Himiuddin Khan 1967, 179). In Islam, as a rule, everyone could participate in classes, regardless of one's ethnicity, social group, age, or gender (Ahmed 1968, 86).

Universities were also established in many cities, such as Cordoba and Malaga in Spain, Istanbul and Konya in Turkey, Cairo in Egypt, Baghdad in Iraq, and Mansura and Delhi in India. These universities included departments of astronomy, mathematics, medicine, theology, law, jurisprudence, chemistry, and philosophy, where the enrollment ran into the thousands (Alavi 1988).

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See also Madrasa; Primary Schools; Libraries; Childhood

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EDUCATION, JEWISH

The Jewish emphasis on education can be traced directly to the Bible, which enjoins constant meditation on the law or Torah (Joshua 1:8). Already during the time of the Second Temple in Jerusalem (515 BCE–70 CE), Scripture was studied according to an authoritative, interpretive tradition. During the first six centuries CE, leading Jewish scholars (rabbis) in Palestine and Babylonia codified these oral teachings, producing canonical works of law (Mishnah, Talmud) and exegesis (Midrash). Together with the Bible, this rabbinic literature has furnished the Jewish core curriculum for the past millennium and a half. It is analogous in terms of sanctity, authority, and function to the Qur'an and hadith in Sunni Islam. In Islamic lands, however, many Jews also studied general subjects, such as Arabic language, mathematics, astronomy, philosophy, and medicine. In this environment, moreover, Jewish subjects were often pursued from a rationalistic perspective.

In his code, *Mishneh Torah,* Moses Maimonides describes the religious obligation of a father to teach his son Torah and the obligation of a community to support a school. From the age of six or seven, children learned the Hebrew alphabet and the Bible, which they were taught to gloss in Aramaic and Arabic. Like a Muslim maktab, the Jewish school house stressed the memorization and proper recitation of Scripture. Girls attended separate schools, which taught these subjects as well; rabbinic literature was introduced later and taught only to boys. Unlike elementary-school teachers, who were remunerated, Talmud instructors were not supposed to receive payment. For advanced Talmudic studies, young men attended a yeshiva (academy). Dating back to antiquity, this institution was dedicated to teaching and promulgating the rabbinic tradition. Similar in purpose to the madrasa, which only developed during the tenth and eleventh centuries, the yeshiva combined the functions of a college and a court. Supported by communal donations, it funded both faculty and students, who were trained as legal experts. The oldest yeshivot were based in the Land of Israel and in Babylonia. Each was headed by a gaon (president) and was organized hierarchically. During the 'Abbasid period, the academies of Sura and Pumbedita moved to Baghdad, where they attained preeminence as centers of Jewish legal scholarship, issuing responses to queries from distant communities and sponsoring month-long terms of study for visitors from abroad. However, with the migration of Jews westward, independent colleges were established in Egypt, North Africa, and Andalusia during the late tenth century. Those in Qayrawan and Lucena (near Cordoba) became quite famous; during the eleventh century, the former was headed by Hananel ben Hushiel and Nissim ben Jacob Ibn Shahin.

Outside the yeshivot, secular subjects formed an important part of the curriculum. The ability to read a Bible also meant literacy in Arabic, whereas Jews customarily read and wrote in Hebrew characters. Letters from the Cairo geniza attest to widespread Jewish literacy in the Mediterranean and also to the effort expended in securing a good education. Geniza documents and letters reveal that some parents engaged Arabic tutors for their children. Although the language and literary quality of Judeo-Arabic documents vary considerably, many Middle Eastern and North African Jews could write effectively and fluently. Some of the leading scholars, such as Sa'adyah Gaon, Samuel ben Hophni Gaon (d. 1113), and the Karaite Ya'qub al-Qirqisani (d. after 938), read widely from non-Jewish sources.

As early as the ninth century, North African and Andalusian Jews cultivated a broad education, which enabled the best scholars to attain influential positions at court. Hasday Ibn Shaprut (c. 915–970) served two Umayyad Caliphs of Cordoba as a physician, translator, and diplomat. Samuel Ibn Naghrela (993–1055/1056), vizier to two Kings of Granada, achieved fame as a Hebrew poet and talmudic scholar; according to the Muslim historian Ibn Hayyan (987–1076), Ibn Naghrela wrote both Arabic and Hebrew with equal facility. Both Hasday and Ibn Naghrela mastered a dual curriculum of sacred and secular subjects that was reminiscent of the one prescribed by the Andalusian Muslim Ibn Hazm (994–1064) in his *Maratib al-'Ulum (Categories of the Sciences)*. The *Tibb al-Nufus (Hygiene of the Souls)* by Joseph ben Judah Ibn 'Aqnin (late thirteenth century) outlines a detailed course of study: reading and writing Hebrew characters precedes the study of the Bible, Mishnah, Hebrew grammar, and Hebrew poetry; at fifteen, boys begin Talmud; subsequently, they learn some speculative theology. Philosophy and the sciences follow: logic, mathematics, arithmetic, geometry, optics, astronomy, music, mechanics, natural sciences, medicine, and, finally, metaphysics. Moses Maimonides dedicated his *Guide to the Perplexed* to a favorite disciple who had been trained in precisely this kind of curriculum. During the twelfth through the fourteenth centuries, Jewish émigrés from Andalusia, such as Judah Ibn Tibbon, championed these education ideals in Christian Spain and Provence, where they were instrumental in maintaining the rationalistic, literate, and cultured outlook of the Greco-Arabic tradition.

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See also Baghdad; Hebrew; Judeo-Arabic; Kalam; Karaites; Scriptural Exegesis, Jewish; Translation, Arabic to Hebrew; Education

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EGYPT

From the Arab Conquest until the end of the Umayyad Period, the Arab army commanded by 'Amr ibn al-'As entered Egypt in late 639 or early 640 CE, initially laying siege to the Byzantine fortress at Babylon at the meeting place between Lower and Upper Egypt. The Arabs proceeded to conquer Upper Egypt before marching on Alexandria. Faced with numerous internal problems, the Byzantines eventually surrendered the city by treaty. As was the case elsewhere in the conquered lands, the Arabs did not take up residence among the conquered people—the Egyptian Christians (Copts)—but rather settled in a garrison city (misr) known as al-Fustat. There they established their administration and institutions, including a mosque that was named for 'Amr and a diwan to record the financial and military affairs of the new territory. The Arab tribesmen proved to be difficult to govern, and this task, along with the collection of taxes and the provision of revenues to the Caliph, were the responsibility of the governor (wali).

'Amr took control of the province on behalf of Mu'awiya during the First Civil War (656–661) and was thus on the side of the victor. During the Second Civil War, Marwan ibn al-Hakam seized control of the province to keep it loyal to the Umayyads. Perhaps the best known governor of Egypt during the Umayyad period is Qurra ibn Sharik (709–715); this is because the survival of numerous documents on papyrus provides more knowledge about his administration than is available for any other governor of early Islamic Egypt. The classical tax system of land tax (kharaj) and poll tax (jizya) was not solidified until the middle of the eighth century, and the Umayyads frequently experimented with their revenue collection system. One attempt to raise taxes in 725 or 726 resulted in a major uprising by Coptic peasants. As the Umayyad Caliphate weakened, the Arab rulers of Egypt fought among themselves for control of this wealthy province.

An 'Abbasid Province

After the 'Abbasid occupation in the summer of 750, Egypt was governed by a series of men who originated in the Khurasani units that had overthrown the Umayyads. From 775 to 785, the governor was the Caliph al-Mansur's son, al-Mahdi (the Umayyad governors had also frequently been members of the ruling family). In 784, attempts to raise taxes led to a major revolt by Arab tribesmen that had to be suppressed. The period from 809 to 826 was characterized by instability, and it must have become clear to the 'Abbasids that the status quo was unworkable. Eventually, the rise of Turkish slave soldiers provided a solution, albeit a disastrous one from the point of view of the Caliphs. In 831, the Turkish general Afshin put down a joint Arab–Coptic rebellion, and the Arab families of Egypt lost power for good.

In 868, Ahmad ibn Tulun, the son of a Turkish slave soldier, was appointed governor of Egypt. His arrival began a process whereby governors of Egypt, although never renouncing their allegiance to the 'Abbasids, nonetheless ruled Egypt in an autonomous manner. In fact, Ibn Tulun ruled on behalf of his stepfather and then of his father-in-law; this aided in the establishment of a mini dynasty. Furthermore, because Ibn Tulun could dispose of the significant resources of Egypt, he was in a position to solidify his control over the province. He raised an army of Turkish, Greek, and Black soldiers, which immediately caused disquiet in Baghdad. Because the 'Abbasids were unable to defend Syria and Cilicia from the Byzantines, they were obliged to delegate this authority to Ibn Tulun, demonstrating the degree to which Baghdad had become dependent on Egypt. A rebellion by his son al-'Abbas forced Ibn Tulun to return to Egypt. In 880, Ibn Tulun founded a new town,

al-Qata'i', not far from al-Fustat. Al-Qata'i' later fell into ruin, but Ibn Tulun's mosque was renovated during the thirteenth century by Mamluk Sultan Lajin.

Ibn Tulun died in 884. His descendants lost power in 905, and the Fatimids, who ruled Ifriqya from 909, made several attempts to seize control of Egypt. In 935, Muhammad ibn Tughj, who later received the title "Ikhshid," became governor. He restored some of Egypt's autonomy; this policy was continued by the eunuch Kafur, who seized power after the Ikhshid's death in 946. After Kafur's death in 968, there was little to stop the Fatimid conquest, which occurred the following year.

The Fatimid Caliphate

The Fatimid conquest and the establishment of the city of Cairo as its capital turned Egypt into a regional power, a status it would not surrender until the Ottoman conquest of 1517. Egypt was at its height as an economic power under the Fatimids, producing more food than it could usually consume and boasting a robust textile industry. Thanks to the survival of the Geniza documents, it is known that Fustat's Jewish community had trade relations with co-religionists throughout the Mediterranean and Indian Ocean worlds as well as with rural Egypt. The Fatimid Caliphate employed men of talent of a variety of ethnicities and religious persuasions. In addition to the Fatimids themselves, Ismaili Shi'is who claimed descent from the Prophet Muhammad through his daughter Fatima, Arabs, Berbers, Turks, Armenians, Copts, Jews, and others served in the Fatimid army and administration.

Unlike his predecessors in Egypt, the Fatimid Caliph al-Mu'izz was a determined opponent of the 'Abbasid Caliphate in Baghdad. Egypt now became the base for a campaign to unseat the 'Abbasids and establish Fatimid rule over the Muslim world. Although this campaign was ultimately unsuccessful, the Fatimid state was not merely concerned with consolidating its rule but also with spreading its Ismaili doctrine. To this end, Caliph al-Mu'izz established al-Azhar as the center of the Ismaili mission (da'wa). Fatimid missionaries traveled throughout the Muslim world, enjoying some success in Yemen, Syria, and Iran. They were unable, however, to prevent the fall of Baghdad to the Seljuks, an event that greatly reduced Shi'i influence in the 'Abbasid capital.

In 1094, the Fatimids underwent a fundamental schism, which resulted in the victory of the Caliph al-Musta'li and the death of his rival Nizar. Nizar's supporters fled to the Ismaili communities outside of Fatimid territory and established the "new mission," which survived the dissolution of the Fatimid Caliphate in 1171. As time went, on, however, the influence of the Fatimid caliphs waned. Their army was torn by ethnic divisions, and this led to a major conflict between black and Turkish soldiers in 1060, which was only resolved by the arrival of an Armenian force. Increasingly, it was the wazir who held real power in the Fatimid state, exercising control over an impressive centralized bureaucracy. Many wazirs were also military men. By 1169, when Nur al-Din Mahmud sent his Kurdish retainers—Asad al-Din Shirkuh and his nephew Salah al-Din Yusuf (Saladin)—to Egypt, the Fatimids had been reduced to paying tribute to the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.

The Ayyubid Sultanate

After the death of his uncle, Shirkuh, Salah al-Din initially served as the wazir to the Fatimid Caliph. After the latter's death in 1171, Salah al-Din ordered the 'Abbasid Caliph's name to be mentioned in the Friday sermon, thus abolishing the Fatimid Caliphate. For some time, it looked as if relations might break down between Salah al-Din and Nur al-Din, but Nur al-Din's death in 1174 presented a golden opportunity for Salah al-Din to add Syria to his holdings, as well as parts of Iraq, the Hijaz, and Yemen. By 1183, he was in a position to turn against the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and his famous victory at Hittin in 1187 allowed him to recover Jerusalem for Islam.

Salah al-Din and his successors, known as the Ayyubids (after Salah al-Din's father), built on the Fatimid state, but they also made significant changes. The Fatimid chancery and tax administration were quite sophisticated, and the Ayyubids and Mamluks regarded the Fatimid precedent as the basis for their own bureaucracies. At the same time, the Ayyubids introduced some elements of Seljuk bureaucratic practice, including military iqta', whereby amirs were rewarded for their service by being assigned the tax revenues of a certain area or areas. This new system, which was preceded by a cadastral survey of Egypt, gave increased administrative responsibilities to the military, a trend that continued through the Mamluk period. As a result of their concern for gaining support from the religious scholars and promoting Sunnism, the Ayyubids built a series of law schools (madrasas) and Sufi convents (khanqahs).

The Mamluk Sultanate

The Mamluk Sultanate, a government of Turkish (and later Circassian) soldiers of slave origin, was born of crisis. In the wake of the Ayyubid victory over Louis IX at al-Mansura in 1250, a group of Mamluks belonging to the deceased Sultan al-Malik al-Salih Ayyub overthrew and murdered his successor, Turanshah; they apparently feared being marginalized or eliminated in favor of the new Sultan's entourage. A period of instability followed, only coming to an end after the Mamluk defeat of the Mongols at 'Ayn al-Jalut in 1260. After the battle, the amir Baybars assassinated Sultan Qutuz and took control of the state.

Baybars (r. 1260–1277) can be seen as the founder of the Mamluk Sultanate. He waged a series of campaigns against the Crusaders and Mongols that left Cairo the capital of a large empire that included Syria and the Hijaz. To bolster his authority, he installed 'Abbasid survivors of the Mongol sack of Baghdad as "shadow caliphs" in Cairo; he also gave official recognition to all four of the Sunni schools of law, which gave the increasingly centralized Mamluk state greater flexibility.

Although every Mamluk sultan attempted to establish a dynasty, they had very limited success. Baybars's descendants were overthrown by another powerful amir, Qalawun (r. 1279–1290). Qalawun's descendants ruled—although often in name only—until 1382. His son al-Ashraf Khalil (r. 1290–1293) captured Acre, the last Crusader possession in the Levant, in 1291.

Another son, al-Nasir Muhammad (r. 1294–1295, 1299–1309, 1309–1340) presided over what was perhaps the greatest period of prosperity in medieval Egypt. The Mongol threat had receded, commerce between Egypt and Syria and between the Mamluks and the Europeans was booming, and the political system was stable for three decades. Al-Nasir used this opportunity to increase the authority of the sultan by redistributing iqta's in his favor and by becoming increasingly involved with commerce, which provoked accusations of monopolization. He also seized much of the property of the Coptic Church, and the Copts were subjected to a period of persecution that led to large numbers of conversions to Islam.

Unfortunately, if al-Nasir Muhammad's intention was to shore up the position of the sultan, he failed. In 1347, the Black Death arrived in Egypt and brought about a demographic crisis of unprecedented proportions. By the 1370s, famine became increasingly common, leading to the crisis of 1403 through 1405, when famine and disease struck together. The result of these events and of subsequent outbreaks of plague is that Egypt's population remained low until at least the mid-sixteenth century, thus reducing the possibilities for economic recovery. Agricultural production was reduced, and the sultans attempted to compensate for the loss in tax revenues by intervention in commerce and the establishment of monopolies of certain commodities. European merchants who wished to buy goods imported from the Indian Ocean were obliged to purchase them from the sultan in Alexandria.

The collapse of the Qalawunid "dynasty" in 1382 led to the rise of a series of sultans who ruled as strongmen. Increasingly these new rulers were Circassians rather than Turks, and they had little success passing on their powers to their sons. Although al-Nasir Faraj (r. 1399–1405, 1405–1412) succeeded his father al-Zahir Barquq, he failed to respond to the crisis of 1403 through 1405 or to prevent Timur Lenk from seizing Aleppo and Damascus in 1399. Although these cities were recovered in 1402, Faraj was remembered as a Mamluk Nero. The reign of Sultan al-Ashraf Barsbay (1422–1438) was more successful. Barsbay established a monopoly on the trade in spices, reducing the Karimi merchants who had controlled this commerce to his agents. He used his improved financial situation to launch successful raids on Cyprus in 1425 and 1426, avenging the sack of Alexandria by Peter I of Cyprus in 1365.

The longest-reigning sultan of the fifteenth century was al-Ashraf Qaytbay (r. 1468–1496), who has been described as a conservative who was concerned with maintaining the traditions of the sultanate. By the beginning of the sixteenth century, however, change was clearly in order. The Ottoman sultans were a growing threat, and the rise of the Shi'i Safavids in Iran changed the political map of the region. In 1498, Vasco de Gama reached the Indian Ocean, and Portuguese attacks on ships and ports brought about a sudden reduction in the revenues of the Mamluk state. Sultan al-Ashraf Qansuh al-Ghuri (r. 1501–1516) made an alliance with the Ottomans and tried to reorganize his army to face the new threat, but this was in vain. When Ottoman Sultan Selim I turned against the Mamluks, he must have sensed an opportunity. Syria fell to the Ottomans in the summer of 1516, and Egypt fell in January through April of 1517.

With the end of the Mamluk Sultanate, an era came to an end. For much of the Middle Ages, Egypt had been the greatest power of the Middle East; now it became a province in a great empire, with a center of gravity that was elsewhere. In many ways, Mamluk Egypt was the most successful medieval state (excluding the Ottomans, who represented a break with many aspects of medieval Islamic

statecraft). The Mamluks reigned for more than 250 years. Despite the competitive character of the sultanate, Mamluk rule was generally peaceful. Egypt was the center of a flowering culture in areas such as historical writing, Islamic legal scholarship, Sufism, and even Arabic literature. A new international style came into being in Mamluk architecture, and Mamluk textiles, glasswork, and metalwork were of a high quality until the late-medieval depression. During the fifteenth century, Egypt became more dependent on European imports, but this dependence was not as total as has sometimes been claimed. Mamluk rule came to an end as the result of the rise of a new power—the Ottomans—and not as the result of any inevitable decline. Indeed, one legacy of the Mamluk Sultanate was the incorporation of some aspects of its administration into the Ottoman state.

ADAM SABRA

See also Alexandria; Assassins (Ismaili); 'Ayn Jalut; Ayyubids; Al-Azhar; Badr al-Jamali; Baybars I; Black Death; Cairo; Cairo Geniza; Caliphate and Imamate; Copts; Coptic; Fatimids; Fustat; Al-Hakim; Ibn Taghribirdi; Ibn Tulun; Ismailis; Mamluks; Al-Maqrizi; Mosque of Ibn Tulun (Cairo); Nur al-Din ibn Zanki; Nile; Qadi Numan; Saladin (Salah al-Din); Shajar al-Durr; Sultan; Tamerlane (Timur); Tulunids

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ELEGY

The elegy (*marthiyeh* in Persian) exists in two forms in Persian poetry: as a section of a longer narrative work and as a discrete poem. Because narratives are always in the mathnawi (couplet) form in Persian, elegies of the former kind are invariably in couplets; notable examples are to be found in Ferdowsi's *Shahnameh* and in various medieval romances. The elegies in the *Shahnameh* are very often spoken by women (examples are Gordyeh's elegy for her brother Bahram Chubineh, Roshanak's for her husband Sekandar, and Rudabeh's for her son Rostam), and this corresponds with the relatively public role undertaken by women during mourning ceremonies in many Middle Eastern cultures, including Persian. Ferdowsi's elegiac passages use the ubi sunt topos extensively, and typically many successive lines begin with the evocation "Where now is. . .?" as the dead subject's virtues and glories are listed. Ferdowsi also inserts into the *Shahnameh* an elegy spoken *in propria persona*; this is a lament on the death of his own son, in which he reproaches his child for leaving him alone in the world; this trope became standard.

As a discrete poem, the elegy usually took the form of a qasideh (a praise poem in monorhyme). One of the earliest and most famous examples of the genre is that by Farrokhi (early eleventh century) for the Ghaznavid King Mahmoud (d. 1030). The poem evokes the monarch's past pleasures and glories and describes the desolate state of the land and its populace now that Mahmoud has departed; its diction and imagery were widely imitated by later writers of elegies for the politically powerful. Court poets were expected to produce elegies after the death of a prominent member of the ruling family, and they were remunerated for doing so. However, not all elegies were written for such practical motives. For example, for Sa'di to write his fine elegy about the last 'Abbasid Caliph, who was murdered by the Mongols in 1258,

was a politically risky move that could well have provoked retribution. Although the form was primarily associated with the court and traditionally invoked an atmosphere of formal, public mourning, elegies were also written for dead friends, presumably with little hope of remuneration; an example of a more personal elegy of this kind is that by Atai Razi (early twelfth century) about the death of his fellow poet at the Ghaznavid court, Mas'ud Sa'd. After the triumph of Shi'ism in Iran, with the accession to power of the Safavid dynasty in 1501, elegies for the significant martyrs of Shi'i Islam were widely written. In these poems, the emphasis is generally on the innocence and sufferings of the elegy's subject rather than on past pleasures or glories. Some of these religious elegies have achieved the status of widely-diffused folk poetry, and a number of them have retained great popularity among the more pious sections of Iranian society.

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EMIGRATION, OR HIJRA

The emigration, or hijra (Latinized as hegira), of Muhammad ibn 'Abdallah (d. 632 CE), the Arab Prophet of Islam, from his place of birth (Mecca) to the town that was to become his adopted home (Yathrib; later renamed Madinat al-Nabi, the city of the Prophet, al-Medina, in short) took place circa September 622 CE. Muhammad had, despite political and social opposition to his teachings, achieved a considerable reputation as fair-minded, wise, and trustworthy, even in Mecca. The people of Yathrib, therefore, invited him to come and live with them and act as a mediator when quarrels arose between the major tribes of the region, the Aws and the Khazraj.

The emigration was seen as an important event for Islam, because it marked the beginning of a new life for Muhammad, who, from then on, was able to live amidst his followers in security. A few years after the death of the Prophet, when the then-leader of the Muslims, 'Umar ibn al-Khattab (d. 642), who succeeded Abu Bakr (d. 634) as "The Commander of the Faithful," was to establish an Islamic calendar, it was this event that he chose to mark as its beginning.

The actual emigration of Muhammad from Mecca to Yathrib was arranged at 'Aqaba several months before it actually occurred. The Prophet's teachings were not welcome to the elite of Mecca, who were mostly polytheists by religion and who did not recognize the possibility of a life after death; their opposition led to aggression against the Muslims. Soon, a group of Muslims was forced to leave Mecca for Abyssinia, where, fortunately, a Christian king saw fit to welcome them. Muhammad himself turned to Hira, a town not far from Mecca, only to be rebuffed. The invitation to Yathrib from its inhabitants was therefore most welcome, but it had to be dealt with secretly, because the hostility toward Muhammad in Mecca was now considerable; his life there was possible only because tribal ties forced his relatives to protect him. However, when both his uncle, Abu Talib, and his wife, Khadija, died around 621, it was clear that he was no longer safe. Indeed, Muhammad barely escaped a plot by the Meccans to jointly murder him. He left 'Ali, his nephew, in his bed, to fool his enemies, and then he quietly departed with the help of his dear friend, Abu Bakr, who was able to provide him with a camel. Some traditions paint his departure as a miracle, describing Muhammad as becoming invisible and then leaving right before the eyes of the Meccan polytheists who had come to attack him. When the Meccans discovered that it was 'Ali who lay in Muhammad's bed, they immediately followed Muhammad's tracks. Again, however, by God's grace, Muhammad and Abu Bakr were saved: they had taken shelter in a cave on Mount Thaur, over the mouth of which a spider had built its web. The Meccans—believing that such a web would have been broken if Muhammad had entered—did not think to look within (Qur'an verse 9:40).

Muhammad's entry into Yathrib is described as a joyful event. The people of Yathrib—mainly Arabs as well as significant Jewish tribes—saw him as a uniting force who would end the divisiveness and the destruction that came with it. Tradition holds that there were many agreements made between the Meccan Muslims (who were known as the *Muhajirun,* or emigrants) and the several new converts to Islam among the residents, who, because of their generosity, came to be known as the *Ansar,* or helpers. Indeed, Ibn Ishaq mentions a "Constitution of Medina" that was designed by Muhammad in which both Arab and Jewish tribes of Yathrib participate, essentially laying down the terms by which Muhammad hoped to achieve a single monotheistic community.

Muhammad's resort to emigration as a means of avoiding hostility to his beliefs is recommended by Islam. According to the Qur'an, "The sins of the emigrants, of those driven from home, are forgiven" (3:195). "He who emigrates, finds a home on this

earth, and when he dies, God will reward him'' (Q4:101). According to tradition, those who remained in Mecca and feared to migrate—although the earth was large enough to afford them shelter—are censured. Thus, the term *emigrant* became a title of honor among Muslims. In the recent past, it was used in South Asia to encourage those who left modern India for Pakistan.

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EPIC POETRY

Very few long poems remain of the Jahiliyya and the Umayyad poetry that narrate the deeds of a hero. Selected verses of heroic poems were collected in anthologies during the 'Abbasid period by famous poets such as Abu Tammam (d. 849), al-Buhturi (d. 897), and others (until the thirteenth century). These collections were entitled *Hamasa* (bravery, fervor in war); their first and main chapters contain a short poem about pre-Islamic battles of the Arabs that praises their heroism. The subsequent chapters are selections from other funun al-shi'r (genres of poetry): elegy (ritha'), eulogy (madiÎ), chaste erotic opening line (nasib), morality (adab), description (wasf), and others. In *Rasa'il Ikhwan al-Safa* (tenth-eleventh centuries), some verses that are quoted by Abu Tammam are called al-mushajji' (the favoring or the encouraging verses); they are used during battles and wars and sung with heroic melodies (*Rasa'il Ikhwan al-Ñafa*, Cairo, 1928:132–36).

In his translation of Aristotle's *Poetica* from Syriac into Arabic, Matta b. Yunis used the Greek term *Epi* (in Arabic, *Afi*), whereas the editor 'Abd al-Rahman Badwi himself used, in his modern translation, the term *malhama* (see *Fann al-Shi'r*, ed. 'A.-R. Badawi, 143). Ibn Sina (Avicenna) (980–1037), in his attempt to survey Greek science and philosophy for the benefit of the Muslim culture, also used the term *Afi* (Ibid., 194–5). Although Ibn Sina was aware that Homer, in his epics, used blank (unrhymed) verse, he confirmed that ''We [in Arabic culture] almost do not call that which is unrhymed, poetry'' (Ibn Sina, *Jawami' 'ilm al-Musiqa*, ed. Z. Yusuf, Cairo, 1956, 122–3). Hazim al-Qartajanni (1211–1285), in his *Minhaj al-Bulagha' wa-Siraj al-Udaba' (The Program of Rhetoric and the Lamp of Men of Letters)* (Tunis 1966), explained why the Arabs did not translate Greek literature: ''The Greek poets would invent things upon which they would set their poetic imagination and they made this an aspect of their speech. They presumed things which did not happen at all and used them as a model for what happens, and they built upon them legends such as those old women relate to their grandchildren at night, fables of things which cannot possibly happen.'' Al-Qartajanni concluded his argument by saying, ''Avicenna condemned this kind of poetry and said: 'There is no need for poetic imagination of the simple fables which are but invented narratives.' '' He also said, ''... this (type of poetry) does not suit all temperaments.'' Moreover, even during the thirteenth century, Âiya' al-Din Ibn al-Athir (d. 1239), in his *al-Mathal al-Sa'ir,* noticed that the Arabs—unlike the Persians—like long poetic genres, as the *Shahnama*.

The use of end-stop monorhyme in Arabic poetry limits the length of the heroic ode (qasida). Arab poets used in their narrative poetry a simple form of urjuza muzdawija (a couplet in rajaz meter); this form helped them, during the 'Abbasid period, to get rid of the burden of monorhyme, which dictates the content of the verse. In such couplets, many didactic fables, narrative poems, and chronicles were versified. The most famous work is *Kalila wa-Dimna,* which was versified by Aban al-Lahiqi (d. ca. 815); the work was imitated in *al-ÑadiÎ wa-'l-Baghim (The Singing Birds and the Gazelles)* by Ibn al-Habbariyya (d. ca. 1111). The history of some Islamic dynasties was also versified, mainly in Andalus. However, the talented poet Ibn al-Farid (d. 1235) was able to write his epic about Sufism, *Nazm al-Suluk (Poem of the [Sufi] Way)*, known as *al-Ta'iyya al-Kubra,* in about 730 verses rhyming with the letter *ta'*. Such long poems were called *mutwwalat* (long poems).

Arab scholars wrote in classical Arabic, the sacred language of the Qur'an, in religious and serious literature. They expressed their contempt toward popular narrative literature and used colloquial or semi-literary style in their popular oral literature, such as shadow plays (khayal al-zill), popular entertainment, and narrative genres of *Siyar.* This was evident as in the romances *Sirat 'Antar* (thirty-two parts), *Sirat 'Ali al-Zibaq, Qissat Bni Hilal, Qissat al-Zir Salim, Sirat al-Amira Dhat al-Himma* (seventy parts), *Sirat* (or *Qissat*), and *Sayf ibn Dhi Yazan* (nineteen parts). These heroic, romantic, and chivalrous romances were recited in cafés, at assemblies, and during feasts and festivals, and they were accompanied by rababa or rabab esh-sha'er (poet's one string viol) and chanted by the storytellers (hakawati) of the romance of *Aboo-Zeyd.* The chanting narrator of such poetry is called *sha'ir*

(Lane 1954, 370–71, 397, 406.) This term must be an old one, because Pedro de Alcala, in his dictionary *Vocabulista Arabigo en Leta Castellana,* defined the Arabic term *sha'ir* as "representador de comedias/ tragedias." Arab scholars considered these romances, which are composed in rhymed prose (saj') in a semi-literary style that shifts into verse when tense emotional situations are depicted, to be popular epics.

In their attempt to keep pace with European literature from the second half of the nineteenth century onward, Arab critics adopted the Western classification of poetry, based on Plato's theory that poetry is divided into the lyrical, the epic, and the dramatic (see Sulayman al-Bustani 1904, 163–64, 171–72). To their amazement, they found that the bulk of Arabic poetry written throughout its long history was mainly lyrical (ghina'i) and that it did not deal with the narrative (qasasi), dramatic (masrahi), or epic (malhami) genres. They argued that the reason for this phenomenon in Arabic poetry is the rigid tradition of using monorhyme whereas, among other nations, rhyme is not essential, and it can be used to change simple patterns of rhyme schemes.

Among the first Arab scholars who tried to give the Arabs a model of Greek epic poetry and its history in European literature was Sulayman al-Bustani (1856–1925). Unlike Ibn Sina and al-Qartajanni, who based their arguments against Greek literature on taste, al-Bustani argued that it was a religious factor (i.e., the *Iliad* contains pagan elements, whereas Greek philosophy, logic, and medicine were useful to the Arabs [Bustani 1904, 65–7]). He added that the Arabs wrote epics by combining poetry and rhymed prose (Bustani 1904, 171–72). He took the formidable task of versifying the *Iliad* into more than ten thousand Arabic verses using various patterns of rhyme schemes and conventional Arabic meters, such as monorhyme and couplets; Arabic and European stanza forms of quatrain and quintet; and forms of Andalusian muwashshah. His pioneering translation encouraged other poets to write epics (malahim or mutawwalat) in modern Arabic literature.

By introducing dramatic, narrative, and epic poetry, the modernist poets considered the monorhyme in Arabic poetry the main obstacle in their attempts to enrich Arabic literature with the new genres. They were astonished to note that lyric, dramatic, and epic poetry are the main genres in Western poetry. The problems that attracted the attention of Arab poets and critics at the end of the nineteenth century were the questions of why the Arabs translated Greek writing about philosophy, logic, and medicine while ignoring Greek literature and why the Arabs did not write epic poetry. (Other Eastern peoples, such as the Indians, Persians, ancient Egyptians, and Turks, wrote epics, and the Indians, Persians, and Syrians translated the *Iliad* into their own languages [see al-Bustani 1904, 61–3, 165–7, 265]).

Encouraged by al-Bustani's translation of and introduction to the *Iliad*, Arab poets such as al-Zahawi (1864–1946), A.Z. Abu Shadi (1892–1955), Muhammad 'Abd al-Muttalib (1871–1931), and M.F. Abu Hadid (d. 1967) wrote articles about and experimented with epic poetry. Other poets, such as Ahmad Muharram, Bulus Salama, and Fawzi Ma'luf, tried to compose historical and philosophical epics in conventional Arabic meters. However, not all of them were successful. To be able to compose or translate epic poetry, Arab critics and poets defended the use of blank verse (shi'r mursal). Most of their attempts were doomed to failure, because they used connotative diction with end-stop rhyme and were unaware of the technique of enjambment used in European blank verse. However, using *vers irregulier* (which they called *shi'r hurr* [free verse]) with an irregular number of feet and an irregular rhyme scheme with enjambment, they were successful in writing mutawwalat. The Iraqi poet Badr Shakir al-Sayyab (1926–1964) is the leading Arab poet in this modern genre of Arabic poetry; his works include *Haffar al-Qubur* (1952), *al-Muwmis al-'Amya'* (1954), and *al-Asliha wa-'l-Atfal*, (1954), which was later included in his anthology *Unshudat al-Matar.*

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EPICS, ARABIC

If by the word *epic* is meant a lengthy poetic narration with the aim of exalting a hero or the ancient endeavors of a nation (e.g., Homer's *Iliad*), it must be recognized that classical Arab literature has not cultivated this genre. The medieval translators of Aristotle's *Poetics* found themselves seriously embarrassed at being unable to translate the very term *epic.*

The tales of the tribal wars of the Jahiliyya (pre-Islamic era), the life of the Prophet Muhammad, the heroic deeds of the champions of Islam, and the epos of the Muslim conquests—all the material that could have become the subject matter of Arabic epics—have in fact developed in a specific fashion. These stories, on the one hand, have not undergone any mythic elaboration, having been accepted as historical fact—or presumed to be so—in the great works of historiography, such as al-Tabari's *Annals;* on the other hand, they have taken on the dimension of popular narrative through the work of the storytellers, who have been subject to the censure of the elitist, turban-wearing 'ulema, the jealous custodians of orthodoxy. Thus, the Arab epic tradition has developed in the form of chivalrous romances, and, because of its semi-classical language (middle Arabic) and its unpretentious style, it has not found its place within the restricted canons of Arabic literature.

Popular Arab epics have found their expression in a longstanding oral tradition in which generations of storytellers have operated and in a written tradition that is comparable, in certain respects, with the romances of the European Middle Ages. The epic cycle is called sira (course of life, biography) or, more generically, qissa (story), whereas single episodes can take the name diwan (collection of poems). The most important sources from which this oral-written corpus has spread are Syria and Egypt. A number of ancient cycles—albeit in their primitive form—are part of the repertoire of the storytellers, such as the story of 'Antara ibn Shaddād, the pre-Islamic Black hero of the Banu 'Abs and of his beloved 'Abla, whose adventures are extended right up to the era of the Crusades; the story of al-Zir Salim, which re-evokes in the form of a legend the war of al-Basus; or the heroic deeds of the Banu Hilal warriors. Other narrative cycles are from the Mamluk era (fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, especially), such as the story of the Yemeni prince Sayf ibn Dhi Yazan; of princess Dhat al-Himma and her son 'Abd al-Wahhāb, in the context of the tribal battles between the Banu Kilab and the Sulaym and Arab expeditions against Byzantium; and of al-Malik al-Zāhir Baybars, the Mamluk king of Egypt and Syria whose reign was the backdrop to a whole series of picaresque adventures. These works present an alternation of parts in rhyming prose, in which the singer–narrator describes the scenes and introduces the characters, and parts in poetry, which include the dialogues of the heroes boasting about their achievements and the description of the duel, perhaps the primitive core around which the romances have developed. Their pseudohistorical perspective, however, reveals itself to be fragile, particularly when it re-evokes the intertribal wars of the Ayyam al-Arab (the pre-Islamic "battle days of the Arabs" [al-Zir Salim]), the campaigns for the expansion of Islam (Antara, Dhat al-Himma) or Sayf's struggle to thwart the Abyssinian plans to control the course of the Nile (whereas the historical Himyarite Sayf liberated the Yemen from the yoke of the Abyssinians in the sixth century). The atmosphere is that of the medieval furusiyya, the chivalrous spirit of the Arab hero exalted by the art of the storyteller into a series of astonishing deeds.

The epic cycles became most widespread during Mamluk rule, but it is important to state that each story has its own particular origin and literary development. Whereas for the *Sirat Bani Hilal,* it is the oral tradition that prevails (even if a later parallel written tradition did exist), for the other epic cycles the problem is a more complex one in that the manuscript tradition would seem to have a more determining importance. One particular concern for scholars is determining whether a textual version is the result of collective creation successively brought together by a rawi (collector–transmitter, possibly the storyteller himself) or whether it is the creation of one or more humble writers interpreting the tastes of the greater public, imitating the art of the storytellers. The circular nature of the relationship between oral and written narrations should not be underestimated, although the multiplicity of versions could be explained by the necessity on the part of the storytellers to invent new plots. This heterogeneous material proves interesting as a documentation of the worldview of the medieval Arab populace. In terms of strictly literary aspects, historians of classical Arabic literature have shown reservations because of the modest tone of these popular narratives, the use of middle Arabic, the continuous repetitions, the disordered accumulation of episodes, and the disarming prolixity (the current printed edition of the story of 'Antara covers 5,600 pages). It should nonetheless be emphasized that these works were intended for public performances rather than to be read.

The *Sirat Bani Hilal,* which was already cited by Ibn Khaldun during the fourteenth century, constitutes the continuation of the ancient Bedouin poetic tradition and is probably the only one to possess the characteristics of a true epic. Unfortunately, only fragments of it remain. It narrates the exploits of the Banu Hilal, a Bedouin tribe that abandoned the Arabian Peninsula and eventually succeeded, after various vicissitudes, in conquering North Africa (tenth and eleventh centuries). There are four cycles: (1) the Sira, the ancient story of the Hilali princes in the Arabian Najd and in Yemen; (2) the Riyada, the mission of exploration after the tribe had been

decimated by a long famine; (3) the Taghriba, the emigration toward the Maghreb; and (4) the intense wars after the conquest of North Africa. The main characters are the Black hero Abu Zayd, the fierce Diyab, princess Jaziyya, and the king of Tunis, Zanati Khalifa. Their adventures are narrated by a professional "singer of tales" who, in Egypt, where the oral tradition has been particularly strong (as attested to by nineteenth-century writer E.W. Lane's report), is called sha'ir (poet) par excellence. He is a wandering minstrel who has specialized in the exploits of the Banu Hilal. He is often an outcast of gypsy origin whose craft continues a family tradition, and he sings his verses accompanying himself with a stringed instrument (rababa) or a tambourine. The art of the storyteller, called muhaddit in Egypt and hakawati in Syria, is quite different: he reads the story of 'Antara or of Baybars aloud in the cafés of Cairo or Damascus, from manuscripts. Nonetheless, even in this case, his performance is characterized by a dramatization that aims to captivate the public.

Research on Arabic oral epic poetry (on both its actual performance and its context), on the social position of the storyteller, and on the rhetorical peculiarities of the narrations contained in the handwritten texts (mostly from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) has increased considerably after a long period of stagnation. The scholar of comparative literatures will greatly take advantage of the painstaking analysis of M.C. Lyons's *Arabian Epic,* which offers a synthesis of the content of each sira, a survey of their narrative motifs, and a comparison with similar motifs in other medieval epic traditions.

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See also Chivalry; Epic Poetry; Heroes and Heroism; Musical Instruments; Poets; Popular Literature; Stories and Storytelling; Storytellers

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EPICS, PERSIAN

Medieval Persian literature has a long and rich epic tradition, reaching back for its major sources to the pre-Islamic era and continuing in a weakened form into the Safavid (sixteenth through eighteenth centuries) and even early Qajar (nineteenth century) periods. Persian epics may be divided into three kinds, according to their subject matter: (1) those that deal with pre-Islamic material; (2) those that take historical or contemporary rulers as their protagonists and that become essentially panegyrics in narrative form; and (3) religious epics that focus on significant Islamic figures. The epics about pre-Islamic material are the most significant of the three categories; epics in the other two styles were written in imitation of them.

There are strong indications that an oral epic tradition existed in pre-Islamic Iran and that the medieval epics dealing with pre-Islamic narratives are ultimately based on the stories preserved and elaborated on by this tradition. The *Shahnameh (Book of Kings)* of Ferdowsi (940–ca.1020) overshadows all other works in this category; it was preceded by a now-lost (apart from a few fragments) *Shahnameh* by the tenth-century poet Marvazi and also by the incomplete *Goshtaspnameh* of Daqiqi (d. 978). Ferdowsi incorporated approximately one thousand lines of Daqiqi's poem (those dealing with the advent of the prophet Zoroaster) into his *Shahnameh*.

The *Shahnameh* begins with a Zoroastrian cosmogony and ignores the Qur'anic account of the creation of the world and man. The earliest myths treated

clearly go back to prehistory; they have parallels with Indo-European myths in other traditions, and they must in origin predate the arrival from central Asia of the Iranians in Iran toward the end of the second millennium BCE. Evil at the poem's opening is the work of malevolent supernatural beings called *divs;* it has been plausibly suggested that these represent the conquered indigenous peoples of the Iranian plateau. Much of the poem is taken up with fairly constant warfare between central Asian Turks and Persians with the River Oxus as their border, although other antagonists are also present, including China (whose people are often treated as Turks by Ferdowsi), Rum (Greece, Rome, Byzantium) and, as the poem draws to a close, the Arabs. The poem is structured as a royal chronicle, and the reigns of fifty monarchs (including three queens) are recorded. Two separate cycles of heroic tales—those dealing with the kings of Iran and those dealing with the house of Nariman, which rules in Sistan (southeastern Iran and western Afghanistan, south of the River Helmand)—are interwoven; the most famous hero of the poem, Rostam, belongs to the Sistani cycle. The common Indo-European epic theme of king–champion rivalry generates a number of the legendary tales, and to this is added a recurrent father-son rivalry, which lies at the heart of the poem's best-known narratives. The *Shahnameh* is notable for its frequent foregrounding of ethical preoccupations, and the moral dilemmas of a good man ruled by an evil or incompetent monarch are explored in a number of its narratives. The work's closing section, which opens with the conquest of Alexander the Great and ends with the mid-seventh-century overthrow of the Sasanian dynasty by Arab invaders, is largely a romanticized history of the Sasanian monarchy.

The rhetoric of Ferdowsi's poem was extensively imitated by other poets, and the motaqareb meter that he and Daqiqi used (Marvazi's *Shahnameh* was in the hazaj meter) became standard for epics. The best-known examples of epics about pre-Islamic material after Ferdowsi's *Shahnameh*—and written within a hundred years of his poem—are the *Garshaspnameh* of Asadi (ca.1010–1073) and the *Faramarznameh*, the *Borzunameh,* the *Azarbarzinnameh*, the *Banugoshaspname*h, and the *Shahryarnameh*, all of unknown authorship; these poems are concerned, respectively, with an ancestor, a son, a grandson, another grandson, a daughter, and a great-grandson of Rostam. Another epic, the *Bahmannameh,* treats of the son of a prince (Esfandyar) killed by Rostam and ends shortly after a report of Rostam's death. That all these epics relate somehow to Rostam suggests that this hero and his family were at the center of the Persian pre-Islamic tradition of heroic narratives, although some epics (e.g., the *Kushnameh*, the *Bizhannameh*) about pre-Islamic legendary figures unrelated to Rostam also exist. Throughout the medieval period and beyond, in addition to being imitated, Ferdowsi's *Shahnameh* was subject to considerable expansion—from approximately forty thousand lines in the earliest manuscript to more than sixty thousand—and was clearly never regarded as a canonical, fixed text. These later interpolations to Ferdowsi's poem often add magical or bizarre events to the relatively sober original chronicle; these types of changes are also apparent in epics written after the *Shahnameh,* most notably Asadi's *Garshaspnameh*.

The tradition of writing epics about pre-Islamic legendary material lasted until the end of the thirteenth century (the date of the *Samnameh,* which was concerned with Rostam's grandfather), but it was meanwhile gradually replaced by two derivative traditions: historical and religious epics. Nezami's *Sekandarnameh* (ca. 1200) treats the life and conquests of Alexander, considerably expanding on Ferdowsi's account; the *Zafarnameh* by Hamdallah Mowstafi (d. 1349) continues Ferdowsi's *Shahnameh*, which ended with the coming of Islam to Iran, up to the author's own time. Tabrizi's *Shahanshahnameh* picks up where the *Zafarnameh* leaves off; it was written in praise of Jenghiz Khan and his family. Subsequent historical epics tended to praise living rulers or their ancestors and were in effect a form of panegyric.

The first significant religious epic involving a protagonist from Islamic history is the Shi'i-oriented *Khavarannameh* (1427) of Ebn Hesam, which deals with Ali, the central figure of Shi'ism, and his legendary conquests in eastern Iran and central Asia. The Shi'i triumph in Iran, with the establishment of the Safavid dynasty in 1501, meant that epics on approved Shi'i themes received court encouragement; typical of them is Heirati's *Shahnameh* (1546), which was dedicated to Shah Tahmasp and concerned with the battles fought by the Prophet Mohammad. Heirati calls his poem a "Shahnameh of righteousness"; his use of the name of Ferdowsi's poem makes explicit the replacement of pre-Islamic concerns by the values of Shi'i Islam.

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EPICS, TURKISH

The Turkic epic (destan, dessan, dasitan, jir, boy) tradition in its pure epic form (épopée) has not survived in the Oguz Turkish-speaking area. A Turkish epic similar to the Kirgiz *Manas* is yet to be discovered, although scholarship by Mehmet Fuat Köprülü and Pertev Naili Boratav suggests the existence of "pure" Turkish epics that did not survive in either oral tradition or manuscript form. The closest counterpart to this genre would be the *Kitab-ı Dede Korkut,* which includes a prologue and twelve legends (boys), composed predominantly in prose. These legends were passed down through two manuscripts written toward the end of the fifteenth century. It is not easy to come up with definitive conclusions about the historical facts and settings of this text. All of the epic protagonists of these legends demonstrate a mixture of cultural and historical characteristics; elements from shamanism, Islam, and other traditions manifest themselves in a single character. What was important for the epic composer was to turn these characters into die-hard fighters of the Oguz. One cannot speak of single authorship when it comes to a work like this; however, there are strong suggestions that the epic-teller of the book was Dede Korkut, who was the shaman of the Oguz, a Muslim saint, and an epic composer and teller with his musical instrument, the kopuz.

What has been predominant and abundant in the Oguz tradition are those works that derived directly from the pre-Islamic epic form, such as the *Dâstân-ı Tevârîh-i Mülûk-i Âl-i 'Osmân*s (Ottoman chronicles), folk hikâyes (romantic epics told by âşıks (troubadours) with the accompaniment of the musical instrument the saz, which is most likely the replacement of the ancient kopuz), menâkibnâmes (hagiographic legends), and gazavâtnâmes and jihâdnâmes (heroic/religious epics, holy war epics). These works may be classified as transitional genres of the historical development from the ancient epic to the modern novel.

Although the Turkish âşık poetry has gone through tremendous structural and thematic transformations over the centuries, it is still a living part of Turkey's cultural prosperity. Traditionally, there was an indispensable ritual attached to becoming an âşık: a dream was always involved in the birth of a troubadour. A holy man or sometimes a maiden would offer one or three cups of wine to the hero in his dream. İlhan Başgöz mentions that, despite the variety of holy persons in this so-called dream motif, their role was almost always the same: they would (1) act as cup bearers, (2) introduce a beautiful maiden to the âşık, (3) bestow a pseudonym upon the hero to be used in his poetry, and (4) offer their help whenever the hero was in trouble. There were also physical ritualistic effects of the holy wine or love potion upon the hero. After drinking the wine, a flame would consume the body of the hero. He would faint, blood would come out of his mouth, and he would remain in this condition for three to seven days. After that, an old woman would appear to the hero, bringing him the traditional stringed instrument, the saz; the hero would then take the instrument and begin playing it. He would immediately start singing, composing poetry orally, and revealing his newly bestowed poetic name. Başgöz argues that the Turkish dream motif complex containing the above-mentioned characteristics occurs *only* in Turkish romantic epics collected from oral tradition (see Silay 1998). Indeed, such rituals in oral tradition are often seen as acting as a bridge between the pre-Islamic Turkic nomadic cultures and the sedentary Islamic Anatolia. As Başgöz argues, there is little or no doubt that the dream motif complex has strong shamanistic elements (this is one of the religious practices of the Turkic peoples). After accepting the precepts of Islam, which are based on sedentary cultural values, Turkish society began mixing elements from both cultures. In an unconscious and natural manner, numerous pre-Islamic cultural rudiments were carried over to the newly Islamized Anatolia.

After the 1960s, the Turkish romantic epic tradition went through a major transformation and gradually became more urban and highly political. A Marxist–Leninist discourse against the Republican regime became the dominant quality of this once most-celebrated form of literary entertainment in rural Anatolia. Especially during the decade before the 1980 military coup, the Turkish romantic epic poetry became the political weapon of both the Turkish left and the conservative and often ultra-nationalist right. Currently this tradition is going through another fascinating social stage in the overpopulated urban centers of Turkey. It now has a brand new house of performance: the Türkü bars. Usually located next to or near the other bars of these cities, the Türkü bars have become an alternative form of entertainment for the educated population, and the performers are no longer the holy-man–inspired âşıks of Anatolia. Wine, beer, and other alcoholic beverages are served in these places, not in a traditional or religious ceremonial sense but in an effort to compete financially with the more established places of night-life entertainment in the neon-lit cities of modern Turkey.

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EPIDEMICS

Medieval Arabic sources use the term *wabā'* (or its variant *waba'*) to designate pestilence, epidemic, and pandemic; the same term is also applied to epizootic disease. From a linguistic standpoint, Ibn Manzūr (d. 1311 or 1312), in his dictionary *Lisān al-'Arab,* equates *wabā'* with *ta'ūn*, a term that appears in medieval chronicles to specifically denote the plague. This confusion is likely the result of the common perception that the plague was the most visible epidemic endured by the populace. The common view among medieval historians is that *ta'ūn* is a *wabā'* but that the occurrence of *wabā'* does not necessarily mean that of *ta'ūn*. In other words, the plague is an epidemic or a pandemic, but epidemics vary and are not limited to the plague.

The Concept of Contagion

The issue of contagion *('adwā)* is problematic. On the one hand, diseases such as the plague, leprosy, smallpox, and measles are classified as contagious in early medieval medical works, notably those of Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn Zakariya al-Razi (better known in the West as Rhazes, d. ca. 925) and al-Majūsi (tenth and eleventh centuries). On the other hand, a hadith (saying) of the Prophet Muhammad is often quoted in support of the denial of the concept of contagion. It is found with many variations in several hadith collections, including (but not limited to) the *Muwatta'* of Malik ibn Anas (d. 795), the *Sahih* of Bukhari (d. 870), and the *Sunan* of Ibn Majah (d. 887). This hadith includes, in all its versions, the invariable statement "*lā 'adwa''* (there is no contagion). Here, the denial of contagion is clear. However, of these sayings of the Prophet Muhammad, one version advises to keep the sick away from the healthy, another to run away from the leper "the same way one runs away from a lion," and a third not to worry about mixing healthy camels with scabby ones. The last version is mentioned by Ibn Majah; in the narrative, a Bedouin tries to draw Muhammad's attention to the fact that a scabby camel may infect a whole herd, to which the Prophet responds: "That is all divine providence *(dhālikumu al-qadar)*. Who caused the first camel to be scabby in the first place? *(fa-man ajraba al-awwala?)*." Another version of this hadith substitutes sheep for camels.

These examples demonstrate an awareness of the existence of contagious and infectious diseases and an empirical way of avoiding them by taking the precaution of not mixing the sick with the healthy. However, the clear statement "there is no contagion *(la 'adwa)*," which is common to this cluster of hadith, has resulted in a general theological attitude that adheres to the text of the hadith and in turn denies the existence of contagion. This is in opposition to the medical texts, in which the concept of contagion (i'da' or 'adwa) is well stated. Despite this, the historical accounts of the recurrence of the plague and its high morbidity contain an implied acceptance of the principle of contagion in explaining the elevated number of casualties. This has led to the introduction of a divine element in the process of contagion as a way to resolve the hadith with the empirical observation. Such is the position of Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani (d. 1449), who maintains in his *Badhl al-Ma'ūn fi Fadl al-Ta'ūn (Offering Kindness in [Explaining] the Virtue of the Plague)* that accepting the thesis that disease is contagious by its own nature is an expression of unbelief. However, the same author recounts, with regard to the plague of AH 833/1430 CE, a huge jump in the morbidity rate in Cairo (from forty a day to one thousand a day in less than a month) after a large gathering held outside of the city for the purpose of prayer to end the plague.

The Etiology of Pestilence

Drawing on the Greek medical tradition, medieval Arabic texts adhere to the miasmic theory in their etiology of pestilence; this is reflected both in medical treatises and in historical works. Pestilence results from the quality of the air and from the physical disposition of one's body; it is then the "corruption" of the air that affects the lungs and leads to epidemics. In his analysis of the decline of dynasties, Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1406) states that "in the later years of dynasties, famines and pestilences become numerous." On the surface, this statement may refer to the appearance of these phenomena as bad omens that foretell the fall of a given dynasty, but, for this author, bloodshed increases during the final years of a dynasty because of unrest; he then draws a causal link between the bloodshed and the plague. In his view, the decomposed bodies corrupt the air and cause

epidemics. He further explains that this is the reason why pestilence is more prevalent in urban areas and less so in rural or less-inhabited areas.

The Plague as Divine Punishment and as Martyrdom

Of all epidemics, the plague has attracted the most attention. Obviously, the concrete and devastating consequences of the recurrence of the plague in the medieval Middle East are the main reason. In general, medieval works give a chronological history of these pandemics together with theological reflections drawn from earlier religious and legal works. This genre has developed mostly after the outbreak of the Black Death, the bubonic plague that swept across the Middle East in 1348 and most of the known world between 1347 and 1349. The devastating demographic and economic effects of the Black Death may have contributed to the rise of this genre of religious and historical literature. Among the religious literature, two assertions tend to be pervasive: (1) the plague is a divine punishment, and (2) death from the plague is martyrdom. The injustice of the rulers, the lack of religiosity, and particularly the spread of adultery are often blamed for the outbreak of the plague. According to Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalāni, a group of theologians agreed that the plague that hit Egypt in 833/1430 was a divine punishment for the oppressive measures taken by the sultan and his subordinates. Likewise, the closing of taverns and houses of ill repute are among the measures often decided upon during a plague epidemic, a prolonged drought, or hard times in general; these measures tend to emphasize the adherence to the text of Islamic law. However, how can the plague equate martyrdom when it is actually considered a divine punishment? A hadith defines ta'ūn (understood to be the plague) as "the stabbing by your enemies the *Jinn*, and in all cases it is martyrdom (or, in some versions, martyrdom for the Muslim)". Another one states that the plague is an act of divine mercy. Islamic tradition clearly states that martyrdom is rewarded with heaven. Therefore, in the case of the plague, God is punishing Muslims by spreading this epidemic and causing martyrdom that will guarantee the victim of the plague a heavenly abode in the afterlife.

The real question, then, is as follows: Is the plague a punishment or a reward? To begin with, this question becomes irrelevant in the case of non-Muslims, because the Islamic concept of martyrdom does not apply to them. Thus, in the case of non-Muslims, the plague is simply a divine punishment. However, for Muslims, this punishment is also a martyrdom that guarantees heaven for the victim of the plague. Medieval Arabic works about the plague strive to resolve this apparent contradiction and offer various explanations.

Modern Scholarship

The historical investigation of epidemics in the medieval Middle East and of their impact is relatively recent and has focused primarily on the plague. To date, the works of the late Michael W. Dols and of Lawrence I. Conrad are viewed as the pioneering efforts in the field. In the case of the medieval Middle East, the historian is faced with the paucity of demographic and economic data and is compelled to rely heavily on chronicles and other general works; this is true even in the cases of the Black Death and later plagues, both bubonic and pneumonic. There are no specific and detailed data about the demographic impact of these pandemics. In the words of David Ayalon, "At the present state of our knowledge attempts at estimates of population sizes in the countries of medieval Islam should be postponed for quite a long time." By the same token, our knowledge of the economic impact of the plague in the medieval Middle East is still fragmentary. Egyptian chronicles belonging to the post–Black Death era show an awareness of the impact of the recurrence of epidemics (particularly of the plague), but the information that one can cull from them is limited. In his doctoral dissertation, Conrad explores the recurrence of the plague in the Middle East from 541 to 749, a period that corresponds with the first occurrence of the Plague of Justinian until the end of the Umayyad dynasty. With regard to the Black Death, the monograph of Dols is the only work devoted to the question. Finally, with respect to the demographic impact of the Black Death, the estimate of a mortality corresponding to one-fourth to one-third of the population is generally accepted in the case of Egypt, but this is not the result of rigorous calculations. It is predicated on the estimates reached in the case of Europe and on the presumed higher degree of urbanization of Egypt. This assumption is in turn built on the narratives of medieval European travelers to the area and particularly to Egypt.

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See also Black Death; Ibn Bakr; Al-Majusi; Malik Ibn Anas; Ibn Khadun

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ESCHATOLOGY

In accordance with literary apocalypses present in other monotheistic and dualistic faiths (Judaism, Christianity, Zoroastrianism, and Manichaeism), Muslim apocalyptic narratives are designed to explain the (usually) difficult circumstances of the present and to overcome them by forging a plausible chain of events that entails the establishment of an ideal messianic society and extends to the very day of judgment. Eschatological narratives appear in both Sunni and Shi'i Islam, but they have greater import in Shi'ism. Like most Muslim religious ideas, eschatology is primarily based on hadith (tradition), which is believed to present sayings and doings of the Prophet Muhammad; a large number of pertinent texts are to be found in the six Sunni canonical hadith collections and in specialized compilations of apocalyptic materials, whereas the Qur'an's eschatology did not have nearly the same impact.

In Sunni Islam, specifically apocalyptic works began to appear from the middle of the eighth century onward and expanded, within a century, into voluminous collections; thus the rich apocalyptic heritage of Syria is known thanks to Nu'aym ibn Hammad al-Marwazi (d. 844). Ibn al-Munadi (d. ca. 947), who probably had pro-'Alid or Shi'i sympathies, collected a substantial number of Iraqi traditions during the following century, and, subsequently, important works such as those of al-Dani (d. 1052) and al-Qurtubi (d. 1272) were produced in Muslim Spain. The apocalyptic heritage was partially accepted into the six canonical collections, whereas, usually, material that

concerned the messianic figure of the Mahdi or that was critical of, for example, the 'Abbasids (749–1258), was not. More expressly messianic Shi'i materials are found in books about the ghayba (occultation) of the Twelfth Imam.

Sunni Muslim eschatological scenarios usually begin with a historical base that is taken from one of three optional time frames. The first and earliest relates to the period of the late seventh and early eighth centuries, is based in Syria-Palestine, and envisions the beginning of the end of the world starting from the wars between the Muslims and the Byzantine Empire. The foremost goal of this scenario is the conquest of the Byzantine capital of Constantinople and, in a larger sense, the entire Mediterranean basin. These traditions often begin with an alliance between the Byzantine Christians and the Syrian Muslims against the Iraqi Muslims. This alliance, however, breaks down at the question of spoils and whether the cross or Allah was responsible for the victory. Both groups then return to their homes, and the Byzantines invade the coastal areas of Syria. Eventually the Muslims prevail and conquer Constantinople. However, the entire cycle of historical narratives includes a great many defeats for the Muslims, some of which involve a temporary Byzantine reconquest of the region of Syria–Palestine. After these events have played out, then the more integrally religious events, such as the appearance of the messianic figure and the antichrist (see below), are added to the story line.

The second historical time frame of Sunni apocalyptic literature relates to the events of the middle of the eighth century, when the 'Abbasid revolution began in the region of Khurasan (eastern Iran and western Afghanistan). This scenario portrays the appearance of the messianic figure, the Mahdi (see below), during a time of oppressive rule, when he will rise up in revolt and come from this distant land to the center of the Muslim world in Iraq and liberate the Muslims, thereby ushering in the messianic age. The third time frame is more divorced from history and uses the so-called "signs of the Hour" as a prelude. These signs, which can also be attached to the other two base scenarios, are those events that will warn Muslims and non-Muslims of the gravity of the times. The signs include political events such as those described above, moral and social decay, religious corruption, natural disasters (earthquakes, droughts, plagues), and cosmic phenomena (comets, meteorites, eclipses of the sun and the moon). Any number of these events, when known to occur in close proximity to one another, can trigger apocalyptic anticipation, panic, or speculation, and it is most probable that the Muslim apocalyptic books produced throughout this period were either in response to or because of these signs.

After either the historical setting is given or the "signs of the Hour" are listed, then both Sunni and Shi'i apocalyptic scenarios describe the rise of the Sufyani, a figure who is a descendent of Mu'awiya ibn Abi Sufyan (r. 661–680). In general, he represents the messianic aspirations of the Syrian Muslims, but he is considered to be a negative figure by Sunnis outside of Syria and a malevolently evil one by Shi'is. He is usually said to rise to power after appearing in the region of the Balqa' south of Damascus, after which he will conquer most of the Muslim world. Many of the accounts describing his reign give detailed descriptions of his cruelty toward the people of Iraq and especially toward the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad. In both Sunni and Shi'i accounts of the Sufyani, he is eventually defeated by the Mahdi, who is the universal messianic figure. The Sufyani is a purely Muslim figure who later appears in eastern Christian apocalypses.

The Mahdi in Sunni Islam is a warlike figure who will conquer non-Muslim regions of the world and eventually establish an ideal peaceable state that will fill the world with justice and righteousness. As stated previously, he will appear in either the Hijaz (Medina or Mecca) or Khurasan. Irrespective of his origin, he proceeds to gather an army, march toward the center of the Muslim world (Syria and Iraq), defeat the Sufyani, and establish his messianic kingdom in Jerusalem. Although the conquest of the Byzantine Empire in some scenarios is accomplished during the historical prelude to the messianic future, in others the Mahdi himself is the conqueror. He is usually said to conquer the entire Mediterranean basin and the difficult-to-conquer regions of Afghanistan and Central Asia.

There are differing opinions as to whether the Mahdi will forcibly convert non-Muslims to Islam. Although, according to some texts, he uses force to convert non-Muslims, according to others he governs each non-Muslim community (e.g., Jews, Christians) according to its own holy book and does not compel its members to accept Islam. The dominant feature of the Mahdi's rule is that it is characterized by absolute justice, peace, and plenty, with the evil characteristics of the world during the time of tribulation having passed completely away. However, his rule only lasts for a very short period of time, usually said to be up to nine years.

In contradistinction to the Sunni Mahdi, the Shi'i Mahdi (also known as the Qa'im) is more of an absolutely powerful and dominating figure. Shi'i scenarios usually portray the Mahdi appearing in Medina or Mecca, where he gathers an army of 313 men (the number who fought at the Battle of Badr in 624) to him. These followers, together with the Mahdi, are

more interested in vengeance than are their analogous figures in Sunni scenarios, and most of their conquests are directed against the Sunnis. However, eventually the Shi'i Mahdi will establish a messianic kingdom in which he will rule throughout the period of his elongated lifetime (usually more than three hundred years). In some accounts, he establishes a dynasty of the Prophet Muhammad's family to rule this kingdom. Other elements of the Shi'i messianic age are similar to those of the Sunnis.

In many scenarios, the Dajjal—the Muslim antichrist—appears before the time of the Mahdi, whereas in others he follows the Mahdi. In certain scenarios (especially Shi'i ones), there are a series of messianic figures or even dynasties of Mahdis (or other lesser messianic figures) that are punctuated by the appearance of the Dajjal. The latter is said to be Jewish, and he has a defect in one of his eyes (usually the left one) and the word kafir (infidel) written on his forehead. He will appear in the area of Persia or Iraq, and many accounts specify the city of Isfahan. After his appearance, the Dajjal will travel through the entire world with the objective of tempting every single person—whether Muslim or non-Muslim—to deny Allah and worship the Dajjal himself. Although there are a few groups that will be capable of resisting his temptation, most accounts emphasize that he will be successful in seducing large numbers of people. However, he will be unable to enter the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, where true Muslims will take refuge from him. Another place of refuge will be Jerusalem, where a substantial number of Muslims will be besieged by the Dajjal and his followers. Just when the city is about to fall, Jesus will return from heaven (where he was raised, according to Qur'an 3:55) to kill the Dajjal and disperse his followers. It is very probable that substantial parts of the Dajjal story were influenced by eastern Christian apocalyptic beliefs.

In some traditions, as previously noted, this act then opens the messianic age or allows it to continue. Jesus then prays behind the Mahdi, ensuring that his presence on earth does not come into conflict with the doctrine of khatam al-nubuwwa (the finality of Muhammad's prophethood). Many accounts then describe Jesus' actions with regard to the Christians: breaking the crosses, killing swine, and facilitating their conversion to Islam. After this period, Jesus will live out his life as an ordinary Muslim and be buried in the Prophet's Mosque in Medina, together with Muhammad, Abu Bakr, and 'Umar.

Usually the appearance of the nomadic tribes of Gog and Magog (Ezekiel 38–9, Revelation 20:7–10) follows the death of Jesus. Gog and Magog will appear suddenly after the barrier Dhu 'l-Qarnayn built to restrain them (Qur'an 21:96) is allowed to collapse. These tribes will overcome the entire world and destroy it. They will originate in either the north or to the east of the region of Central Asia and make straight for Jerusalem, which they will not be able to take. God will cause them to die by means of a worm that will invade their bodies. A large part of the Gog and Magog stories owe their provenance to the *Alexander Romance,* which was popular throughout the Middle East. In general, Muslim apocalyptic literature and scenarios do not include a picture of the actual end of the world nor do they bridge between the cataclysmic events of the last days and the resurrection of the dead and the Last Judgment.

After these early apocalyptic scenarios, the genre of the apocalypse continued to be significant for both Sunni and Shi'i Muslims. New works on the subject were written in the wake of the Crusader and Mongol invasions, most notably by Ibn Kathir (d. 1378); his collection is often seen as the most authoritative one by contemporary Sunnis. It is not always easy to find unity in Muslim apocalyptic or eschatological material, because there are few literary apocalypses that could serve to standardize the tradition as a whole, and there are numerous internal contradictions. However, Muslim scholars, especially those working on hadith criticism and commentary (e.g., al-Nawawi [d. 1277], Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalani [d. ca. 1438]), established a more-or-less accepted timetable.

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See also 'Abbasids; Byzantine Empire; Hadith; Jesus; Messianism; Muhammad, the Prophet; Muslim–Byzantine Relations; Shi'ism

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ESPIONAGE

The earliest accounts of spies, known as 'uyun (eyes), refer to individuals in the pre-Islamic period who collected intelligence that could be used by the tribes in their continual skirmishes. During the early Islamic

period, the eyes spied on enemies of the state both within and outside of its borders. Under the Rashidun, a system of night watchers (‘asas) was introduced; this consisted of a network of guards who were responsible for ensuring security after dark. Later, the watchers were used to observe the whereabouts, activities, and opinions of individuals, developing into a web of secret agents that was associated with the office of ‘‘Postmaster,’’ which was responsible for supervising the mail and intelligence services during the Umayyad Caliphate.

Mu‘awiyya ibn Abi Sufyan was the first to use intelligence for political goals during his war against Ali ibn Abi Talib. This practice contributed greatly to his eventual victory. After assuming the Caliphate, Mu‘awiyya focused his attention on his two archenemies, the Shi‘is and the Kharijites.

Spying was used by the Umayyads for a variety of purposes, with each caliph having his own network of spies to gather information about opponents and supporters alike. Others also used spies; for example, the well-known governor Ziyad ibn Abi Sufyan was the first to inflict punishments on the basis of suspicion or intelligence reports. His son ‘Ubayd Allah and al-Hajjaj ibn Yusif developed a network of agents to deal with political unrest in Iraq and the eastern provinces of the caliphate. Later, Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan developed the postal system to provide him with regular news, which helped him to outmaneuver his rivals.

The later Umayyads, however, failed to detect the clandestine activities of the ‘Abbasid movement, the members of which managed to build an extensive intelligence network that helped them to topple the Umayyads. Suspicious by nature, al-Mansur, the second ‘Abbasid caliph, developed the existing eyes into a disciplined corps of spies who reported directly to him. This is attested to by the appearance in Arabic of the term *Sahib al-Khabar* to refer to the caliph’s secret agents, whose main tasks were to gather information, protect the caliph and his authority, and defame or liquidate opponents.

During his long struggle (749–762 AD) with al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, al-Mansur developed innovative techniques, such as sending letters in his rival’s name to opponents in Khurasan and Hijaz, using spies for a single mission only, and recruiting merchants and women to gather information. He also monitored charity groups in Iraq and spread rumors in Hijaz about planned revolts; this forced al-Nafs al-Zakiyya to rebel prematurely.

The ‘Abbasids chose spies for specific missions, selecting only those whose allegiance was unquestioned. Slaves were sometimes used for delicate missions: by al-Mansur, for example, when he had Abi Muslim killed, and by Harun al-Rashid in his dealings with the Baramkids. The ‘Abbasids also used women to compromise high-ranking statesmen, eyes to monitor merchants and strangers in markets, travelers to investigate distant provinces, and beggars to monitor the leaders of religious sects.

Opposition movements, such as the Shi‘is and the Ibadis, developed elaborate strategies to deceive the authorities and their spies, most notably by adopting the religious principle of taqiyya (concealing their true religious and political inclinations). They met secretly and dispatched more than one messenger on every mission to guarantee delivery of the message; they also used codes in case messages were intercepted. Their success can be seen in the establishment of states in areas that were remote from the center of caliphal power, such as those of the Idrisids in Morocco, the Fatimids in Egypt, and the Ibadi imams in Oman.

During the later ‘Abbasid era, almost everyone fell under suspicion, and spying was frequently used for political purposes, with allegations of treason or atheism used as the pretext to liquidate opponents. As a result, the secret service sharply deteriorated in quality, while plots and conspiracies flourished. The practice of espionage itself became dangerous as a result of the emergence of rival authorities to the ‘Abbasid state in Baghdad. If caught, spies faced torture or death. Some became turncoats or double agents.

Many opposition movements emerged, the most important of which was the hashashin (assassins), who relied on a widespread network of spies to assassinate statesmen and other powerful figures. After the fall of Baghdad to the Mongols in 1256 AD, the institutions of the ‘Abbasid state collapsed. The Mamluks, who eventually took power in parts of the former ‘Abbasid state, had to rebuild the intelligence services from scratch, and they eventually came to rely on these services to consolidate their power.

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See also Police; Post (Barid)

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ETHICS

Ethics can be an elusive subject, because the term in English refers to both (1) the variety of moral principles that help define cultures and individual behavior and (2) systematic inquiry into the universal nature and necessity of morality. In the medieval Islamic tradition, the first of these connotations was discussed primarily as adab (proper conduct and manners; also, belles-lettres) and the second as akhlaq (sing. khulq; the innate disposition from which human acts emanate). Although differences between adab and akhlaq were often obscured in practice—because both aimed to cultivate virtue in human beings—this article focuses on akhlaq, or ethics as a discipline.

The akhlaq literature of medieval Islam can be characterized as a synthesis of the scriptural sources of Islam (Qur'an and hadith) with elements from different cultures (particularly pre-Islamic Arabian, Greek, Christian, and Iranian) that came under Muslim rule. A form of eudaemonism, which is prominent in Greek philosophy, provided the framework for this synthesis.

The scripture of Islam, however, is not eudaemonistic. The Qur'an is concerned with moral action and religious duty rather than moral theory or individual happiness. It assumes that the goodness and badness of acts are evident to anyone who simply reflects on the circumstances of the act. The Qur'an considers morality to be binding and thus, rather than justifying moral behavior, exhorts it. Nonetheless, the Qur'anic promise of divine reward and punishment presumes a relationship between individuals' behavior and their well-being.

The appropriation of eudaemonistic philosophy in Muslim ethics was not so much a rejection of the Qur'anic worldview as it was an attempt to resolve apparent moral ambiguities embedded in the monotheism of the Qur'an. According to the Qur'an, God is the sole omnipotent, omniscient Creator. As such, God predestines everything in creation, including human action (57:2–3 and 76:30). The Qur'an, however, also obligates human beings to be righteous and warns that they will be held accountable for their actions on Judgment Day (18:28–29 and 20:84). The Mu'tazilites, who are regarded as the first systematic theologians of Islam, sought to resolve this problem by arguing that it would be unjust for God to punish humans for acts for which they were not responsible. They developed a deontological ethics in which they maintained human free will and argued that the goodness or badness of acts was innately known by humans to be praiseworthy or blameworthy because of their ontological status as such. This knowledge and ability obligated humans to do good and held them morally accountable to God. Although Mu'tazilism influenced Zaydi, Imami Shi'i, and early Hanafi theology (kalām), it was deemed heretical by Ash'aris, Ma'turidis, and Traditionalists (ahl al-hadith) for limiting God's will and power on the basis of human conceptions of what is just. Ash'aris, whose theoretical defense of Traditionalism eventually dominated Sunni kalām, argued for divine volunteerism, defining goodness and badness solely in terms of divine commands and prohibitions.

Because inquiry into what is commanded and prohibited by God fell under the purview of Muslim jurists, Ash'arism helped remove ethical inquiry in Islamic intellectual history from the realm of theology, which was concerned with theories of goodness, into the realm of fiqh (law and jurisprudence), which was concerned with defining right action on the basis of divine law (sharī'a). This move is evidenced in discussions of the Qur'anic duty of commanding good and forbidding evil (3:104). Although this injunction was a major theological concern for Mu'tazilites, Ash'aris and Traditionalists did not discuss it much outside of their jurisprudential works.

The literature about akhlaq, however, was not concerned with morality solely as obedience to divine law. The ethical works of such thinkers as al-Farabi (d. 950 CE), Ibn Sina (d. 1037), and Miskawayh (d. 1030)—whose monumental *Tahdhib al-Akhlaq (Refinement of Character)* heavily influenced the field as evidenced in the works of such Persian authors as Nasir al-Din al-Tusi (d. 1274) and Jalal al-Din al-Dawwani (d. 1501)—aimed to justify the sources and the need for moral principles. Their ethical theories sought to synthesize social customs, revelation, and philosophy by arguing that, when properly understood and practiced, they all worked to fulfill the purpose of human existence and effect real happiness.

Despite the differences in the works of individual moral thinkers, several Neoplatonic (see Plato and [Neo-]Platonism) themes shaped the contours of their discourse. In their anthropology, humans were a composite of base matter and a spiritual soul and as such represented a microcosm of the material and spiritual dimensions of existence; it was claimed that this was the reason for the Qur'an's declaration of humans as viceregents of God on Earth (2:30).

In their psychology, they followed the threefold Platonic division of the soul into a rational, irascible, and concupiscent soul or faculty, which corresponded

with the Qur'anic quiescent (mutma'innah), blaming (lawwāmah), and commanding (ammārah) souls, respectively (89:27, 75:2, 12:53). After Aristotle, the telos of humanity was defined by its distinctive ability to reason, and as such the ultimate superiority of the rational soul was asserted. Practical philosophy or ethics aimed to cultivate virtues in humanity that would bring the demands of their bodies and different souls into balance with one another under the rule of the rational soul. To achieve this state was to realize one's divine purpose, eternal bliss, and union with the divine.

With regard to social customs, it was argued that, as inherently social beings, humans could not realize their lofty end alone. Division of labor, contracts, and cultural conventions all helped create the social cohesion necessary for individuals to fulfill their potential and attain happiness. Political rulers were needed to create and maintain a social order aimed at maximizing the potential of individuals in accord with their aptitude; this was also seen as the aim of religious practice. Religion specified moral principles and duties for the vast majority of humans who did not have the acumen to reason for themselves the means by which they could cultivate virtues and attain their divinely ordained purpose.

Although philosophy, as an end in itself, was not central to Islamic education (because of the mystical implications of such concepts as ascending to the divine through self-refinement), many philosophical ethical theories were appropriated by mystics such as al-Ghazali (d. 1111) and popularized through Sufi teachings.

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See also Adab; Theology; Laws and Jurisprudence; Commanding Good and Forbidding Evil; Al-Farabi; Ibn Sina; Aristotle; Plato and (Neo-)Platonism; Nasir al-Din al-Tusi; al-Ghazali

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EUNUCHS

Eunuchs were emasculated guardians of political, sacred, and sexual boundaries in the medieval Islamic world. The term *khasi* (eunuch) refers to a man who went through the ablation of testicles, whereas a man deprived of all sexual organs is called a *majbub;* use of the latter term is less frequent in the narrative sources. From the tenth century CE on, the term *khadim* (servant) becomes the term that is most commonly used to refer to eunuchs.

Eunuchs were the (obviously) male servants in the women's quarters in the dwellings of the upper classes and in the royal palaces. In the context of Islamic sexual morality, other than one's husband, only certain adult males are allowed to see a woman unveiled, such as her father and brothers. These males are referred to as *mahrams,* or the forbidden ones, because they are, by virtue of their kinship, forbidden sexually. Eunuchs thus enter the world of the women in the same category as mahrams, not because of a kinship relationship but by virtue of their emasculation. It must be added, however, that few eunuchs had direct contact with their master's wives or concubines; there were female servants who acted as intermediaries between the two parties. Depending on one's wealth, the number of servants and eunuchs could well multiply.

The use of eunuchs at private homes is well attested to in medieval narrative sources. These sources suggest that the role of the eunuchs was not limited to serving the women of the house. The medieval scholar al-Subki describes the duties of the eunuch supervisor employed in the interior part of a dwelling as follows: "He is the one who is concerned with women. It is his duty and his right to cast his eyes upon their affairs and to advise the master of the house [concerning them]. He must inform him [the master] of any suspicion which he himself is unable to clear, and he must prevent agents of debauchery such as old women and others from gaining access to the women [of the household]." A fourteenth-century author places the eunuch in the vestibule of the dwelling and not in the residential quarter, where one would expect to find the women of the household. It seems that the entire home, rather than simply the residential

quarters where women live, was considered a sacred, forbidden space, with the vestibule forming its boundary. Even one's closest friend would be expected to ask for permission to enter the inner part of the dwelling (Marmon 1995, 6–7); the vestibule in which the eunuch is located would be the place where this permission would be issued or denied.

When one moves up to the ultimate dwelling—that of the sultan—it is found that the eunuchs were the guardians of spaces that were political as well as sacred. Eunuchs have been employed at the courts of Muslim rulers since the Umayyad era. During the 'Abbasid age, the institution of elite slavery (mamluk) was developed, which creates new functions for eunuchs throughout the remainder of medieval Islamic history. The mamluks, who were enslaved at a relatively young age, had to be educated and introduced to the ways of imperial rule; this important political function came to be played by the eunuchs. There were eunuchs who served both the women and the mamluks, thereby establishing connections between the royal women and the administrators and generals of the future.

During the long reign of the Ottomans, there developed a differentiation within the body of the eunuchs employed at the court that seems to have followed the lines drawn by skin color. That the Ottoman court included eunuchs from the fourteenth century on is well attested to by documents referring to *tawashis* (a Turko-Arabic term denoting a servant) during the early fourteenth century. During the fifteenth century, reference is made to Ottoman eunuchs who were appointed to commanding positions outside of the court, such as a vizierate. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there are several Ottoman grand viziers and governors of Egypt who had been eunuchs at the palace. Available evidence suggests that these eunuchs and others who had administrative functions at the court were "white," whereas the eunuchs who served the women of the residential quarters were "black." What complicates this neat picture, which is suggestive of a division of labor between the two contingents of eunuchs at the Ottoman palace, is that the chief of all eunuchs was an African one from the late sixteenth century on.

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EUROPEAN LITERATURE, PERCEPTION OF ISLAM

Faced with the expansion of Islam, the crises of power over Jerusalem, the proximity of a thriving Islamic civilization in parts of Spain and Italy, and the uneasy transmission of knowledge (especially in the realm of science), medieval Christians imagined and recorded Muslim identity in diverse ways. Those who traveled to Muslim lands also provided accounts of their experiences. In the world of non-fiction, Christian Europeans produced propaganda, travel accounts, chronicles, and theological treatises in which they addressed Islam, often from an adversarial stance that aimed at disqualifying Islam's claims to the status of a revealed religion. Christian theologians in particular generated much debate about Islam, challenging it in terms of doctrine in a variety of tones ranging from pacifist invitations to conversion to obvious belligerence.

Fiction, which is the subject to be addressed in this entry, also portrayed Islam and the Muslim, often referring to the religion and its practitioners in terms that in contemporary English would translate as "Mohammedan," "Saracen," "Moor," or "pagan." When Islam and the Muslim were portrayed in medieval European fiction, the representation was not only informed by the contextual concerns outlined above but also by each author's own creativity and engagement with literary tradition.

On the most visible level, throughout the European Middle Ages, the Saracen or Mohammedan fulfilled a basically propagandistic role in both fiction and non-fiction, driven by the spirit of the Crusades. This is particularly true of epic poetry; for example, the French *La Chanson de Roland* (ca. 1100 CE), the English romances of Troy and Alexander (14 CE), and the Italian *Orlando Furioso* (1532 CE) contain references to the Saracen as the enemy, highlighting the courage and faith of the Christian warrior through the deserved defeat or ill-gained success of the Muslims. The long Arthurian tradition highlights the Christian knight's perfection against a vast range of foils, among them the Muslim. *Gerusalemme Liberata (Jerusalem Liberated)* by Torquato Tasso (1544–1595 CE) portrays Muslims as sorcerers and pagans, celebrating the liberation of Jerusalem during the first Crusade circa 1099 CE. The crusading spirit thus permeates much of the literature that features knights and kings.

In his monumental poem the *Inferno*, the Italian poet Dante Alighieri (1265–1321 CE) does not devote much space to Muslims; however, his depictions do merit attention because of his tremendous impact on Western literature. He places Mohammad and Ali in

the ninth valley, alongside a number of Christian heretics and sinners, which suggests that he sees the Prophet and his nephew as apostates; indeed, scholars have argued that this shows Dante's and the general medieval European public's notion that Islam was not a religion in and of itself but rather a horrific schism in Christianity and therefore a heresy. Interestingly, Dante places Saladin, Averroes (Ibn Rushd), and Avicenna (Ibn Sina) in limbo, possibly because of the general (although ambivalent) respect with which these men were held by erudite medieval Europeans. Scholarship is divided regarding whether Dante's depiction of Muslims is a calculated propagandistic move or if he is too unaware of the facts about the religion to go beyond a generally vague condemnation of it (the latter is more in line with the common wariness of Islam in Medieval Europe). Saints' lives provided a vehicle for a suspicious portrayal of Islam as well; the basic conviction that Islam is a heresy to be mistrusted is reflected in *The Canterbury Tales* by Geoffrey Chaucer (d. 1400 CE), specifically in the "Man of Law's Tale," in which the King of Syria converts to Christianity to be able to marry a Christian princess. This man's mother, who is depicted as unequivocally evil, thwarts his plans because she is against the conversion. Giovanni Boccaccio's *Decameron* (1353 CE) also contains a few stories about Saracens, often against the backdrop of the Crusades. The French Alexandre du Pont's *Roman de Mahomet* (1258 CE) discusses the life of Mohammad as prophet with apocalyptic and crusading zeal.

The case of Christian Spain is quite different from the rest of Europe. Despite the anti-Muslim spirit of Reconquest, portrayals of Muslims in Spanish literature suggest a more textured and subtle poetics of representation than, say, French *chansons de geste*. Thus, for example, in the epic of El Cid (c. 1100 CE), the Christian hero counts the Muslim Abengalbón among his closest friends; the playful *Libro de Buen Amor*, written around 1330 CE by a Christian archpriest and filled with references to Christian ritual, displays profound sensitivity to its own Islamo-Hispanic context and demonstrates coexistence with Spanish Muslims to have permeated life to the extent that the boundary between enemy and friend is no longer as clear as a zealous theologian would have it be. This complexity is to be expected given that Muslims were not distant and unfamiliar to Iberian Christians but rather were counted for centuries as their own countrymen—albeit uneasily so—because of the Islamic settlements in Spain.

Some caution must be exercised against the temptation to consider all medieval European literature as simply anti-Muslim, with no room left for tolerance. The enduring works of a Dante or a Chaucer, as well as the vibrant traditions of epic poetry and the prose narratives of Boccaccio, are too poetically intricate to allow for the prevalence of obvious moral judgment over all other types of interpretation. Thus, even if the depiction of Muslims displays the largely antagonistic spirit of the times, one could still justify the search for ambiguity and paradox in some of the representations, largely because of the sophisticated narrative strategies employed by the prominent authors of the European Middle Ages.

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EXCELLENCES LITERATURE

During roughly the last quarter of the AH first/seventh CE century, reports are said to have been circulated that extolled the merits (fada'il or manaqib) of, for example, reciting the Qur'an; of the Companions of the Prophets; of holy cities such as Jerusalem, Mecca, and Medina; and of the performance of particular religious duties such as the hajj and jihad. These fada'il reports were initially a part of the burgeoning hadith corpus, and the fada'il al-Qur'an traditions appear to be the oldest strand in this literature. Discrete treatises about the excellences of the Qur'an, cities, regions, and people began to make their appearance during the eighth century CE. The composition of fada'il works about countries

is understood to have preceded that of fada'il compositions about people. An early example of the latter kind is *Fada'il al-Ansar (The Merits of the Helpers [of Madina])* by Wahb ibn Wahb (d. 200/815).

The obvious anachronisms contained in the texts of a number of these reports and their vaunting nature make clear that a significant number of the manaqib/fada'il traditions came into existence well after the death of the Prophet and, as a consequence, encode the doctrinal sympathies of their propagators and the political climate of their times. It is possible, therefore, to suggest with judicial circumspection tentative links between the texts of various manaqib traditions and the sociopolitical milieu that may have instigated their circulation. It should be pointed out that medieval Muslim scholars were fully aware of the tendentious nature of many of the manaqib/fada'il reports. The hadith scholar Ibn al-Jawzi (d. 597/1200), for example, lists many manaqib traditions in his *Kitab al-Mawdu^{c}at (The Book of Spurious Reports)*, which he dismisses as blatant fabrications. Other kinds of adiths, which were traditions that greatly exaggerated the merits of particular cities, such as Jerusalem, of certain Qur'anic chapters, and of the early caliphs, were regarded with suspicion and often rejected. The qussas (sing. qass; preacher; literally, "storyteller") played a significant role in the dissemination of a significant number of these praise traditions.

The manaqib/fada'il literature is a rich source of sociohistorical information about the Muslim polity that may be regarded as charting the checkered terrain of the growing political and communal consciousness of the early Muslims. As such, they remain a valuable source for reconstructing the formative period of Islam.

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FARABI, AL- (ALFARABIUS OR AVENNASAR)

Despite uncertainty about Alfarabi's place of birth and the early years of his life, there is general agreement that he was born in approximately 870 CE, beyond the Oxus River—either in Farab, Kazakhstan, or Faryb, Turkestan. In the course of his life, AbuNasr Muchamad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Tarkh n Ibn Awzalagh al-Farabi resided in Bukhara, Marv, Haran, Baghdad, Constantinople, Aleppo, Cairo, and Damascus, where he died in 950. He studied Islamic jurisprudence and music in Bukhara then moved to Marv, where he began to study logic with a Nestorian Christian monk, Yuhanna Ibn Hayln. While in his early 20s, Alfarabi went to Baghdad and continued to study logic and philosophy with Hayln.

At the same time, he improved his grasp of Arabic by studying with the prominent philologist Ibn al-Sarraj, and followed the courses of the famous Nestorian Christian translator and student of Aristotle Matta Ibn Yunus.

Around the year 905 or 910, Alfarabi left Baghdad for Constantinople, where he remained for approximately eight years studying Greek sciences and philosophy. On his return to Baghdad, he busied himself with teaching and writing. In about 942, political upheavals forced him to seek refuge in Damascus. Political turmoil in Damascus drove him to Egypt two or three years later, where he stayed until returning to Damascus in 948 or 949, a little over a year before his death.

Generally known as "the second teacher," that is, second after Aristotle, Alfarabi must be accounted the most important philosopher within the Arabic–Islamic tradition. His writings, charming yet deceptively subtle, use simple language and straightforward sentences. Most often, he expounds what resembles a narrative, a story about natural and conventional things that is simply unobjectionable. As the exposition unfolds, the reader discovers that Alfarabi has accounted for the natural order, political leadership, prophecy, moral virtue, civic order, the order of the sciences, and even the philosophic pursuits of Plato or Aristotle—in short, all the major subjects of interest to humans—in an unprecedented and seemingly unobjectionable manner. Often, it sets forth the reasons that human beings live in civic association, how it can best be ordered to meet the highest human needs, the way most actual regimes differ from this best order, and why philosophy and religion deem this order best.

These writings, extraordinary in their breadth and deep learning, extend through all the sciences and embrace every part of philosophy. Alfarabi's interest in mathematics is evidenced in commentaries on the *Elements* of Euclid and *Almagest* of Ptolemy, as well as in several writings on the history and theory of music. Indeed, his *Large Book on Music* may well be the most significant work in Arabic on that subject. He also wrote numerous commentaries on Aristotle's logical writings, was knowledgeable about the Stagirite's physical writings, and is credited with an extensive commentary in *Nicomachean Ethics,* which has not survived. In addition to accounts of Plato's and Aristotle's philosophy, he composed a commentary

on Plato's *Laws*. Alfarabi's distinction as the founder of Arabic–Islamic political philosophy is due to his being the first philosopher within Islam to explore the challenge to traditional philosophy presented by revealed religion, especially in its claims that the Creator provides for human well-being by means of an inspired prophet legislator. Those who now contest that distinction turn a blind eye to the way he sets forth two accounts of the old political science in the last chapter of a popular writing, *Enumeration of the Sciences*. Both presuppose the validity of the traditional separation between practical and theoretical science, but neither is adequate for the radically new situation created by the appearance of revealed religion. The two accounts explain in detail the actions and ways of life needed for sound political rule to flourish but are silent about opinions—especially the kind of theoretical opinions set forth in religion—and thus are unable to point to the kind of rulership needed now that religion holds sway. Nor can either speak about the opinions or actions addressed by the jurisprudence and theology of revealed religion. These tasks require a political science that combines theoretical and practical science, along with prudence, and shows how they are to be ordered in the soul of the ruler.

In other writings—most notably in his *Book of Religion* and *Aphorisms of the Statesman*—Alfarabi outlines this broader political science. It speaks of religious beliefs as opinions and of acts of worship as actions, noting that both are prescribed for a community by a supreme ruler or prophet. The new political science views religion as centered in a political community whose supreme ruler is distinct in no way from the founder of a religion. Indeed, the goals and prescriptions of the supreme ruler are identical to those of the prophet lawgiver. Everything said or done by this supreme ruler finds constant justification in philosophy, and religion thus appears to depend on philosophy—theoretical and practical. Similarly, by presenting the art of jurisprudence as a means to identify particular details the supreme ruler did not regulate before his death, Alfarabi makes it depend on practical philosophy and thus be part of this broader political science. In sum, his new political science offers a comprehensive view of the universe and indicates what kind of practical acumen permits the one who possesses this understanding, either the supreme ruler or a successor endowed with all of his qualities, to rule wisely. Able to explain the various ranks of all the beings, this political science also stresses the importance of religion for uniting the citizens and for helping them attain the virtues that prolong decent political life. Then, in *Political Regime* and *Principles of the Opinions of the Inhabitants of the Virtuous City*, he illustrates how this new political science might work. A general overview of this whole undertaking is provided in *Attainment of Happiness*—the first part of his famous trilogy *Philosophy of Plato and Aristotle*—where he declares that "the idea of the philosopher, supreme ruler, prince, legislator, and imam is but a single idea."

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FATIMA (AL-ZAHRA') BINT MUHAMMAD (CA. 12 BEFORE HIJRA–11/CA. 610–632)

Fatima was the youngest daughter of the Prophet Muhammad and Khad'ja. She was born in Mecca, probably soon after the beginning of the Prophet's mission in 609–610; according to some sources, a few years earlier. Little is known of her childhood. In the first or second year after the Hijra to Medina in 622, after refusing the suit of Abu Bakr and 'Umar, Muhammad gave her in marriage to his cousin 'Ali ibn Abi Talib; 'Ali was to become the fourth Rightly Guided Sunni Caliph and, according to the Shi'i, Muhammad's divinely appointed successor. Most of the historical reports on Fatima's life are about the details of her marriage. 'Ali did not take another wife in Fatima's lifetime. They had four children, all of whom had important roles in the political and religious life of the first Islamic century: Hasan, the first Shi'i imam; Husayn, the second Shi'i imam and the martyr of Karbala; and Zaynab and Umm Kulthum, who both intrepidly confronted Umayyad authority.

When Muhammad died, Fatima maintained with 'Ali his superior right as the Prophet's successor. She

disputed the caliphate of Abu Bakr and had several fierce altercations with him and his supporter and successor-to-be, 'Umar. Alarmed by her forceful opposition, 'Umar threatened to burn her house down, along with its inhabitants, if her husband did not acknowledge Abu Bakr as caliph; under threat of execution, 'Ali eventually capitulated—according to some reports, only after Fatima died. Fatima also argued with Abu Bakr for her own right to inherit the lands of Fadak; Abu Bakr had denied her Fadak, declaring that he had heard Muhammad say prophets have no heirs. On one occasion of dispute, Fatima is reported to have delivered an eloquent oration (text in *Balaghat al-nisa'*, 54–69) to the assembly of Companions gathered around Abu Bakr. She died at the young age of 23, just two and a half months (six, according to some sources) after Muhammad's death in AH 11/632 CE, and was buried in the Baqi' cemetery in Medina.

The sources attribute several verses of poetry to her in grief-filled elegy of her father, which have been collected in modern times in a slim *Diwan*. Some hadith are also related on her authority, many of which were collected by the historian al-Suyuti in a book titled *Musnad Fatima al-Zahra'*.

Muhammad's line continued solely through Fatima and her children. In particular, the Hasanid and Husaynid lines were religiously and politically important. Shi'i imams of all denominations trace their lineage to the Prophet through Fatima, mostly through her son Husayn, and several ruling dynasties have claimed special status because of ancestry from her. Among them is the Fatimid dynasty of Isma'li caliph-imams who ruled North Africa and Egypt from the ninth through the twelfth centuries; their genealogy was a key factor in legitimizing their claim to the caliphate and the imamate.

Although Sunnis honor Fatima as the beloved daughter of the Prophet and the ideal of gentle Muslim womanhood, the Shi'is venerate her further as one of the "Five Pure Ones" (*Panj-tan Pak* in Persian and Urdu; *al-Khamsat al-Athar* in Arabic), namely, Muhammad, 'Ali, Fatima, Hasan, and Husayn. The Shi'is consider her one of the *ahl al-bayt* (people of the Prophet's house) from whom God "removed all impurity" (Q 33:33). They believe that Fatima, although not an Imam, possessed the infallibility *('isma)* and the power of intercession *(shafa'a)* of the Imams. They attribute several miracles to her, such as the miracle of her divinely luminous veil, which caused an entire Jewish clan to convert to Islam.

Fatima is known by several titles, the best known of which is "al-Zahra'" (the luminous one); the Fatimids named their famed Al-Azhar University after her. She is also known as "Batul" (the virgin), referring to purity and piety rather than celibacy. Enigmatically, she is also called "Umm abiha" (the mother of her father), a title interpreted in various historical or esoteric ways. Finally, both Shi'is and Sunnis believe—the latter following hadith considered sound by authors of their canonical collections, Bukhari and Muslim—that Muhammad designated her "mistress of the women of Paradise" *(sayyidat nisa' al-janna)* and "mistress of all the women in the world" *(sayyidat nisa' al-'alamin)*.

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See also Shi'ism

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FATIMIDS

The Fatimids were a major Isma'ili Shi'i dynasty that ruled over different parts of the Islamic world, originally from Ifriqiyya and later Egypt, from AH 297/909 CE until 567/1171. Comprised of the following fourteen caliphs, the Fatimids were also acknowledged as Isma'ili imams:

1. al-Mahdi (297–322/909–934)
2. al-Qa'im (322–334/934–946)
3. al-Mansur (334–341/946–953)
4. al-Mu'izz (341–365/953–975)
5. al-'Aziz (365–386/975–996)
6. al-Hakim (386–411/996–1021)
7. al-Zahir (411–427/1021–1036)
8. al-Mustansir (427–487/1036–1094)
9. al-Musta'li (487–495/1094–1101)
10. al-Amir (495–524/1101–1130)
11. al-Hafiz

    As regent (524–526/1130–1132)
    As caliph (526–544/1132–1149)

12. al-Zafir (544–549/1149–1154)
13. al-Fa'iz (549–555/1154–1160)
14. al-'Adid (555–567/1160–1171)

The Fatimids traced their ancestry, through the early Shi'i imam Ja'far al-Sadiq (d. 148/765), to 'Ali ibn Abi Talib and his wife Fatima, the Prophet Muhammad's daughter and the eponym of the dynasty.

Foundation and North African Phase

By the middle of the third/ninth century, the Isma'ilis had organized a dynamic, revolutionary movement, designated as *al-da'wa al-hadiya*, the rightly guiding mission, or simply as *al-da'wa*. The aim of this movement, led secretly from Salamiyya in Syria, was to install the Isma'ili imam to a new caliphate, in rivalry with the 'Abbasids. The Isma'ili imams claimed to possess sole legitimate religious authority as the divinely appointed and infallible spiritual guides of Muslims; hence they regarded the 'Abbasids, like the Umayyads before them, as usurpers who had deprived the rightful 'Alid imams of their claims to leadership. The message of the Isma'ili *da'wa* was spread in different parts of the Muslim world, from Transoxiana and Sind to North Africa, by a network of *da'i*s, religiopolitical propagandists.

The early Isma'ili *da'wa* achieved particular success in North Africa due to the efforts of Abu 'Abdullah al-Shi'i, who was active as a *da'i* among the Kutama Berbers of the Lesser Kabylia, in present-day eastern Algeria, since 280/893. He converted the bulk of the Kutama Berbers and transformed them into a disciplined army, which later served as the backbone of the Fatimid forces. By 290/903, Abu 'Abdullah had commenced his conquest of Ifriqiyya, covering today's Tunisia and eastern Algeria. The Sunni Aghlabids had ruled over this part of the Maghrib, and Sicily, since 184/800 as vassals of the 'Abbasids. By Rajab 296/March 909, when Abu 'Abdullah entered Qayrawan, the Aghlabid capital, Aghlabid rule was ended. Meanwhile, the Isma'ili imam, 'Abdullah al-Mahdi, had embarked on a long and historic journey. He left Salamiyya in 289/902, avoiding capture by the 'Abbasids, and after brief stays in Palestine and Egypt, he had been living in Sijilmasa, today's Rissani in southeastern Morocco, since 292/905. 'Abdullah continued to hide his identity while maintaining contact with the *da'i* Abu 'Abdullah. In Ramadan 296/June 909, Abu 'Abdullah set off at the head of his army to Sijilmasa, to hand over the reins of power to 'Abdullah al-Mahdi. 'Abdullah al-Mahdi entered Qayrawan on 20 Rabi' II 297/4 January 910, and was immediately acclaimed as caliph. This represented a great achievement for the Isma'ilis whose *da'wa* had finally led to the establishment of a *dawla,* or state, headed by the Isma'ili imam.

In line with their universal claims, the Fatimid caliph–imams did not abandon their *da'wa* activities on assuming power. Aiming to extend their authority and rule over the entire Muslim community *(umma)* and others, they retained their network of *da'i*s, operating both within and outside Fatimid dominions. However, the *da'wa* was reinvigorated only after the Fatimids transferred the seat of their state to Egypt. The first four Fatimid caliph–imams, ruling from Ifriqiyya, encountered numerous difficulties while consolidating their power. In addition to the continued hostility of the 'Abbasids, and the Umayyads of

Spain, who as rival claimants to the caliphate had their own designs for North Africa, the early Fatimids had numerous military encounters with the Byzantines in Sicily and elsewhere. The Fatimids were also obliged to devote much of their energy during their North African period to subduing the rebellions of the Khariji Berbers, especially those belonging to the Zanata confederation, and the hostilities of the Sunni inhabitants of Qayrawan and other cities of Ifriqiyya led by their Maliki jurists. As a result, the Fatimids could not control any region of the Maghrib, beyond Ifriqiyya, for any extended period. The Fatimids were city builders and founded Mahdiyya and Mansuriyya, which served as their new capitals in Ifriqiya. As successors to the Aghlabids, the Fatimids inherited their fleet and the island of Sicily (Siqilliyya). Thus, from early on, the Fatimid state was also a sea power with Mahdiyya serving as a naval base.

Fatimid rule was firmly established in north Africa only during the reign of al-Mu'izz, who was able to pursue successful policies of war and diplomacy, resulting in territorial expansion. He contributed significantly to the development of the state's political, administrative, and financial institutions, in addition to concerning himself with the *da'wa* activities. Indeed, al-Mu'izz succeeded in transforming the Fatimid caliphate from a regional power into a great empire. He made detailed plans for the conquest of Egypt, then ruled by the Ikhshidids on behalf of the 'Abbasids, a hitherto perennial objective of the Fatimids as the first phase in their eastern strategy of conquest. Jawhar, a commander of long services to the dynasty, led the Fatimid expedition to Egypt in 358/969. Jawhar's campsite outside of Fustat rapidly developed into a city, Cairo (al-Qahira). Al-Mu'izz had supervised the plan of the new royal city, with its palaces, gates, and the mosque of al-Azhar and special buildings for government departments and the Fatimid armies. Al-Mu'izz arrived in his new capital in 362/973, marking the end of the North African phase of the Fatimid caliphate (292–362/909–973).

Egyptian Phase

The rule of al-Mu'izz in Egypt lasted just more than two years, during which he entrusted Ibn Killis with the task of reorganizing the state's finances. The consolidation and extension of Fatimid power in Syria, at the expense of the 'Abbasids and the Byzantines, was the primary foreign policy objective of al-Mu'izz's son and successor, al-'Aziz, the first Fatimid caliph–imam to begin his rule in Egypt in 365/975. In spite of al-'Aziz's hard-won victory in Syria, however, Damascus remained only nominally in Fatimid hands for some time and the Fatimids failed to seize Aleppo in northern Syria. In North Africa, the Zirids who ruled on behalf of the Fatimids had already begun to detach themselves from the Fatimid state. Despite these setbacks, by the end of al-'Aziz's reign in 386/996 the Fatimid empire attained its greatest extent, at least nominally, with the Fatimid sovereignty recognized from the Atlantic and the western Mediterranean to the Red Sea, the Hijaz, Syria, and Palestine. At the same time, *da'i*s acting as secret agents of the Fatimid state had continued to preach the Isma'ili *da'wa* in many eastern regions, notably Persia and Iraq. Al-'Aziz was the first member of his dynasty to use the Turks in the Fatimid armies, to the strong dissatisfaction of the Berber officers, and with catastrophic consequences. Al-'Aziz adopted a tolerant policy toward non-Muslims, also utilizing the services of capable men irrespective of their ethnicities or religious persuasions. The assignment of numerous high administrative and juridical positions to Sunni Muslims, as well as Christians and Jews, in a Shi'i state, in fact, was a distinctive practice of the Fatimids. Ibn Killis (d. 380/991), a convert from Judaism, became the first Fatimid vizier under al-'Aziz in 367/977. The credit for utilizing al-Azhar as a university also belongs to Ibn Killis. The last of al-'Aziz's viziers was a coptic Christian, 'Isa ibn Nasturus (385–386/995–996).

Al-'Aziz's son and successor, al-Hakim, faced numerous difficulties during his long and controversial reign, including factional conflicts within the Fatimid armies and confrontations with different religious groups. One of his most important acts was, however, the foundation of the Dar al-'Ilm (the House of Knowledge) in 395/1005. This became an institution of learning with a fine library, where Shi'is and Sunnis studied a variety of sciences. The Isma'ili *da'i*s also received part of their training there. In al-Hakim's time, the Isma'ili *da'wa* spread successfully in Iraq and Persia through the efforts of Hamid al-Din al-Kirmani and other learned *da'i*s. It was also in his reign that certain *da'i*s began to preach extremist ideas, culminating in the proclamation of al-Hakim's divinity and the formation of the Druze movement, which met with the opposition of the Fatimid state and the *da'wa* organization in Cairo.

Fueled by factional fighting within the Fatimid armies, the Fatimid caliphate embarked on its decline during the long reign of al-Mustansir, who was eventually obliged to call on Badr al-Jamali for help. In 466/1074, Badr arrived in Cairo with his Armenian troops and quickly succeeded in subduing the unruly

Turkish troops and restoring relative peace and stability to the Fatimid state. Badr became the commander of the armies *(amir al-juyush)*, also acquiring all the highest positions of the Fatimid state. Badr (d. 487/1094) ensured that his son, al-Afdal (d. 515/1121), would succeed him in due course as the real master of the Fatimid state. Hence, the viziers, rather than caliphs, exercised effective power in the Fatimid state. Territorially, too, the overall extent of the Fatimid empire began to decline in al-Mustansir's reign. The Fatimids lost parts of Syria and, in North Africa their dominions were practically reduced to Egypt. On the other hand, the Isma'ili *da'wa* activities outside of Fatimid dominions reached their peak in al-Mustansir's time, with much success in Yaman, Persia, and Transoxiana. The *da'wa* was organized hierarchically, with the Fatimid caliph–imam as its supreme leader. A chief *da'i (da'i al-du'at)* acted as the executive head of the *da'wa* organization centered in Cairo. The regions outside the Fatimid state were divided into twelve islands *(jaziras)* for *da'wa* purposes, each one placed under the charge of a high-ranking officer, called *hujja* (proof, guarantor), who headed a hierarchy of subordinate *da'i*s and assistants.

The organization of the Fatimid state remained rather simple during its North African phase, when the caliph–imams acted as the supreme heads of the government administration and commanders of the armies, and the highly centralized administration was normally situated at the Fatimid palace. From the early years in Egypt, the organizational structure of administration and finance introduced by Jawhar and Ibn Killis provided the basis of a complex system of institutions. The Fatimid system of administration in Egypt remained centralized, with the caliph and his vizier at its head, while the provincial organs of government were under the strict control of central authorities in Cairo. The central administration of the Fatimids was carried on through various ministries and departments, known as *diwan*s. Foremost among these units were the *diwan al-insha*, or chancery of state, responsible for issuing and handling various types of official documents; the *diwan al-jaysh*, the department of the army; and the *diwan al-amwal*, the ministry of finance. The officials of the Fatimid state, both civil and military, were organized in terms of strict hierarchies. The Fatimids also developed an elaborate system of rituals and ceremonials. They established a vast network of trade and commerce after settling down in Egypt, providing the state with a significant economic base. In Egypt, the Fatimids patronized intellectual activities, transforming Cairo into a flourishing center of Islamic scholarship, sciences, art, and culture.

On the death of al-Mustansir in 487/1094, the Isma'ilis permanently subdivided into Nizari and Musta'li factions, named after al-Mustansir's sons who claimed his heritage. Hence, the Nizari and Musta'li Isma'ilis recognized different lines of imams. The Musta'lis of Egypt and elsewhere acknowledged al-Musta'li, al-Mustansir's son and successor to the Fatimid throne, as their imam. By 526/1132, in the aftermath of al-Amir's assassination and the irregular succession of his cousin al-Hafiz, the Musta'li Isma'ilis were split into the Tayyibi and Hafizi branches. Only the Hafizi Musta'lis, situated mainly in Fatimid Egypt, recognized al-Hafiz and the later Fatimids as their imams.

The final phase of the Fatimid caliphate, 487–567/1094–1171, was a turbulent one. Reduced to Egypt proper, the Fatimid state was now almost continuously beset by political and economic crises worsened by intense disorders within the Fatimid armies and the arrival of the invading Crusaders. The later Fatimids all died prematurely, and they remained puppets in the hands of their powerful viziers, who controlled the armies. The last Fatimid caliph–imam, al-'Adid, was only nine years old at the time of his succession and his nominal reign represented the most confusing period in Fatimid history. Power remained in the hands of several short-lived viziers, who continuously intrigued against one another. The crusading Franks also had almost succeeded in establishing a virtual protectorate over Fatimid Egypt, while the Zangids of Syria had resumed their own invasions. Ironically, it was left to the last Fatimid vizier, Salah al-Din (Saladin) to terminate Fatimid rule on 7 Muharram 567/10 September 1171, when he had the *khutba* read in Cairo in the name of the reigning 'Abbasid caliph, symbolizing the return of Egypt to the fold of Sunni Islam. A few days later, al-'Adid, the fourteenth and final Fatimid caliph–imam, died after a brief illness while the Isma'ilis, who had always remained a minority in Egypt, began to be severely persecuted. The Fatimid state had thus come to a close after 262 years. Subsequently, Egypt was incorporated into the Sunni Ayyubid state founded in 569/1174 by Salah al-Din.

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FERDOWSI

Ferdowsi, the major epic poet of Persian civilization, was born in 940 CE near the town of Tus in Khorasan, where he apparently spent most of his life. The date of his death is unknown, but it is traditionally given as ca. 1020. His epic *Shahnameh*, a retelling of the pre-Islamic myths, legends, and history of Iran, is one of Persian literature's most significant works.

Ferdowsi began *Shahnameh* when Khorasan was still ruled by the Samanids, who fostered an interest in Iran's pre-Islamic past and were the first significant patrons, after the Islamic conquest, of literature in Persian. The Samanid domains were overrun by the Ghaznavid Turks under Mahmud of Ghazni during Ferdowsi's lifetime—a number of anecdotes recounted by medieval writers concerning Ferdowsi's bad relations with Mahmud are probably apocryphal.

The epic *Shahnameh* is in the *masnavi* (couplet) form and uses the *motaqareb* meter (one of only two medieval Persian meters that do not derive from an Arabic model; *motaqareb* may derive from a pre-Islamic Persian meter). Manuscripts of the poem differ widely in length, with the longest containing up to sixty thousand couplets; earlier and more reliable manuscripts tend to have approximately forty thousand couplets. After relatively conventional introductory matter, the poem divides into three unequal sections: a short mythical section, a legendary section, and a quasihistorical section. Ferdowsi cites both written and oral sources; it is clear that he relied heavily on written sources for the quasihistorical section, but the earlier sections seem to owe much to oral tradition.

In contrast to other contemporary authors concerned with Iran's pre-Islamic past, Ferdowsi's cosmogony is wholly Persian, and he makes no attempt to integrate Persian creation myths, or Persian legendary material, with Qur'anic accounts of the world's early history. Evil is present at the opening of the poem in the form of supernatural beings *(div)*; the first evil person in the poem is the demon king Zahhak, identified as an Arab, and at the poem's end a commander who has foreseen Persia's defeat in the seventh-century Arab invasion prophesies the moral and political disasters that will come to Iran at the Arabs' hands. The poem is thus framed by a fairly overt hostility to Arab culture.

Shahnameh is structured as a king list, and the reigns of fifty monarchs are described, some very briefly, others at considerable length (for example, the reign of the legendary king Kavus covers three of the nine volumes of the standard edition). The earliest stories of the mythical and legendary sections go back to a prehistoric Indo-European past and have some parallels in other Indo-European mythologies (such as Hindu and Greek). The legendary section incorporates into the narrative a separate cycle of tales concerned with the rulers of Sistan (southeastern Iran, Afghanistan south of the River Helmand), the most famous of whom is Rostam, who was in all probability a Parthian hero whose tales of exploits had survived in oral form. The prophet Zoroaster enters the narrative (in the one section of the poem not written by Ferdowsi, but by his predecessor Daqiqi) during the reign of the legendary king, Goshtasp (possibly to be identified with the Achaemenid Hystaspes), and the religious milieu of the poem is generally Zoroastrian, although Ferdowsi shows little detailed knowledge of Zoroastrian beliefs and makes frequent anachronistic references to the religion. The emphatically ethical orientation of many of the tales of the legendary section (such as those of Kaveh, Iraj, Seyavash, and Kay Khosrow) may be considered in part as a legacy of pre-Islamic Zoroastrianism.

The quasihistorical section begins approximately with Alexander the Great's conquest of Iran. From this point on, rulers mentioned in the poem correspond with historical personages, but often in a romanticized or garbled way (for example, Alexander is given a Persian father; Ferdowsi confuses the reigns of the Sasanian kings Shapur I and Shapur II). This section is much less smoothly constructed than the poem's earlier portions, and the narrative contains frequent self-contradictions (for example, the founder of the Sasanian dynasty is given two differing genealogies). The Parthians, who in reality ruled Iran longer than any other dynasty, are very summarily dealt with (their almost five hundred-year reign is compressed into a couple of generations), and this is certainly due to the Sasanian attempt to obliterate the Parthians from the historical record. The legendary grandeur of the poem's opening half gives way to tales of royal hedonism (such as during the reign of

Bahram Gur) and detailed accounts of court intrigues, rebellions, and palace revolutions.

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FESTIVALS AND CELEBRATIONS

The 'Id al-Fitr (Festival of Breaking the Fast) and the 'Id al-Adha (Festival of Sacrifice), although not mentioned in the Qur'an and hadith and usually referred to by legal literature only marginally, have been considered the only two canonical festivals that the Prophet prescribed. This meagerness of religious feasts in Islam is difficult to explain, although it may be connected with the constant struggle against pagan phenomena and remnants of the past. Thus, festivals were relegated to the background, at least by theologians and jurists. Not surprisingly, however, the ordinary folk satisfied their need for celebration by adopting and reviving alien and pre-Islamic festivals, such as Nawruz, Nile festivals, and the Night of the Middle of Sha'ban. In the following paragraphs, only a few of the better-documented festivals and celebrations will be discussed.

Calendaric Festivals

Also called the Minor Feast *(al-'Id al-Saghir)* to distinguish it from the "major" Festival of Sacrifice, 'Id al-Fitr occurs immediately after the Ramadan fast, on the first day of Shawwal. A special prayer led by an imam is mandatory, and one is enjoined to give alms known as *zakat al-fitr*. It was the custom of 'Abbasid viziers and the military commanders to march in processions through Baghdad at dawn, dressed in gorgeous attire, with hundreds of torchbearers, as well as a large number of naphtha throwers. The caliph used to attend the prayer at Baghdad's main mosque. The palaces were illuminated, and dining places were laid out. Decorated boats of the caliph and dignitaries were displayed on the Tigris and lit with lamps. The festival usually lasted three days. In Fatimid Egypt the main celebrations took place at the open praying ground outside Cairo. The caliph went there in a splendid procession to perform prayers and to deliver a sermon. On his return to the palace, a meal was served, which members of the ruling elite attended. Around AH 437/1045 CE, the traveler Nasir-i Khusraw was dazzled by dishes in the form of trees and palaces made of sugar that were prepared for the occasion. In Mamluk times, a special procession of the vizier from the citadel to his residence concluded the day. A detailed description dating from 1515 CE tells, among other details, of a stage erected by the mansion of the Mamluk sultan's son, with trees and bushes of leather, and fountains spraying water.

The celebration of the Muslim New Year at the beginning of Muharram is best known from Fatimid Egypt. It was largely an exclusive court ceremony, which, besides the caliphal display of pomp, included banquets and the presentation of annual reports by officials. We first learn of a caliphal procession in 517/1123. Following ceremonies in the palace, the Fatimid ruler went riding with his insignia (parasol, sword, and inkstand), accompanied by the vizier and his own insignia, emirs and their sons, and mixed units of elite soldiers wearing their distinctive uniforms and carrying parade arms. As soon as the procession became visible to the inhabitants, trumpets were sounded and the caliphal parasol was opened. The procession left Cairo from one of its main gates and re-entered through another one. Merchants decorated the route with their goods, and the gates of the quarters next to the city wall were decorated with drapes and curtains. Alms to the poor and pensions to the high-ranking officials were distributed.

A supererogatory fast on the tenth of Muharram, which had been replaced by Ramadan in order to efface Jewish influence, 'Ashura' has been mainly associated with the Shi'i commemoration of the martyrdom of Husayn in Karbala' in 60/680. However, the Sunnis, possibly the Ayyubid dynasty, reintroduced it as a joyous festival to counteract the Shi'is. Popular practices seem to have developed especially in Egypt and North Africa. Special dishes, rites of fire, visiting of graves, application of henna by women, and almsgiving and spending are customs mentioned by medieval scholars, who largely condemned these innovations.

The night of the fifteenth of Sha'ban was one of the *Layali al-wuqud* (Nights of Bonfires) celebrated in the 'Abbasid and Fatimid states. It was believed that on that night, deeds were examined and destinies determined. The tree of life, on which the name of every human being is written, was believed to be shaken, with the leaves of those divinely sentenced to die in the course of the year thus to fall off. Inhabitants of Baghdad used to flock to the banks of the Tigris

River, illuminate boats, dance and sing, and put up banquets. The barges of the caliphs and the elite were decorated and illuminated. Dressed in their best attire, the rulers were drawn in the barges along the river, a splendid procession of boats, followed by ordinary people. Many spent the whole night rejoicing and playing around bonfires. Customs included fumigating houses to ward off misfortune, and driving wild animals into fire. A special report is of the festival at the time of the Daylamite Mirdawij, who celebrated it in 323/935 with unusual splendor. He collected faggots, set up large candles, and stationed a number of naphtha throwers near the Persian town of Isfahan. Near each elevated place in the town a ''castle'' made of tree trunks was erected. Wax figures were made to increase the effect of illumination. Lit birds were released into the dark night to create a spectacle.

Islamicized Festivals

Of festivals adopted from pre-Islamic cultures, one should mention Mihrjan, after the Persian Mihragan, an originally Mazdean festival dedicated to the Vedic divinity Mithra/Mihr and celebrated around the autumn equinox. Together with Nawruz, it assumed great importance with the rise of local dynasties in medieval Iran in the latter part of the ninth century to the time of the Mongol invasion. It was the custom to change dress, add extra coverings to beds, and prepare for the cold season. There was an exchange of gifts, and people sent perfumed cards of congratulations.

Shi'i Festivals

Celebrated on the eighteenth of Dhu 'l-Hijja to mark the designation of 'Ali as the Prophet's successor, Ghadir Khum was initiated in Baghdad by the Buyid Mu'izz al-Dawla in 352/963. In Egypt it was institutionalized under the Fatimids approximately 10 years later. Initially it was primarily a popular celebration. However, under the Fatimid al-'Amir (495–524/1101–1130), it was orchestrated by the regime and modeled on the Festival of Sacrifice that immediately preceded it, hence deemphasizing the Shi'i aspects and attempting a universal Muslim appeal. Under al-Hafiz (525–544/1131–1149), due to political inner struggles, Ghadir Khum once again became a thoroughly Shi'i-Isma'ili affair. In a detailed description from ca. 549/1154, we find its high point in the reading of the supposed text of 'Ali's investiture *(nass)* before a royal assembly.

Celebrations

Festive occasions in Baghdad were the installation of a new caliph or a birth of a caliph's son, royal circumcision, and marriage. In the circumcision festival of Mu'tazz, son of al-Mutawakkil (232–247/847–861), a thousand robes of honor were distributed to the guests, and the same number of mounts to depart on, each clad in gold and silver trappings. Also, a thousand slaves were manumitted. It was the custom of 'Abbasid caliphs to invite orphans and boys of poor families into the palace to be circumcised with the royal prince. Gifts were bestowed on their parents and alms were distributed. The wedding of al-Ma'mun to Buran, daughter of his vizier, was celebrated in 210/825–826 in Wasit for more than forty days. Thousands of pearls of unique size were showered from a golden tray upon the couple, sitting on a golden mat. Balls of musk, each containing the name of an estate, slave-girls, or other gifts, fell on the guests, who thereafter received the promised gifts.

Mawlid

Perhaps the most significant development in the history of medieval Islamic festivals is the emergence of the *mawlid al-nabi*, namely, the celebration of the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad on the twelfth Rabi' al-Awwal. It possibly was first celebrated in Fatimid Egypt in the eleventh century. During the celebration in Cairo in 517/1123, the earliest for which a description is available, the Fatimid caliph distributed alms, bread, and dishes and held a reception. From descriptions derived from the Fatimid period, we learn of the participation of the Chief Judge *(qadi al-qudat)* and other high officials, who rode in a procession to the major square known as Bayn al-Qasrayn. Sermons were given and the Qur'an was recited. The oldest celebrations among the Sunnis were under Nur al-Din ibn Zanki (511–569/1118–1174). The mawlid was celebrated at night, fires were lit, a banquet was held, and poems were recited. Ibn Khallikan's description of the mawlid in his hometown of Irbil, southeast of Mosul, at the beginning of the thirteenth century is probably an eyewitness account and emphasizes the large number of participants who came from Mosul, Baghdad, and other

relationship between substances consumed and the one who consumed them circulated in popular culture, as well as in scientific literature. For example, eating the heart or liver of a sheep was popularly believed to strengthen one's heart and liver, whereas consuming the sheep's brain was believed to lead to the mental weakness associated with the animal. Dietetics was considered a branch of medicine, and medical treatises approached food from a scientific standpoint, detailing the positive and negative effects of specific foods on the physical, mental, and spiritual health of the consumer.

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See also Agriculture; Animal Husbandry; Beverages; Cash Crops; Desserts and Confections; Medicine, Diet and Dietetics; Nomadism and Pastoralism; Sedentarism; Spices; Wine

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FOREIGNERS

Unlike Greco–Roman civilization, Islam did not see the use or the need to confer legal status to the foreigner. Even if we were to comb through all Muslim law texts, we would not find a single judicial definition of the foreigner. This person, however, does appear in Muslim historico-literary sources. Foreigners even led to the creation in the tenth century of a unique literary genre practiced by both religious and profane scholars. In one exemplary tale, a few witty words, or a graffiti, this genre restored the otherness experienced by all who embarked on the adventure of faraway countries and who left vestiges worth saving in books. The *Book of Foreigners* from Pseudo-Abû'l-Faraj of Isfahan is a good representative of the genre, presenting itself as a collection of graffiti with nostalgia as a theme.

Close and remote at the same time, the figure of the foreigner fascinated Muslims of the Middle Ages with its fundamental ambiguity, probably because medieval Muslim societies used voluntary exile as one of their great social initiation rites. They expected one who returned home, after having been away for a more or less long time, to be radically, but also positively, transformed by his search. Under such conditions, the ideal was to return basking in the attributes of glory, such as those earned through the conquest of knowledge and of riches—unless one returned with narrative results noteworthy enough to make a successful book. It is understandable then that the foreigners most often depicted in the sources were young peoples from all social backgrounds who found in the experience of becoming someone else a way to extend, under socially and culturally acceptable conditions, one stage of their lives: that of youth. An entire generation had to cut their social ties to lead, for many years, a life at times lofty but often economically fruitless and socially risky.

Ghârib is the word used by the medieval Arabic language to signify the foreigner. One of the many anecdotes found in the literary genre of the "books of foreigners" can help reveal its meanings. The mystical theologian Qushayrî (d. AH 465/1073 CE) was invited to a session of religious exhortation upon his arrival in Baghdad, where he was greeted by a compact mass of listeners who were for the most part foreigners like him, a fact he did not know beforehand. No doubt suffering from the pains of exile, he began his exhortation session with a famous *hadith* in which the founder of Islam said, "Travel is a part of suffering." An audience member interrupted him, wanting to know why the prophet would say such a thing, to which the master answered, "Because of the separation from loved ones!" This answer so strongly moved the many foreign listeners that no one in the audience could repress their pain. Tears flowed and emotions rose. The exhortation session became a psychodrama. The scholar, who could not go on, stopped it amid cries and emotional confusion. This touching anecdote explains one of the conditions of the foreigner. Another one, noted since the ninth century, was the emphasis on the distance from one's homeland. In either case, moving away from relations and country was made to be seen as an individual motion (even when done collectively, it was assumed individually), socially disassociating and psychologically and emotionally destabilizing. Upon leaving his or her familiar space, the foreigner entered another world. This break with what was known caused in him or her a psycho-affective instability that often led to comparing him or her with a sick man. Thus a medieval treatise on the art of traveling stated that, according to Galen, the foreigner who became ill would be cured upon seeing his or her homeland: his or her heart would then be freed from pain "as the earth is relieved from drought by an abounding rainfall." That is why, the same source also revealed, Hippocrates—the other great name in Greek medicine—recommended that a sick person be healed only by using plants indigenous to his or her homeland. This explains why those who were to be absent too long from their country, far from their nearest and dearest ones, were advised to carry some clay from their country, to purify the water they

would drink and perhaps also heal the burns from the nostalgia that would consume them.

Yet one did not need to leave one's land or to separate from one's relations to become a stranger. Individuals, in their own country and amidst their compatriots, were "foreign," in fact, and right to any lineage that was not their own. In this case, *ajnabî* was the term used; it might belong more specifically to the judicial vocabulary. When used less technically, it referred to any foreigner to a country, a community, or a language. In this latter sense, it was synonymous to *ajnab*, which seemed to have first been used to indicate the "intractable," the "disobedient," and the "recalcitrant" before referring to the "one who does not belong to a community or a company." The figure of the foreigner took on a new consistence with these two terms, compared with that of the *gharîb,* which medieval Arabic seems to have used exclusively for Arabs and Muslims. The terms designated indistinctively all foreigners, no matter their ethnic, cultural, or religious origins.

What about foreigners from non-Muslim countries? Oddly, they did not have the status of foreigner, at least not from a legal point of view. Otherwise, the image of neutrality would have been projected on them, neutrality that the Muslim law did not grant them because it subdivided the oikoumene in two distinct and irreconcilable categories: one Islamic, the other non-Islamic. The first was called "territory of peace"; the second, "enemy territory." As a result of this antagonistic opposition, foreigners coming from infidel countries were "belligerents" even when they were not professional soldiers nor felt any particular hostility toward Islam and Muslims. Since they were considered enemies, however, they had to be pacified when they traveled through Muslim land. How? By obtaining a safe-conduct *(amân)* from the legal authorities, who thus temporarily eliminated their status of enemy, replacing it with the one—no less temporary—of *musta'min*.

It is different from a sociological point of view. Any person far from his country or community was foreign. Thus, in his *History of India,* Biruni used the plural *ajânib* to refer to those whom the Indians saw as foreigners. The obstacle was first of all religious: Indians, who called all foreigners "impure," were forbidden to have any contact with them, such as getting married, sitting beside them, or eating or drinking with them. They went as far as to refuse the company of those who wished to convert to the faith. Biruni, who noted that "this is what hinders any closeness, what builds a fence between them and us" (p. 47), added "political reasons" to the "obstacles between Hindus and (Muslim) foreigners" who came to conquer their country and eradicate their religion.

This plural word, *ajânib*, linked to the singular *ajnabî* that defined the condition of one who was foreign to the lineage, would be ultimately used in the nineteenth century to designate the non-Arabs, before encompassing all foreigners. Thus the Egyptian became the foreigner of the Syrian, who became the one of the Algerian or the Moroccan. The word *ajnabî/ajânib* would suffer another semantic surgery dictated to the Arabs—under the rule of colonization in particular and of westernization in general—when they restructured their living together within a new European political frame: that of the nation.

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FRANKS, OR IFRANJ

Frank is a term used by the Muslim Middle East to denote the inhabitants of Western Europe generally, rather than specifically, the people of the Holy Roman Empire: Christian descendants of barbarian tribes. However, the term was not normally used of Spanish Christians, who were referred to by Muslim writers as Rum, a name also used for the Byzantines.

The looseness of the designation would seem to reflect the low level of Muslim interest in western Christendom, except on the part of Arab writers in the Iberian Peninsula. Elsewhere in the Muslim world, eastern Christendom commanded more immediate attention, at least at the start of the Islamic era. The victory of the Franks, under their leader Charles Martel at the Battle of Poitiers in western France in AH 114/732 CE, seems to have mattered much less to the defeated Arabs than the latter's failure to take Constantinople from the Byzantines. The Balat

As the most common forms of gambling, backgammon and chess were at the center of most debates on the subject. One of the most important challenges these games raised struck at a core concept in the metaphysics of Islamic monotheism: the nature of fate. Specifically, backgammon came to be seen as the epitome of the orthodox belief in predetermination and trust in God because the roll of the dice was beyond the control of human will and desire. Chess, on the other hand, symbolized all that was wrong with humanity because it encouraged players to rely on their own capacities and gave them a false sense of freedom of choice.

ALAN MIKHAIL

See also Backgammon; Camels; Chess; Divination; Numbers; Pigeons; Pre-Destination; Sports; Toys; Usury and Interest

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GANJ-I SHAKAR, FARID AD-DIN

A prominent Sufi master of the Chishti order in India, Farid ad-Din was born in Kahtwal, a village close to Multan (Punjab) around 1175 CE, to a family that had immigrated to the region from Kabul. Receiving his early religious education (particularly in mysticism) from his mother, Farid ad-Din also attended a *madrasa* attached to a mosque in Multan. It was there that he is believed to have met Qutb ad-Din Bakhtiyar Khaki, a prominent Sufi master from Delhi who initiated him into the Chishti order, an order that was rapidly becoming one of the most powerful Sufi fraternities in northern India. According to hagiographic accounts of his life, Farid ad-Din quickly became renowned in Chishti circles for his ascetic practices, such as hanging upside in a well for 45 while meditating and praying. He also became famous for his fasts through which he is believed to have attained the power of turning stones into sugar; hence, his epithet Ganj-i Shakar (the treasure house of sugar). His asceticism was so extreme that even his own wives and children had to endure severe austerities and restrictions on his account.

In keeping with early Chishti tradition, Farid ad-Din considered association with rulers to be detrimental to a life devoted to inculcating spiritual values. Hence he rejected land grants or gifts from rulers, preferring to rely on gifts from devotees as a means of maintaining himself and his disciples. His mistrust of government and politics was so intense that he eventually decided to abandon Delhi and the political turmoil of a capital city to settle in Ajodhan, a small, remote settlement on the Sutlej River in the Punjab. As Farid ad-Din's fame spread throughout the region and pilgrims flocked to Ajodhan, it was eventually renamed Pakpattan (the ferry of the pure), presumably because devotees could board the metaphorical ferry of salvation, piloted by Farid ad-Din, at this location. On Farid ad-Din's death in 1265, a shrine complex developed around his tomb in Pakpattan. As an important north Indian pilgrimage center, Pakpattan continues to attract devotees of all religious faiths, who come here to seek Farid ad-Din's blessings and his intercession so that their prayers may be answered.

Farid ad-Din played an instrumental role in the expansion of the Chishti order in north India by training several prominent disciples who eventually were responsible for consolidating the order's authority in important cities and towns. Most prominent among them was Nizam ad-Din Awliya, the famous Chishti master of Delhi, whom he met in 1257, only a few years before his death. Shaykh Salim Chishti of Fatehpur Sikri, on account of whom the Chishti order attained great influence in the Mughal court in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was also one of his spiritual descendants. Although Farid ad-Din taught his disciples classical Sufi texts, he himself is not believed to have left behind any important treatise. Oral tradition attributes to Farid ad-Din numerous poems and verses in local north Indian vernaculars, such as Panjabi and Hindawi (the earliest form of Urdu-Hindi), suggesting that he attempted to spread Sufi ideas among ordinary people by composing mystical folk poetry. A few scholars also believe that the poems ascribed to a Shaykh Farid ad-Din and incorporated into the *Adigranth,* the scripture of the Sikh community may also have been composed by Farid ad-Din (Ganj-i Shakar), although there is no consensus on this issue.

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GARDENS AND GARDENING

The pleasurable aspects of medieval Islamic gardens—the sensory delights of sight, scent, sound, and refreshing spray—were balanced with their ability to yield

Gardens. Islamic, fourteenth century. Nasrid period. Alhambra, Granada, Spain. Credit: Werner Forman/Art Resource, NY.

useful fruit and to display the process by which fertility was transformed into profit. Agriculture and trade in agricultural products were the economic foundation of medieval Islam, and gardens were an aesthetic expression of how that spatial economy and ecological system operated. For example, at Khirbat al-Mafjar in Jordan (724–743 CE), an enormous roofed fountain in the outer courtyard provided water and drew attention to water's power to transform the surrounding desert into a habitable landscape of orchards and crops. At Qasr al-Hayr al-Sharqi in Syria (728–729), a seasonal stream controlled by low walls and sluices irrigated an extensive olive orchard that was probably interplanted with spring crops needing shade. This was a working farm that produced olives and oil to be traded between nomadic country dwellers and merchants from the city of Palmyra; yet the estate must also have been enjoyed as a green oasis in the midst of harsh desert.

The human fulfillment of the Qur'an's command to serve as stewards of the earth and to care for the plants and animals was expressed in gardens where the agricultural landscape of irrigation, plants, architectural structures, and planning was reproduced in microcosm for display. The most powerful example of landscape planning occurs in the *chahar bagh* (four-garden) plan, the earliest known example of which is the Umayyad palace at Rusafa in Syria (724–742), where a raised pavilion stood at the intersection of walkways in an irregular garden enclosure. Although a quadripartite organization was implicit in Roman and Achaemenid gardens, in Islamic Syria it appeared as a formal plan with paved walkways axially dividing the garden into quadrants with a pavilion or fountain at the center. The *chahar bagh* plan next appeared at Madinat al-Zahra' in Cordoba (936), although there have been many other examples that left no archaeological trace. Thereafter the quadripartite plan spread across the Islamic world from Spain (Castillejo of Monteagudo and the Alhambra) and Morocco (the garden excavated beneath the Kutubiyya Mosque, Marrakesh) to Afghanistan (Lashkari Bazar), culminating in the great gardens of Timurid and Safavid Iran and Mughal India.

Irrigation was essential for gardening in the dry climate of north Africa and the Middle East. Except during brief rainy seasons, it was drawn from catchment basins (particularly along the Nile), rivers, canals (particularly in Mesopotamia), rainwater cisterns, and even from the water table itself. Ideally, the source of water was above the destination point: at Qasr al-Hayr al-Gharbi in Syria (724–727), a surface

caliphs and sultans during which panegyrists were awarded with fistfuls of gold, silver, and precious gems for their poetic performances. The gifts or rewards presented to poets, artists, and calligraphers in this way were deemed as necessary forms of artistic patronage.

Another form of official gift giving at court was the bestowal of robes of honor (khil'a) to esteemed individuals, a custom with pre-Islamic origins that was institutionalized in the 'Abbasid period and spread across Muslim Spain to Central Asia well into the premodern period. These costly garments were woven in state-owned factories (dar al-tiraz) and embellished with epigraphic bands often including the name of the ruler, the date, and pious phrases. The 'Abbasid court historian, Hilal al-Sabi', described the investiture ceremony of the Buyid prince, 'Adud al-Dawla, during which the caliph presented him a 'Kufi robe' embroidered with gold threads and jewels, a golden tiara, gold and crystal vessels, and a gold-embroidered "seat of honor" with leather cushions. Interestingly, we have evidence from the Fatimid period that members of the urban population also adopted the custom of presenting robes of honor to friends and family members.

There is a great deal of literature devoted to the content and context of diplomatic gifts exchanged between Muslim rulers and between Muslim and non-Muslim rulers. An excellent source for the period up to the eleventh century is the *Book of Gifts and Rarities (Kitab al-Hadaya wa'l-Tuhaf)*. The value and rarity of the gifts presented were not only incisive indicators of the political power and stability of the giver, but they also set the standard for the recipient to reciprocate in equal measure. The Byzantines were one of the most important players in Muslim diplomatic affairs, and the choice of gifts arriving from either side was always carefully selected and often imbued with symbolic value. According to the *Book of Gifts and Rarities*, on one occasion the Byzantine emperor presented the Fatimid caliph of Egypt with three heavy saddles, once belonging to Alexander the Great, made of cloisonné enamel and inlaid with gold. Apart from gifts made of rare and precious materials, rulers presented giraffes, elephants, and other exotic beasts as symbolic expressions of their power and largesse. This is particularly the case for rulers from Egypt (Fatimids, Mamluks, and Ottomans) and India (Mughals) who owned extensive animal menageries, because they could source such magnificent wild creatures from lands under their jurisdiction.

From the sixteenth century onward the diplomatic activities of the three great Muslim empires, the Safavids, Mughals, and Ottomans, maintained the tradition of exchanging manmade rarities of precious materials, Chinese porcelain, textiles, robes of honor, thoroughbred horses, and exotic birds and animals. Furthermore, with the increase in European and Russian contacts, Muslim rulers began to desire items such as surgical and optical instruments, chandeliers, mirrors, clocks, and firearms. A hitherto unmentioned commodity that was always greatly valued by rulers and was presented as tribute from the earliest periods of Muslim civilization was the trafficking of human slaves, for the military, court administration, or harem.

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See also 'Abbasids; 'Adud al-Dawla; Alexander; Birth; Byzantine Empire; Cairo Geniza; Ceramics; Circumcision; Charity; Court Dress; Cultural Exchange; Diplomacy; Egypt; Fatimids; Festivals and Celebrations; Historical Writing; Mamluks; Al-Ma'mun; Marriage, Islamic; Marriage, Jewish; Muhammad, the Prophet; Mughals; Muslim–Byzantine Relations; Nawruz; Ottoman Empire; Poets; Precious Metals; Safavids; Slaves and Slave Trade; Textiles; Zoological Parks

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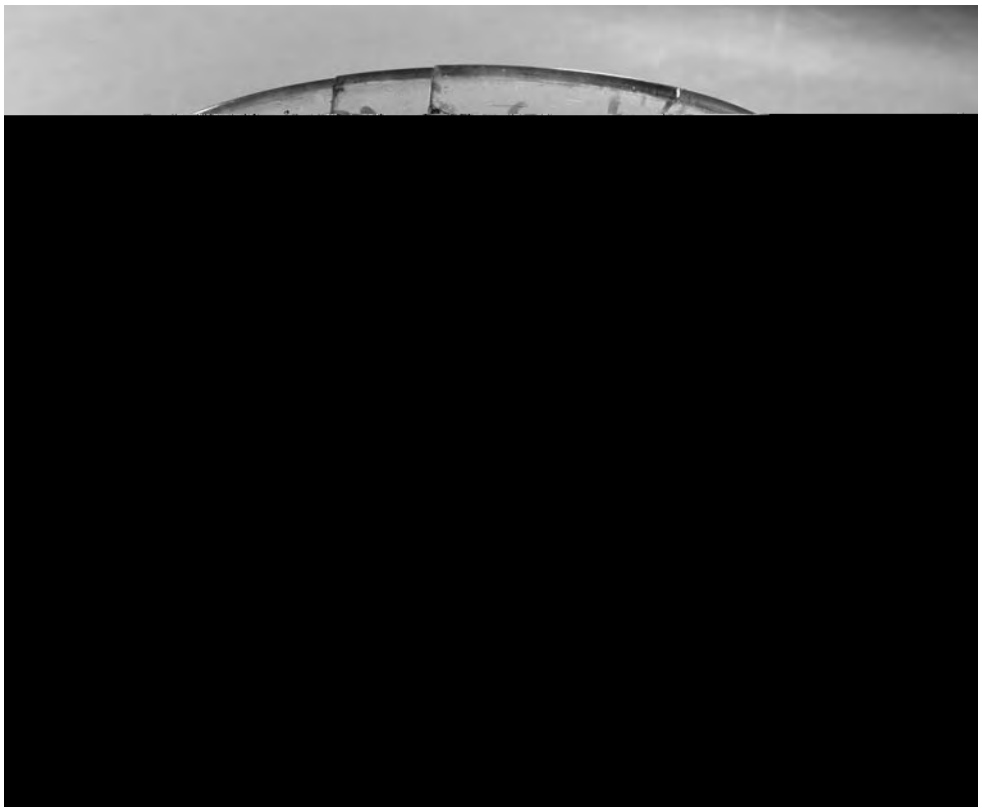
GLASSWARE

Glass in medieval Islam was widely produced from Egypt to Central Asia, drawing on the basic recipes of earlier traditions (a silica–soda–lime composition in which the soda was provided by natural natron as in Roman times and was then slowly supplanted by plant ashes in the ninth and tenth centuries CE) and finding inspiration in shapes, decorative patterns, and colors that were popular in the former Roman/Byzantine lands and in Sasanian Iran and Iraq. Muslim and non-Muslim glassmakers working in the Islamic areas, however, were extraordinarily creative and, in tune with the general evolution of Islamic art, brought this craft to new technical, technological, and artistic heights. In the Islamic world, glass, commonly known in Arabic as *zujāj* and in Persian as *ābgīneh*, had a significant role both as an artistic medium, known and appreciated as far as China and Japan, and as an economically viable material widely used to make windows and containers for commercial goods (mainly liquids such as perfumes, wine, and chemicals). An awareness of its commercial importance is highlighted by the evidence that there were factories, mostly on the Eastern Mediterranean coast, specializing in producing large slabs of glass that were shipped far from the shores to glassmaking areas where the raw material was not readily available, in order to remelt it at a lower temperature, thus simplifying the technology and making it less expensive. Glass was also widely recycled for the same reason, the most important archaeological evidence for which is provided by the shipwreck of Serçe Limanı off the coast of Bodrum in Turkey: The ship, sailing from the shores of the eastern Mediterranean, carried hundreds of baskets full of broken glass that were meant to be used for remelting in factories along the Black Sea or possibly in southern Europe.

Much work still needs to be done by art historians in this relatively neglected field. Broadly speaking, however, the development of Islamic glass is reasonably comprehensible both within the context of the evolution of Islamic art and of glassmaking in the medieval period. Shortly after the beginning of the Islamic era, forms, decorative patterns, and colors continued to resemble closely those glass objects that were created in blown and hot-worked glass by the late Roman and Byzantine glassmakers along the eastern Mediterranean coasts and Egypt. Among them are small flasks enveloped in a trailed cage supported by a quadruped and bottles with fancifully applied decorations. Bold and contrasting colors and textured surfaces are characteristic traits



Goblet of luster-painted glass, made in honor of Abd al-Sammad bin Ali. Fatimid caliphate, eleventh century CE. 10.5 cm. Credit: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY. Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo, Egypt.

of glass produced in this area, as well as in Iraq, in the first centuries of Islam: "Stained" or lustre-painted vessels, *millefiori* (thousand flowers) tiles and small vessels, and needle-point incised objects are the most representative of this trend.

In the formerly Sasanian regions of Iran, almost colorless wheel-cut glass continued to be fashionable through the creation of mirrorlike surfaces by means of contiguous facets making up honeycomb patterns; forms changed with time, but this pattern remained a favorite until the tenth century. In the same areas the glasscutters developed sophisticated yet stylized figural and vegetal patterns in relief, sometimes using two layers of glass of contrasting colors (the so-called cameo technique), which can be regarded as among the best artistic achievements in the arts of the early Islamic period.

The transmission of the craft from father to son for generations (a common trait of glassmaking worldwide) favored the perpetuation of traditional techniques of decoration and colors into the medieval and late medieval periods. A large variety of shapes and details in the decoration, however, allows for a better understanding of both chronology and place of origin of many types. Objects with "marvered" (or

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IBN AL-MUQAFFA'

Ibn al-Muqaffa' (c. 723–759 CE) was a prolific translator and the author of original works on ethics and statecraft. He was born in Fars (Southwest Persia, today Iran) to a family of local notables. In the course of his education he mastered the various scripts used to write Pahlavi, an archaic written form of Persian. He was thus able to read the epic histories, works of advice to kings, and other genres of wisdom literature left behind by the Sasanian Empire that had once ruled Southwest Asia.

After studying in the southern Iraqi city of Basra to perfect his knowledge of Arabic, Ibn al-Muqaffa' held a series of secretarial posts under the Umayyad governors of Shapur and Kirman. Unlike many of his colleagues, he escaped persecution when the 'Abbasid revolution (750) overthrew the Umayyad dynasty. Returning to Basra, he served as a secretary to the brothers of the reigning caliph al-Mansur. When one of the brothers made an abortive bid for the throne, Ibn al-Muqaffa' was asked to draft a letter asking the caliph not to retaliate against his rebellious relative. The terms of the letter angered the caliph, who expressed the wish that someone might rid him of this troublesome secretary. Taking the hint, the governor of Basra had Ibn al-Muqaffa' executed, reportedly by being chopped to pieces.

In the course of his short career, Ibn al-Muqaffa' translated numerous works of Sasanian literature from Pahlavi into Arabic. The most famous of these is *Kalila and Dimna*, a collection of fables that had been translated from Sanskrit into Pahlavi. The stories, which feature both human and animal characters, show how foresight, self-restraint, and trickery can be used to one's advantage. The book's preface, which claims to be the autobiography of the Persian physician who translated the book from the original Sanskrit, contains a searching critique of institutionalized religion. The work inspired at least seven direct translations from the Arabic into other languages. The most influential was the second Hebrew translation, which was made around 1270. It inspired versions in German, Spanish, and Italian, the last of which served as the basis of the first English rendering (1570).

In addition to *Kalila and Dimna*, Ibn al-Muqaffa' translated Pahlavi works on history, statecraft, and ethics. None of his translations survives in its entirety, although one *(The Letter of Tansar)* is known through a later rendering into New Persian. The rest are widely quoted by classical Arabic authors, and even in this fragmentary form constitute an important source of information on pre-Islamic Iran. He has also been credited with a translation of an Aristotelian work on logic, but the attribution is erroneous.

Of the works he himself wrote in Arabic, the most famous is his work on *adab*. *Adab* means "the right way of doing something," and his book offers advice on how to win friends, prosper in one's career, and avoid incurring the wrath of one's superiors. Due to the influence of this work (as well as an imitation of it commonly misattributed to him), *adab* came to mean not only "social skills" but also "books about social skills," and eventually "secular literature," which, along with "good manners," is the meaning of the term in modern Arabic.

Ibn al-Muqaffa' is also famous for his letter of advice to the Abbasid caliph al-Mansur **(AH 136–158/754–775 CE)** recommending that the latter promulgate an official statement of the Islamic creed, adopt a uniform code of law, and pay the army regularly. The recommendations were not adopted, but the diagnosis of the state of the empire proved strikingly prescient.

To Ibn al-Muqaffa' also are ascribed a defense of Manichean dualism and a few lines of prose written in imitation of the Qur'an. Authentic or not, these texts contributed to his posthumous reputation as a heretic, which clung to him despite his conversion from Zoroastrianism to Islam.

Industrious, unsentimental, and often irreverent, Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ deserves much of the credit for preserving the literary legacy of the Sasanian empire and, in the process, creating a precedent for the use of Arabic as a vehicle for secular prose literature.

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See also ‘Abbasids; Adab; Aristotle and Aristotelianism; Basra; Sasanians, Islamic Traditions; Umayyads

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IBN AL-NAFIS

‘Ala’ al-Din ‘Ali ibn Abi l‘Haram al-Qurasi, commonly known as Ibn al-Nafis, was a renowned physician and an author of and commentator on medical works. He also wrote about the fields of grammar, rhetoric, logic, religious sciences, and, famously, of religious philosophy. Ibn al-Nafis was born probably in the second decade of the thirteenth century and grew up and was educated in Damascus. At some point, he moved to Cairo, where he practiced and taught at a hospital of unknown identity, perhaps the Bimaristan al-Nasiri, and eventually attained the post of chief of physicians *(ray‘is al-aibba)* of Egypt and the influential honor of being personal physician to the Mamluk sultan, probably al-Zahir Baybars (r. 1260–1277). One of his contemporary and compatriot students was the surgeon Ibn al-Quff (1233–1286). Ibn al-Nafis may have crossed paths with Ibn abi Usaybi’a (d. 1270) in Cairo, but it does not figure in the latter’s biographical collection of Arabic medicine. Toward the end of his life, Ibn al-Nafis bequeathed his house and library to the Mansuri hospital, founded by the sultan al-Mansur Qallwun (r. 1279–1290) in 1284. He died in Cairo on Dec. 17, 1288.

Ibn al-Nafis was extolled by his admiring biographers and colleagues as a ‘‘second Avicenna’’; his prominent position in the scholarly heritage of the Arabs until today is reflected in the fact that many hospitals in the Arab world are named after him. In fact, the breadth of his scholarship, his ability for synthesis, and his independent judgment, an indicator of which is the scarcity of his literal references to preceding scholarly literature, are remarkable. More decisive is the fact that Ibn al-Nafis, with his treatment of Avicenna’s *Qanun*, inaugurated a long series of commentaries and supercommentaries to this medical encyclopedia and helped to establish its dominant position for some centuries to come. Of his extant commentaries on medical writings a number deal with the *Corpus Hippocraticum*: the *Aphorisms*, the *Prognostics*, the *Epidemics* (for which cf. the essay by P. Bachmann), and *De natura hominis*; the writings of Galen do not seem to have attracted Ibn al-Nafis’ solicitude, because, according to his biographer, al-Safadi, and contrary to his Damascene teacher, Muhaddib al-Din al-Dahwar (d. 1230), ‘‘he loathed the style of Galen and described it as weak and profuse with nothing in it.’’ Apart from a commentary on the famous medical catechism *al-Masa’il fi l-Ôibb* by Hunayn b. Ishaq (d. 873 or 877), he dealt markedly with Avicenna’s *Qanun*, first in the form of an epitome, *Mujiz*, treating all parts of medicine as they are dealt with in the *Qanun*, except for anatomy and physiology; and second, a commentary, *Sarh al-Qanun*. The *Mujiz* gave rise to a host of commentaries, and one Hebrew and two Turkish translations are known. Among the commentators, the most widely read authors are SadÍd al-Din al-Kazaruni (d. 1357); Gamal al-Din al-Aqsara’i (d. 1378); Nafis b. ‘Iwad al-Kirmani (wrote in 1437), whose commentary in turn was repeatedly commented on into the nineteenth century; and Ibn al-Amsati (d. 1496). Ibn al-Nafis’ *Sarh al-Qanun,* as well as at least one of his manuscripts, written before 1242 and bearing the separate title *Sarh tasrih al-Qanun*, contain the earliest account

of the pulmonary blood circulation, which contradicts both common theories of a visible passage and the Galenic assumption of an invisible passage of the blood between the two cavities of the heart and which antedates the publication, in 1553, of the pertinent account by Michael Servetus, possibly through the communication of Ibn al-Nafis' ideas by the translator Andrea Alpago (d. 1520), by three centuries. The anatomical observation that the cardiac wall is impermeable leads Ibn al-Nafis to the logical postulation that "when the blood [in the *right* cavity] has become thin, it is passed through the arterial vein into the lung, in order to be dispersed within the substance of the lung and to mix with the air, whereupon the finest parts of the blood are refined and, after mixing with the air and becoming fit for the generation of *pneuma*, are passed through the venous artery into the *left* cavity" (cf. Iskandar 1970–1980: 603, and Ullmann 1970: 173–176; for the recent discussion of Ibn al-Nafis' theory, cf. Iskandar 1970–1980: 605 f.). Ibn al-Nafis' construction of the pulmonary blood circulation was received scarcely, if at all, by later scholars of Islamic medicine. Equally small was the visible reception of his comprehensive handbook on ophthalmology, *K. al-Muhaddab fi l-kuhl al-mugarrab*. Of his medical *Summa*, the *K. al-Samil fi l-sina al-tibbiyya*, projected to consist of three hundred volumes, only eighty were completed, and a number of manuscripts are extant, some of them autographs of the author.

In his *Muhtasar fi 'ilm uÈÚl al-hadir*, Ibn al-Nafis gives a short summary (some twenty-four folia) of the principles of the science of Tradition, "a reminder for the advanced student and an auxiliary manual for the beginner," which is informed by the school of al-Safr'i and makes extensive use of al-Harib al-Bagdadi's *Kifaya* and, particularly, al-Gazali's *Mustasfa*.

Certainly the most original of Ibn al-Nafis' works is his *Risala al-kamiliyya fi l-sira al-nabawiyya*. The two predecessors of this philosophical allegory are Avicenna's *Risalat Hayy b. Yaqzan* and a work with the same title (but different intention) by the Andalusian physician and philosopher Ibn Tufayl (d. 1185). While Avicenna's tale, with its programmatic title hero who comes into being by spontaneous generation, grows up on an island without fellow human beings, and, by his own observation and reasoning, attains the natural, philosophical, and theological truths, clearly is the inspiration for both Ibn Tufayl's and Ibn al-Nafis' accounts, the relationship between these two latter authors vis-à-vis Avicenna is much closer. This shows in the similar treatment of the hero's anatomical observations, which proceed toward a study of the plants, the meteorological phenomena, the celestial bodies, the Creator and His attributes, and a number of other parallels, as the hermeneutical issue of why the Divine Law is mediated to the common people in the form of allegories. In turn, Ibn al-Nafis' account deviates significantly from that of Ibn Tufayl insofar as his hero, Kamil, "the Perfect," deduces not only the rules of the religious law, the duties of man in worship and social relations—hence the editors' title of the edition of Ibn al-Nafis' text, *Theologus Autodidactus*—but also the historical events from the Prophet Muhammad down into the author's lifetime, not from information given by visitors to the island from outside, as Ibn Tufayl had related a hundred years before, but by his own reasoning. Ibn al-Nafis links his theological and historical ideas by the concept that the divine providence is bound to produce a course of history that is *asiah* for the community, "that which is best and most proper," a concept that is informed both by Mu'tazilite thought and Galen's anatomical ideas, as famously represented in his *De usu partium*.

HANS HINRICH BIESTERFELDT

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IBN AL-RAWANDI, ABU ’L HUSAYN AHMAD IBN YAHYA

Perhaps the most notorious freethinker of medieval Islam, Ibn al-Rawandi was born in Khurasan around 815 CE. He started out as a respected Mu‘tazilite theologian but later became estranged from his former colleagues, perhaps due to the association with his mentor, the Manichaean Abu ‘Isa al-Warraq. From that point on Ibn al-Rawandi is depicted by most (though not all) of our sources as a heretic who maliciously scoffs at all religions, particularly Islam. . . He left Baghdad, apparently to escape persecution by the authorities, and died in 860 (or, according to other sources, in 912).

Although one can see this image as a distorted picture composed by his opponents (as suggested by Josef van Ess), the accumulated information provided by the texts suggests that the image had a firm base in reality, and that Ibn al-Rawandi had indeed outstepped the boundaries of Islam. He is said to have written numerous books, none of which is extant. Extensive quotations in later Muslim sources, however, allow us to reconstruct many of his arguments. In his *Book of the Emerald* he argued that the human intellect makes revelation superfluous. God has provided humanity with the intellect. This intellect, which is part of the definition of humanity, is given equally to all human beings and is sufficient to guide them. The pretenders to prophecy are thus nothing but impostors and charlatans who exploit their knowledge of natural phenomena in order to manipulate and delude simple people. In this book, those who serve as Ibn al-Rawandi’s mouthpiece and who present his antiprophetic lore are the so-called Brahmans: Indian polemicists who uphold the intellectual and spiritual equality of all humans. This literary device may reflect actual contacts with Indian philosophy, but it may also have been conceived to ward off accusations of heresy, and as a protective device against persecution.

Apart from a strong skeptical tenor, it is difficult to attribute to Ibn al-Rawandi any identifiable positive belief. He spared no religion, but his most severe criticism was directed against Islam. His sharp, sarcastic censure of the Qur’an is characterized by mocking and irreverent style. He pointed out apparent inconsistencies in the text, as well as to its illogical, immoral concept of a vengeful God who acts arbitrarily. He was preoccupied by questions of theodicy, to which he dedicated one of his books.

Ibn al-Rawandi’s mastery of the art of dialectical disputation is recognized by his fiercest opponents. They claim, however, that he put this talent to ill use. His image of an *enfant terrible* is enhanced by lists of his books, from which it appears that he cultivated a habit of writing books on various topics, and then writing refutations of the same books. Muslim heresiographers and polemicists are baffled by this practice, which they see as the mark of senseless nihilism. Thus, they depict Ibn al-Rawandi as motivated by mercenary malice alone. But the quotations from his books transpire with genuine existential anxiety, which must have driven him to his rebellious ideas.

SARAH STROUMSA

See also Freethinkers; Heresy and Heretics; Mu‘tazilites; Al-Razi (Rhazes)

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IBN ‘ARAB

Muhyi al-Din Muhammad (1165–1240 CE) was born in Murcia (present-day Spain) and spent his formative years in Seville. After receiving an excellent religious and secular education, he embraced Sufism and traveled widely in search of authoritative Sufi masters in both Andalus and North Africa. In 1201, Ibn ‘Arabi set out on a pilgrimage to Mecca, never to come back. Although Ibn ‘Arabi spent the first half of his life in al-Andalus and North Africa, his talents came to full bloom in the East—the Hijaz, Anatolia, and Syria. There he composed the bulk of his works—including his controversial masterpieces, *Bezels of Wisdom (Fusus al-hikam)* and *Meccan Revelations (al-Futuhat al-makkiyya)*—and trained his foremost

disciple, Sadr al-Din al-Qunawi (1207–1274), who spread his ideas among the scholars of Anatolia, Egypt, and beyond. Ibn ‘Arabi died and was buried in Damascus, where his tomb is still in evidence. Although he occasionally counseled rulers on religious matters, Ibn ‘Arabi generally eschewed close contacts with secular authorities and amassed no fortune. His written legacy consists, in his own estimation, of some 250–300 works. Nowhere in this vast corpus of writings did Ibn ‘Arabi provide a succinct and unequivocal account of his basic tenets. On the contrary, he was deliberately elusive in presenting his ideas and prone to offset them with numerous disclaimers. In conveying to the reader his personal mystical insights, Ibn ‘Arabi made skillful use of ‘‘symbolic images that evoke emergent associations rather than fixed propositions.’’ Although familiar with the syllogistic methods of reasoning of Muslim philosophers and theologians, he always emphasized that they fell short of capturing the dizzying dynamic of oneness/plurality that characterizes the relationship between God and his creation. To capture this subtle dynamic, Ibn ‘Arabi availed himself of shocking antinomies and breathtaking paradoxes meant to awaken his readers to what he regarded as the real condition of the universe, namely, the underlying oneness and identity of all its elements. The intuitive, supersensory awareness of this oneness constituted for Ibn ‘Arabi the essence of mystical gnosis *(ma‘rifa),* which he restricted to the perfected Sufi ‘‘gnostics,’’ or ‘‘saints.’’ His mystical teachings strike us as a mishmash of seemingly disparate themes, images, and motifs borrowed from scriptural exegesis, love poetry, mythology, jurisprudence, and speculative theology. Ibn ‘Arabi explored such controversial issues as the status of prophecy vis-à-vis sainthood (the latter, in his view, being more encompassing), the concept of the perfect man (identified as the supreme Sufi ‘‘gnostic’’ of the epoch), the parallelism between the human ‘‘microcosm’’ and its cosmic counterpart—the universe, the ever-changing self-manifestation of the Divine in the events and phenomena of the empirical universe, the different modes and realms of the divine will (namely, the existential as opposed to the normative), and the allegoric aspects of the Muslim scripture. He addressed these issues in ways that were ‘‘never really repeated or adequately imitated by any subsequent Islamic author.’’ The goal of this deliberately devious and polyvalent discourse was to ‘‘carry the reader outside the work itself into the life and cosmos which it is attempting to interpret.’’ His writings thus function ‘‘as a sort of spiritual mirror, reflecting and revealing the inner intentions, assumptions and predilections of each reader… with profound clarity.’’ It is hardly surprising that each Islamic century produced new interpretations of Ibn ‘Arabi’s ideas and works, especially his controversial *Bezels of Wisdom,* resulting in an entire ‘‘industry’’ of commentaries aimed at bringing out and elucidating the true teaching of the ‘‘Greatest Master,’’ as he came to be known among his numerous followers across the Muslim world. Given Ibn ‘Arabi’s deliberately elusive style it is very difficult to summarize his complex metaphysical ideas. Suffice it to say that he viewed the universe as a product of God’s self-reflection that urged his unique and indivisible essence to reveal itself in the things and phenomena of the material universe as in a giant mirror. All divine perfections that are dispersed in the universe are brought together in the persona of the ‘‘perfect man’’ *(al-insan al-kamil)*, who thus serves as their epitome and allows God to contemplate himself in his full beauty and glory. This idea scandalized many medieval Muslim divines who accused Ibn ‘Arabi of admitting the substantial identity of God and world—a concept that contravened the doctrine of divine transcendence, which was so central to mainstream Islamic theology. In Ibn ‘Arabi’s teaching, God’s absolute otherworldliness and inscrutability is postulated, paradoxically, alongside the notion of his imminent and immediate presence in the empirical world. His identity/nonidentity with the latter is just a matter of perspective, which should reflect the constant changes in the fluid modes of divine existence. Ibn ‘Arabi’s complex synthesis of Sufi moral and ethical teaching, Neoplatonic metaphysics, gnosticism, and mainstream Sunni theology (Ash‘arism) and legal theory aptly capture the astounding diversity of post-classical Sufism. This diversity allowed it to effectively meet the intellectual and spiritual needs of a broad variety of potential constituencies—from a pious merchant or craftsman in the marketplace to a refined scholar at the ruler’s court. Contrary to a commonly held assumption, his philosophical and metaphysical system was not a ‘‘foreign implant’’ grafted onto the pristine body of ‘‘traditional’’ Sufism. Rather, it was a natural development of certain tendencies inherent in Sufism from its very inception. With Ibn ‘Arabi these tendencies evolved—probably under the influence of Ibn Sina and al-Ghazali—into a vision of God not just as the only agent but also the only essence possessing real and unconditional existence. This vision, which may loosely be defined as ‘‘monistic,’’ was rebuffed by the great Hanbali scholar Ibn Taymiyya (1263–1328), who condemned its followers as heretical ‘‘unificationists’’ *(al-ittihadiyya)* bent on undermining divine transcendence and blurring the all-important borderline between God and his creatures. A fierce polemic between the champions of Ibn ‘Arabi and his detractors ensued that has not quite abated down to the

present. It has divided Muslim intellectuals into two warring factions, one of which has declared Ibn ‘Arabi to be the greatest ‘‘saint’’ *(wali)* and divine ‘‘gnostic’’ *(‘arif)* of all time, while the other has condemned him as a dangerous heretic who undermined the very foundations of Islamic doctrine and communal life.

ALEXANDER KNYSH

See also Andalus; Ash‘aris; al-Ghazali; Gnosis; Ibn Sina; Ibn Taymiyya; Plato and Neoplatonism; Saints/Sainthood; Theology

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IBN ‘ASAKIR

Abu al-Qasim ‘Ali ibn al-Hasan ibn ‘Asakir is the most notable figure of the ‘Asakir family, whose members occupied prestigious positions as judges and scholars of the Shafi‘i school of Sunni law in Damascus for almost two centuries (AH 470–660/1077–1261 CE). Ibn ‘Asakir was born in 499/1105 and died in 571/1176. He started his pursuit of religious education at a very young age (six years old), accompanying his father and elder brother to the teaching circles of several renowned Damascene scholars. Between 520/1126 and 535/1141, Ibn ‘Asakir embarked on two ambitious educational journeys that took him to the most influential learning centers in the Islamic world, from Egypt and the Hijaz (Mecca and Medina) to Iran and Central Asia (Khurasan and Transoxiana); he wrote a three-volume work, *Mu‘jam al-shuyukh*, in which he mentioned some fourteen hundred teachers whom he met and studied with, including approximately eighty women. The enormous knowledge that he acquired, especially of *hadith*, law, and scriptural exegesis, earned him the title of *Hafiz* (great memorizer), and he became the most learned and renowned scholar of his day.

Shortly after Ibn ‘Asakir returned from his travels to settle in his hometown of Damascus, Nur al-Din occupied the city (549/1154). Nur al-Din’s political and religious ambition had two focuses: first, on the unification of Syria and Egypt under the banner of Sunni Islam and on putting an end to the Fatimid Shi’i dynasty; second, on mounting an effective military campaign against the Crusaders. Nur al-Din found in Ibn ‘Asakir the perfect scholar who could help him achieve his goals: an ardent defender of Sunni Islam, in particular the Ash‘ari branch. He ordered that a *madrasa* be built for Ibn ‘Asakir, known as *Dar al-Hadith* (School of Hadith). Also under Nur al-Din’s patronage, Ibn ‘Asakir composed several books, among them the largest work of history ever produced by a medieval Muslim scholar: *Ta’rikh madinat Dimashq (The History of Damascus and Its Environs),* which he started in 529/1134. The *History of Damascus* is primarily a biographical dictionary—now published in a partially complete edition in seventy five volumes plus indices—that celebrates the holiness of Syria, with Damascus as its center, by documenting the lives and achievements of the scholars who lived in it or passed by it. It is one of the treasures of medieval Islamic historiography, in that it preserves extensive excerpts from hundreds of now-lost works authored by historians and religious scholars before the time of Ibn ‘Asakir. The first two chapters of the *History of Damascus* focus on the sanctity of the city and its environs and list the sites and events that make it holy. Ibn ‘Asakir did not restrict his work to Muslim figures. He included biblical prophets and figures as well: Abraham, Sarah, Hagar, David, Jesus, Mary, and John the Baptist, to name a few. This is the only Muslim biographical dictionary that features substantial biographical notices for pre-Islamic figures.

In addition to the *History of Damascus*, Ibn ‘Asakir authored several other politically motivated works. With respect to theology, he authored two books in defense of the theologian al-Ash‘ari and his school *(see* Ash‘aris*)*, which was under attack by rival Sunni groups in Damascus, especially the Hanbalites (see Ibn Hanbal). The two works are *Manaqib ash‘ariyya (Ash‘arite Virtues)* and *Tabyin kadhib al-muftari ‘ala Abi al-Hasan al-Ash‘ari (Exposing the Slanderer’s Mendacity against Abu al-Hasan*

al-Ash'ari). Ibn 'Asakir also composed two other works on the virtue of *jihad*: *Arba'in fi al-ijtihad fi iqamat al-jihad*, which is a collection of forty *hadith*s attributed to the Prophet Muhammad, which emphasize the duty and obligation to wage *jihad*; and *Fadl 'Asqalan (The Merits of Ascalon),* which was written in reaction to the fall of Ascalon to the Crusaders in 548/1153 and as an appeal for the Muslims to recapture it. Ibn 'Asakir obviously used religion to serve the political agenda of his patron, Nur al-Din, and used politics to promote his religious conviction. Exalting the holiness of Syria (Damascus, Jerusalem, Ascalon) and urging the Muslims to wage *jihad* against the Crusaders are, therefore, to be seen as his contributions as a scholar to the success of Nur al-Din's campaign and, subsequently, to the triumph of Sunni Islam in Syria and Egypt.

Ibn 'Asakir's eldest son, al-Qasim (d. 600/1203), followed in his father's footsteps. He composed a continuation of the *History of Damascus* and authored a treatise on the merits of Jerusalem, titled *al-Jami' al-mustaqsa fi fada'il al-masjid al-aqsa (The Verified Compendium on the Merits of the Aqsa Mosque)*. The works of Ibn 'Asakir, especially the *History of Damascus*, inspired later Syrian scholars to follow his lead, like Ibn al-'Adim (d. 660/1262), who composed a biographs
bles of Aleppo and its environs, and a chronologs

the lecture circles of several teachers and collecting certificates *(ijāzāt)* from them to serve as scholarly credentials or as qualifications for future employment, especially in the legal profession. He took advantage of the existence of the *Akhī* and *Futuwwa* networks in Anatolia and of the ʻūfī brotherhoods elsewhere to secure lodging and, at times, material help. In 1348, he witnessed the effects of the Black Death while in Aleppo, Syria.

The degree of reliability of Ibn Battuta's *Rihla* is open to argument. This travel narrative is the product of a joint effort: Ibn Battuta as the source of information and Ibn Juzayy as the ghostwriter. It has been long assumed that Ibn Battuta dictated the content from memory and that the inconsistencies, factual errors, and confusing chronology are due to the failings of his memory. This assumption originated with the first complete edition of the text, which emphasized, based on a misinterpretation of a passage, that the entire *Rihla* was dictated from memory. However, this view is now losing ground and recent studies tend to show, through internal evidence, the existence of written notes of unequal quality in Ibn Battuta's possession and that the *Rihla* is therefore the combination of his recollections, written notes, and occasional exaggeration, if not outright boasting, on the one hand, and the finishing touches of Ibn Juzayy on the other.

The first complete edition of the *Rihla* was made by C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti and published with a French translation in four volumes between 1853 and 1858, under the auspices of the Société Asiatique. In 1866, the Hakluyt Society published Sir Henry Yule's abridged English translation of the section on Bengal and China. Between 1958 and 1971, the same Hakluyt Society published H. A. R. Gibb's English translation in three volumes. This English translation was completed by C. F. Beckingham (vol. 4, published in 1994) and followed by an index compiled by A. D. H. Bivar (vol. 5, published in 2000).

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IBN EZRA, ABRAHAM (1089–1164 CE)

Ibn Ezra's life was divided among many areas: poet, grammarian, biblical commentator, philosopher, and physician. Born in Tudela, Spain, Ibn Ezra had two very different periods in his life. The first period began in Spain, from where he seems to have traveled through North Africa, seeking the company of scholars in the present-day lands of Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia. He had a specifically close relationship with the scholar Judah Halevi, and legend even says that Ibn Ezra married Halevi's daughter. Although five of Ibn Ezra's sons are mentioned, only one of them is known, whereas the others may have died young.

The second period of Ibn Ezra's life was from 1140 until his death in 1164. Regarding that period, he stated that he had left Spain for Rome in restless wandering, supposedly "in a troubled spirit" because of the real, or alleged, conversion (ca. 1143) of his only surviving son, Issac, who had lived in Egypt and Baghdad. Most of his work was done in the latter part of his life, partly in Rome, where he wrote a poem that expressed his bitterness against the Jewish community there. He went on to Lucca and from there to Mantua. Then he left Italy for Provence, and later on traveled to northern France, where he

wrote a great deal. According to one writer, Ibn Ezra is said to have written no fewer than 108 books. From Spain to the north and east, Ibn Ezra introduced some very needed important works on Hebrew grammar, which most scholars there had never learned previously.

As a poet he wrote both secular and religious poems, introducing them to eastern and northern European scholars. He did so both in the Spanish poetic school, as well as in the Arabic of Jewish poets who therefore tried to write poems in the Spanish meter and imitate its school of structure, form, and style. As a commentator on the Bible, he also began this activity in Rome in 1140, but a number of his books there are not extant.

Although he did not create any new or original grammatical systems for newer generations, he was considered one of the fathers of Hebrew grammar, both because he collected the conclusions of the eastern philologists and those of Spain, and because he wrote in Hebrew, unlike earlier grammarians. Only two of Ibn Ezra's works on mathematics and astronomy are available; the latter was only discovered and published in the twentieth century. His philosophical areas were essentially Neoplatonic, strongly influenced by Solomon Ibn Gabirol, with views, for example, that like God, the intelligible world is eternal, while the terrestrial world was created in time from preexistent matter. The universe was in three "worlds": the "upper world" of intelligibility or angels; the "intermediate world" of the celestial spheres, and the "lower, sublunar world" that was created in time.

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IBN EZRA, MOSES BEN JACOB (CA. 1055 TO AFTER 1135 CE)

Moses Ibn Ezra (also known as Abu Harun), a Spanish Hebrew poet and philosopher born in Granada, appears to have held an honored position. Moses Ibn Ezra encouraged Judah Halevi in his early poetic efforts, supporting him and forming a lasting friendship. A very decisive change took place in his life in 1090, when the Almoravids captured Granada, its Jewish community was destroyed, and the members of the Ibn Ezra family were dispersed. For some reason he remained in Granada for a while, but only after much effort and suffering was he able to flee to Christian Spain in the North. He was, however, unable to return to his native city for which he yearned the rest of his life. His later years were full of misfortune and disappointments, wandering through Christian Spain and seeking the aid of patrons for whom he had to sing and write their praise. Unable to adapt himself to the manners of the northern Jewish population in its low cultural standards in Christian Spain, he could not adapt himself to all those ways and died far from his native city. Moses Ibn Ezra was one of the most prolific poets of the Spanish school, and the rhetoric of his poetry was seen for many years as a model of perfection that greatly appealed to many. Some modern writers have seen him as having an exaggerated desire for a beautiful poetic form, replete with ornamentation, restricting the flow of free poetic expression. However, many of his poems are perfect in every aspect, with their main themes belonging to love, wine, and nature, and served as a model for medieval poets.

One of his earliest works on Hebrew poetics is found in his treatise on rhetoric and poetry, one of the earliest works on Hebrew poetical literature. This eight-chapter work was written in his old age in an answer to questions on Hebrew poetry posed by a friend. It was published in more modern times: first in a small part of the Arabic original in 1895, then translated into Hebrew in 1924. This was a valuable historical source for Spanish Hebrew poetry and relates to the poet and his environment. Using many metaphors from the Bible, Moses Ibn Ezra showed an appreciation for literary charm and beauty but neglected Jewish writers until recently. Although some seemed perfect, his poetic images and linguistic patterns are so intricate that only other poets can unravel their complexity. Some themes deal with rural life, infidelity in friendship, old age, vicissitudes in luck, death, trust in God, and the beauty of poetry. In his old age, though bitter and dejected, his mood neither impeded his poetic sense nor undermined his joyful poetry. In his great corpus of poems, the *Selihot* (penitential prayers) are so impressive that he was called *Ha-Sallah* (the writer of prayers). Some of his sacred poetry shows signs of ideas, images, and idioms from his secular verse, directly influenced and interwoven with Arabic

literature. Many of his poems are scattered in the prayer books of different rites of Judaism.

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IBN GABIROL, SOLOMON

Solomon ben Judah ibn Gabirol (ca. 1021–1058 CE), known as Abu Ayyub Sulayman ibn Yahya ibn Jabirul in Arabic, was one of the most important Jewish literary and religious intellectuals of eleventh-century al-Andalus. Scant biographical details of Ibn Gabirol's life survive in brief reports from Ibn Sa'id al-Andalusi, a contemporary Muslim intellectual of Toledo, and from the late eleventh to twelfth century Andalusi Jewish scholar Moses ibn Ezra. Following the collapse of the Umayyad caliphate, Ibn Gabirol's family made its way from Málaga to Saragossa. There the young Solomon established himself in the social and intellectual circle of the Jewish courtier Abu Ishaq Yequti'el b. Isaac ibn Hasan. Yequti'el met an untimely death by execution in 1039, but Solomon also found patronage and developed a relationship, sometimes strained, with the leading Andalusi Jewish sociopolitical and intellectual figure of the period, Samuel ibn Naghrela (Samuel the Nagid) of Granada. Despite his associations with Andalusi Jewish notables Ibn Gabirol seems to have been reclusive and socially alienated and was certainly so preoccupied with the advanced study of philosophy that he expressed considerable disdain for mundane social concerns. According to the testimony of his poetry, Solomon suffered from a serious skin ailment. He died in Valencia in 1058.

Ibn Gabirol's literary production includes highly original devotional and social poetry he composed in Hebrew and philosophical works written in Arabic, some of which are no longer extant in the original. A treatise on ethics, *Islah al-akhlaq (Improvement of the Moral Qualities)*, includes citations from the Hebrew Bible, Greek philosophers, and Arabic poetry. An Arabic metaphysical work on cosmology, *The Source of Life*, survived only in Latin translation *(Fons Vitae)* and in a few Hebrew fragments. The Cairo Genizah also yielded fragments of a collection of Arabic aphorisms attributed to Ibn Gabirol. Entitled *Mukhtar al-jawahir (Choice of Pearls)*, the full compilation survived only in Hebrew translation. Ibn Gabirol's philosophical writings addressed the general rather than specifically Jewish concerns of a Neoplatonic intellectual during the classical age of Islam. In particular Ibn Gabirol seems to have been a reader of the classical encyclopedia *Rasa'il ikhwan al-safa (Epistles of the Brethren of Purity)* that arrived in al-Andalus from the Muslim East during the eleventh century. At the same time, the philosophical vocabulary and speculative orientation of his Arabic prose works inform the language and conceptual framework of Ibn Gabirol's idiosyncratic and enigmatic occasional Hebrew poetry that celebrates his quest for wisdom. An Arabo-Islamic literary and intellectual background is equally apparent in Ibn Gabirol's verse written specifically for recitation in the synagogue about the soul's craving to be restored to its sublime source. Studies of Ibn Gabirol's liturgical verse have also shown the Hebrew poet to be a devotee of contemporary Sufi poetry. A masterful synthesis of Ibn Gabirol's intellectual and literary creativity is the Hebrew philosophical poem *Keter malkhut (Kingdom's Crown)*.

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See also Samuel ibn Naghrela; Neoplatonic; Epistles of the Brethren of Purity

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IBN HAMDIS

Abd al-Jabbar Ibn Hamdıs, the most notable and prolific of Arab Sicilian poets, was born in Syracuse in 1055 CE to a noble family of the Azd tribe. He spent his childhood between the privileged life of landed gentry and the first rumblings of the Norman Conquest of Sicily. He chose self-imposed exile in 1078, seeking fame and fortune as a court poet and panegyrist.

His thirteen-year sojourn at the 'Abbasid Court in Seville (1078–1091) gave him the security of royal patronage and exposure to wider spheres of poetic experimentation that shaped his literary sensibilities and talents. His praise poems and celebratory odes to al-Mu'tamid on his victory at the Battle of al-Zallaqa in 1086 against Alfonse VI illustrate the perils of life in frontier areas ravaged by civil unrest and threats of the Christian Reconquest, as well as on the diction, themes, and motifs the poet chose to poeticize his life experiences.

The Almoravid invasion of Seville and the expulsion of his patron forced Ibn Hamdis to ”ee again, this time along the North African littoral where he settled in the province of Ifriqiyya. He spent the second half of his long life shuf”ing to and from the Zirid court at al-Mahdiyya (modern Tunisia), singing the praises of new patrons and lamenting the loss of his beloved homeland, themes that often collapse into a single poem.

Ibn Hamdis bequeathed to Arabic literature an anthology (Diwan) containing 370 poems, from two lines short to eighty lines long. The multiple genres of panegyric, elegy, love poem, devotional poem, wine song, description, and celebratory ode underscore his artistic versatility. The preponderance of the panegyric, from his earlier to his twilight years, calls attention to a career “nancially and professionally dependent on the political whims and winds of his time.

Ibn Hamdis•s poetics is intricately connected to the neoclassicism of the later •Abbasid period, one that revamped old forms to convey new meanings. His reworking of the stock phrases, imagery, themes, and motifs of the poetic canons, his conscious tampering with the early tripartite and later bipartite structure of the qasida, and his playful manipulation of the rhetorical devices of the new poetry(al-badi•), that is, of punning and antithesis, disclose in”uences by poets such as Abu Tammam and al-Mutannabi.

Ibn Hamdis is best known for his verses celebrating the life of and lamenting the loss of his beloved Sicily. Themes of nostalgia for the homeland, lost youth, the vicissitudes of time, and Islam•s struggle against the in“del enemy coalesce around imagery of a paradise lost.

> I remember Sicily as agony stirs in my soul memories of her.
>
> An abode for the pleasures of my youth, now vacant, once inhabited by the noblest of people.
>
> I have been banished from Paradise and I long to tell you her story.
>
> Were it not for the saltiness of my tears, I would imagine them to be her rivers.
>
> I laughed at twenty years old out of youthful passion. Now I cry at sixty for her crimes.

WILLIAM GRANARA

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IBN HANBAL

Ibn Hanbal, Abu •Abd Allah Ahmad ibn Muhammad, a hadith collector, critic, jurisprudent, and dogmatist, was born in Baghdad circa 780 and died in Baghdad in 855.

Ibn Hanbal•s father, who died when Ibn Hanbal was three years old, was a military of“cer in Khurasan. An uncle apparently oversaw Ibn Hanbal•s early education in Baghdad. At age “fteen, he chose not to become a bureaucrat but rather devoted himself to hadith. He “rst studied in Baghdad, then traveled to Kufa, Basra, Mecca, Yemen, and Syria. He “nally settled down in Baghdad again after 820. His “rst and second wives each bore one son and predeceased Ibn Hanbal. A concubine then bore him one daughter and four sons. They all lived together in a large house, supported mainly by urban rents.

Ibn Hanbal famously suffered in the Inquisition that the caliph al-Ma•mun instituted in 833, requiring men of religion to testify that the Qur•an was created. The caliph•s point seems to have been that he was the arbiter of Islamic orthodoxy. Ibn Hanbal was one of the few to refuse the orders. He was imprisoned, then tried probably two years later before al-Ma•mun•s successor, al-Mu•tasim (r. 833…842). He was “nally ”ogged and released. Mu•tazili sources assert that he “rst testi“ed as bidden, but Hanbali sources state that he lost consciousness (and so could not have been responsible for anything he said).

At the accession of al-Wathiq (r. 842…847), Ibn Hanbal brie”y emerged from his house to teach hadith again. He was threatened by the caliph•s agentsa stayed out of sight until the accession

of transmitters; compare the *Sahih* of Bukhari with 7400 hadith reports, about 60% repeats). He generally evaluated hadith reports by comparing variant chains of transmitters. If someone's transmissions were too often uncorroborated by parallels from contemporaries, Ibn Hanbal considered the transmitter unreliable.

Various followers transmitted Ibn Hanbal's legal opinions. He strongly preferred to infer rules from hadith, from the Prophet if possible and from Companions if necessary. Confronted with two contradictory hadith reports, he tested their chains of transmitters to see which was more reliable. If they seemed equally good, he would simply state the alternatives without presuming to impose his own opinion.

Also extant are several collections of his comments on hadith transmitters and two sayings he transmitted concerning the pious life, mainly by early renunciants. In theology he rejected almost all speculation that went beyond what was expressly stated in the Qur'an and hadith. He recognized 'Ali as the legitimate fourth caliph but staunchly rejected Shi'i assertions that some of the Companions had been unrighteous.

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See also Hadith; al-Ma'mun

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IBN ISHAQ

The traditionalist and historiographer Muhammad b. Ishaq b. Yasar is one of the main authorities in the biography of the Prophet. He was born in Medina ca. AH 85/704 CE, and died in Baghdad in ca. 150/767. Like other authors of this genre, he sprang from a family of manumitted slaves *(mawali)*. His grandfather, probably a Christian Arab, was, at the taking of 'Ayn Tamr in Iraq in 12/633, sent with other prisoners to Medina. Ibn Ishaq collected most of his material in Medina and Egypt. He was accused of having Shi'i tendencies and of being a Qadarite (that is, professing free will and not absolute predestination).

The great work of Ibn Ishaq on the life of Muhammad, related historical, pseudohistorical, and legendary topics, pertains to the historical and hagiographical genre *(historia sacra*, or salvation history*)*. It bears the title *The Book of the Military Campaigns [of the Prophet] (Kitab al-Maghazi)*. The most known recension of this work is the rescript/abridgment *(tahdhib)* of ['Abd al-Malik] Ibn Hisham (d. ca. 218/833), known as *The Life of the Prophet* (al-Sira al-nabawiyya), who wrote it on the basis of the transmission of one of Ibn Ishaq's immediate students, al-Bakka'i (d. 183/799). Ibn Hisham undertook omissions in order to reduce the volume of the work. Therefore, he left out the biblical history from Adam to Abraham, and also named of the progeny of Ismael only those who are supposed to have been direct ancestors of Muhammad. Further on, "he has left out some tales recorded by Ibn Ishaq in which the Prophet is not mentioned, to which there are no allusions in the Qur'an." He made in it sundry emendations and additions of manifold and genealogical and lexical import. He has also discarded "such poems as were known to no connoisseur of poetry questioned by him; besides allegations whereof the mention was malicious, or likely to be disagreable to certain people" (Foreword of Ibn Hisham, according to Horovitz).

Ibn Ishaq's work was originally divided into three main sections:

1. The beginning *(al-Mubtada')*: a pre-Islamic history of Revelation. It was divided into four parts:
   a. The pre-Islamic Revelation from the creation of the world till Jesus
   b. The history of Yemen in pre-Islamic times
   c. Arabian tribes and their idol worship
   d. The immediate ancestors of Muhammad and the Meccan cult
2. The sending *(al-Mab'ath)*: the youth of Muhammad and his activity in Mecca.
3. The military campaigns: the Medinan period.

It has been often said that the "complete book" of Ibn Ishaq is no more extant. The problem is that he never wrote or published such a "complete" book, as it has been shown by the Iraqi scholar Sadun Mahmud Al-Samuk for whom: "There never existed a unified text for the traditions of Ibn Ishaq to which the transmitters and later authors could have referred," because Ibn Ishaq has delivered them, often orally, at different times and occasions. It is for this reason that we find different traditions according to the transmitters. Besides al-Bakka'i's recension used by Ibn Hisham, there was that of Salama b. al-Fadl al-Razi (d. 191/806) to which Tabari (d. 3010/923)

had access both in his *Annals* and his Qur'anic commentary, and that of Yunus b. Bukayr (d. 199/815), and so on.

As for the sources of Ibn Ishaq, his weightiest teacher was the traditionalist and jurist Ibn Shihab al-Zuhri (d. 124/742), who is credited with a book on the Campaigns of the Prophet. He also received information from several adherents of the house of al-Zubayr. Of course, he quotes the Qur'an, Islamic connoisseurs of Hadith, Qur'anic exegesis, and poetry and poets. He turns also to non-Islamic learned men concerning Jewish, Christian, and Parsi traditions, a thing for which he has been criticized. Apart from Wahb b. Munabbih (d. 110/728 or 114/732), he appears to be the oldest Arabic author who gives passages of the Old and New Testament in literal translation, sometimes in the so-called Palestinian–Christian translation.

CLAUDE GILLIOT

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IBN JUBAYR, ABU'L-HUSAYN MUHAMMAD B. AHMAD

Ibn Jubayr was an Andalusian traveler, author, and *muhaddith* (recounter of Prophetic tradition). He was born in Balansiya (Valencia) in AH 540/1145 CE, in the last days of Almoravid rule in Sharq al-Andalus (eastern Andalusia), into an Arab family that had settled in Spain soon after the Muslim conquest. He was educated in the religious sciences and *adab* (belles-lettres) at Shatiba (modern Xàtiva south of Valencia), where his father worked as an official during the unsettled period between Almoravid and Almohad rule. Ibn Jubayr himself was a *katib* (chancery secretary) in Sabta (modern Ceuta on the northern Morocco coast) and Granada for 'Uthman Abu Sa'id, brother of the second Almohad ruler, Abu Ya'qub Yusuf I, and governor of Granada.

In AH Shawwal 578/February 1183 CE Ibn Jubayr left Granada on the first of three journeys that he was to make in the course of his life. It is the only one that he wrote about, or at least the only one of which the account survives. He first went to Egypt, traveling by sea from Ceuta via Sardinia, Sicily, and Crete. After landing at Alexandria, he went south to Cairo, and thence, after crossing the Red Sea, to Jedda. He stayed in Mecca for nine months, and performed the *hajj* (pilgrimage). He then made the desert crossing to Kufa in western Iraq. From there he went north to Baghdad and Mosul, and crossed the Jazira (northern Mesopotamia) to Aleppo in Syria. He next turned south to Damascus, from where he made for Acre on the coast of Palestine. He returned to Spain by sea via Sicily, arriving in Granada in AH Muharram 581/April 1185 CE.

Ibn Jubayr is supposed to have made the pilgrimage to Mecca to expiate the sin of drinking wine. This, perhaps, accounts for the emphasis on the rigors of travel in the account of his first journey, titled *Rihla (Journey)*. At the same time, Ibn Jubayr gives a vivid picture of the eastern Mediterranean and beyond in the late twelfth century. His book is an abundant source of information about religious practices, social customs, commercial life, modes of travel by land and sea, and the principal monuments of the towns and cities that he visited. From Ibn Jubayr we learn, for example, about the formalities to which arrivals by sea at Alexandria were subjected and about the details of the pilgrimage to Mecca. His description of Damascus, meanwhile, is the fullest contemporary account that we have of the medieval city. He also offers a firsthand (Muslim) view of Frankish Palestine: among the places in Frankish hands when Ibn Jubayr visited them were Acre and Tyre.

Encouraged by the news of Saladin's capture of Jerusalem in AH 583/1187 CE, Ibn Jubayr set out on his second journey to the east in AH 585/1189 CE, returning to Granada two years later. He lived successively there and at Malaga, Ceuta, and Fez, devoting himself to the study of *hadith* (prophetic tradition) and *tasawwuf* (Sufism). After the death of his wife in AH 614/1217 CE, he left Spain on his third journey to the east, dying at Alexandria in the same year.

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See also Andalus; Autobiographical Writings; Hajj; Muslim–Crusader Relations; Travel

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IBN KHALDUN

The jurist and historian Abu Zayd 'Abd al-Rahman Wali al-Din al-Hadrami, known as Ibn Khaldun, was born in 1332 in Tunis. He is best known as the author of *Muqaddima (Introduction)*, the first part of his universal history titled *Kitab al-'Ibar*. This introduction serves as prolegomena to the study of history, in which Ibn Khaldun developed the concepts he felt were necessary to comprehend human civilization. While his universal history is generally considered not to have met the standards detailed in the introduction, his work *Muqaddima* is commonly regarded as one of the most significant works of medieval Muslim civilization.

Ibn Khaldun was concerned with the history of civilization *('umran)* in all its complexity, and *Muqaddima* outlines the importance of social, economic, and natural factors, as well as political and religious factors. (Ibn Khaldun is thus labeled by some modern scholars as a founder of "scientific history," as well as of sociology.) A major theme of *Muqaddima* is the rise and fall of states, or dynasties (he used the word *dawla* for both). States, as explained by Ibn Khaldun, rose and fell in a cycle similar to human life: birth, maturity, decline, and death. Central to Ibn Khaldun's discussion of the life cycles of states was the concept of *'asabiyya*, variously translated as solidarity, group feeling, or group consciousness. A group with strong *'asabiyya* (established through means such as blood relation, religious solidarity, or other means) would be able to achieve supremacy over other groups and establish a state. However, once predominance was achieved, *'asabiyya* would eventually fade, leading to the overthrow of that *dawla* and the establishment of a new one.

It is likely that Ibn Khaldun's views were shaped in part by the events he witnessed in his own life. Born in **Hafsid** Tunis, his early career as scholar and public official involved him in the politics and struggles between the Hafsids of Tunis, the **Marinids** of Fez, and the Nasrids of Granada. He left public life for a four-year sojourn in Tunis (1378–1382), which he devoted to scholarship. (Details of his career are known primarily through his autobiography, *Ta'rif bi-Ibn Khaldun.*) It was in this period that he completed his first versions of both the *Muqaddima* and the *'Ibar*, although he continued to revise these texts for the remainder of his life. In 1382, he moved to Cairo, the capital of the **Mamluk** Sultanate, where he had a second career in education and as the occasional state official. He was an acquaintance of the Mamluk sultan Barquq (r. 1382–1389 and 1390–1399). While in the service of Barquq's son Faraj (r. 1399–1412 with a brief interregnum), Ibn Khaldun traveled to Damascus as part of an expedition to counter the invasion of **Tamerlane (Timur)**. Ibn Khaldun met with Timur after the latter had taken Damascus, and subsequently wrote a detailed account of his interview, which is preserved in the *Ta'rif*. Ibn Khaldun returned to Cairo where he died in 1406, shortly after his sixth appointment as chief Maliki *qadi*.

WARREN C. SCHULTZ

See also Mamluks

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IBN KHURRADADHBIH

Abu 'l-Qasim Ubaydallah ibn Abdallah is the author of, among other works, the influential geographical treatise *Kitab al-masālik wa-l-mamālik (The Book of Routes and Kingdoms)*. Little is known of his life, and even the most basic biographical details have eluded scholars. He has been referred to as Ubaydallah or Abdallah, ibn Abdallah or Ahmad, and Ibn Khurradadhbih or Khurdad(h)bih—a

name of uncertain meaning, presumably of Persian, Zoroastrian origin. The son of a former governor of Tabaristan, Ibn Khurradadhbih was born either in 820 or 825 CE in Khurasan and grew up in Baghdad, where he received a thorough educationin a wi2ed,

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IBN NAGHRELA, SAMUEL

Samuel ibn Naghrela (993–1056), known in Andalusi–Arabic historiography as Isma'il ibn Naghrila and in Jewish history as Samuel the Nagid, was a rabbinic scholar, Hebrew poet and grammarian, and a Jewish communal leader in eleventh-century Muslim Granada. He assumed the role of the unofficial head *(Nagid* or prince*)* of the Jews of Granada around 1027. Theraafter, Ibn Naghrela cultiva"extensive

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IBN QĀDĪ SHUHBA

Taqī al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar (d. 851/1448) is, for modern historians, the most prominent member of the Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba family. This family, known for its religious scholars, resided in Mamluk Damascus. The name derives from an ancestor who had been a qāḍī in the village of Shuhba in the Ḥawran district of southern Syria. Abū Bakr b. Aḥmad, most widely known by the appellation Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, was a noted jurist (he was chief Qadi of Damascus for most of AH 842–844/1438–1440 CE) and author. Of his works, he is best known today for his biographical dictionary, *al-Tabaqāt al-shāfi'iyya*, and a work of history, *Ta'rīkh ibn qādī shuhba*. The published edition of this work covers the years 741–800/1340–1397, although a manuscript (Chester Beatty 5527) subsequently found extends to 810/1407. The work is an important source for the decades following the death of the Mamluk sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn (whose third reign ended with his death in 741/1340), years marked by intense struggle for political power within the sultanate and by the appearance of bubonic plague in Mamluk lands, to name just two significant developments.

The historical work *Ta'rīkh ibn qādī shuhba* is considered as part of the so-called Syrian School of Mamluk historiography. This loose designation refers to the tendency of Mamluk-era Syrian historians to place more emphasis on the biographies of the ulama than the more court-centered histories of the "Egyptian School." Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba's work is also part of the *dhayl* (continuation) genre of medieval Muslim historiography, in which the historian envisioned the work as continuing (and frequently modifying) a history written by an earlier author. In this case, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba built upon a historical work by Ibn Hijjī (d. 816/1413), one of his teachers. While he maintained Ibn Hijjī's annalistic structure of yearly coverage, with each year divided into months, and a list of biographies (in alphabetical order) attached at the end of each year, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba extensively reworked Ibn Hijjī's text with additional material, and subsequently abridged his version at least twice.

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See also History, Mamluks

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IBN QAYYIM AL-JAWZIYYA, SHAMS AL-SHAMS AL-DĪN ABŪ BAKR MUHAMMAD IBN ABĪ BAKR AL-ZAR'Ī (AH 691–751/1292–1350 CE)

A prolific writer and a much-appreciated Hanbali scholar, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya is mostly known as the devoted disciple and exegete of the salient Hanbali theologian and jurist, Ibn Taymiyya. His nickname, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, which may be rendered approximately as "the son of the superintendent of *al-Jawziyya,*" indicates his father's occupation and social status. *Al-Jawziyya* was a *madrasa* (religious school) and court in Damascus.

Biographical details on Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya can be found in the works of Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373) and Ibn Rajab (d. 795/1397), two prominent scholars who were also his closest students. However, their description of their teacher, although favorable and admiring, is scanty. It seems that ever since Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya first met Ibn Taymiyya, at the age of twenty-one, until the latter's death in the year AH 728/1328 CE, their lives were interwoven. The major events of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's life are connected to the turbulent religious polemics that Ibn Taymiyya conducted with his rivals. The rationale of these polemics lies in Ibn Taymiyya's overall view, which demands an utterly devout adherence to the precepts and exact wording of the Qur'an and *hadith* (the traditions related to the Prophet and his Companions), as well as to the *ijmā'* (consensus) and the teachings of the *salaf* (ancestors, that is, the followers of the Prophet in the first two centuries of Islam), along with a laborious effort to integrate them with some of the doctrines of *kalām* (speculative theology). However, Ibn Taymiyya was most hostile to the methods, theses, and convictions of the traditionalist Ash'ari *kalām*, widely implemented by most of the religious senior officials of the Mamlūk state. By publicly demonstrating the ignorance of his opponents in the content of religious literature, Ibn Taymiyya gained a lot of enemies within the highest ranks of

the religious traditionalist establishment of Damascus and Cairo. He also condemned the extreme form of Sufism, embodied in the *Ittihadiyya*, namely the followers of the Sūfī Ibn al-'Arabī (d. 637/1240).

Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, who shared his master's extreme views, although not his zealous style, also shared his fate of persecutions. In the year 726/1326, he was imprisoned in the citadel of Damascus with Ibn Taymiyya, after the latter was accused by his rivals of holding anthropomorphist views.

Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya was arrested at least twice after his master's death for defending Ibn Taymiyya's teachings and *fatāwā* (formal legal opinions given by a muftī) and refusing to recognize *al-Khalīl* (Hebron) as a site for Muslim pilgrimage.

During his imprisonments Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya deepened his interest in the mystic theories and practices of Sufism. While Ibn Taymiyya tended toward a moderate form of Sufism as a part of his efforts to combine all doctrines of Islam into one, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya was extensively preoccupied with Sufism. He also wrote one of the most important commentaries to al-Ansārī al-Harawī's (d. 482/1089) Sufi manual, *Manāzil al-sā'irīn (The Stations of the Travelers)*. His commentary, titled *Madārij al-sālikīn (The Roads of the Travelers)* combines not only Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's own mystic concepts but also a meticulous theological analysis. Nevertheless, following his master's footsteps, in this work Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya does not hesitate to attack several aspects of al-Ansārī's Sufi doctrine, which seem to him extreme and even wrong.

Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya wrote works in almost every branch of the Islamic sciences. In the field of theology his works are an elaborated arrangement of his master's work. For example, an extensive part of his theological treatise, *Shifā' al-'alīl fi masā'il al-qadā' wa-l-qadar wa-l-hikma wa-l-ta'līl (Healing the Person with Wrong Concepts about Predetermination and Causality)*, cites freely from Ibn Taymiyya's fatwas and epistles, although it is clear that he has succeeded in developing an original thought. In most cases, he uses Ibn Taymiyya's assertions and ideas as a platform to introduce his own ideas, even though they are hard to trace between the heavily ornamented phrases he inserts, which are the trademark of his eloquent writing.

In the field of jurisprudence, his *Ahkām ahl al-dhimma*, which deals with laws regarding Jewish, Christian, and Sabaean subjects of the Muslim state, is a frequently cited work. His interest in medicine is

of and remained closely tied to his early study of religious texts, above all the Qur'an and Hadith.

The close connection between language study and the study of religious texts emerges very clearly in Ibn Qutayba's early writings, which concern problems in the language of the Qur'an and Hadith. It was a book that he wrote around the year 851, however, that secured him 'Abbasid court patronage in the form of a judgeship, a posting that took him from his native Iraq to Iran. That book, the *Adab al-katib (The Chancery Secretary's Handbook)*, furnishes 'Abbasid chancery secretaries, or those who aspired to be secretaries, with a broad range of information about correct Arabic usage, including general matters of style and vocabulary, technical terms in official correspondence, penmanship and orthography, appropriate diction in official correspondence, and the semantic implications of Arabic morphology. The *Adab al-katib* also likely sought to redirect the cultural interests of Persophile bureaucrats back to the intricacies of Arabic as a worthy vehicle of cultural sophistication and appropriate idiom of imperial splendor. The work came to be considered fundamental for the study of Arabic literature *(adab)* by later writers, such as Ibn Khaldun (d. 1406).

The *Adab al-katib* also marked an intellectual turning point in Ibn Qutayba's writings, which thereafter take up a broader range of topics, including traditional Arab astronomy and other pre-Islamic Arab customs, dream interpretation, history, and literary anthologies. One such anthology is the *Kitab al-shi'r wa-l-shu'ara' (The Book of Poetry and Poets),* which collects Arabic poetry up through the early ninth century and also contains an important contribution to Arabic poetics, in its introduction. Another is the *'Uyun al-akhbar (The Jewel-like Anecdotes)*, which collects prose anecdotes, stories, and other literary excerpts under topic headings that range from politics to asceticism to food.

A final group of writings, composed after Ibn Qutayba's retirement from the judiciary (ca. 870), directly addresses matters of theological dogma. In these works, and consistent with his earliest writings on the language of religious texts, Ibn Qutayba declares himself against speculative theology *(kalam),* analogical reasoning *(qiyas),* and the doctrine of the createdness of the Qur'an.

Later writings of Ibn Qutayba never achieved the stature of his works on language, literature, and culture. Perhaps his discussion of theological matters was not sufficiently nuanced or rigorous for those preoccupied exclusively with such questions. On the other hand, in these and in his other works, Ibn Qutayba made a variety of topics accessible to a newly emerging class of private readers, a trait that has led some to refer to him as a popularizer. For all that he insisted on grounding the high culture of his time in the Arabic and Arabian heritages, Ibn Qutayba's wide-ranging interests and inclusive view of literature inaugurate the characteristic universalism and humanism of classical Islamic civilization.

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See also Archives and Chanceries; Education; Grammar and Grammarians; Historical Writing; Intellectual History; Judges; Scholars; Scriptural Exegesis, Islamic; Stories and Storytelling; Theologians

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IBN QUZMAN, ABU BAKR IBN 'ABD AL-MALIK

Despite the fact, or perhaps because he defied the norms of classical Arabic poetry, Ibn Quzman has come to embody the essence of Hispano-Arabic poetry. Indeed, he has become for modern scholarship the best-known literary figure from the entire 780-year Arabo-Muslim presence on the Iberian Peninsula (modern Spain and Portugal). Ibn Quzman, whose full name was Abu Bakr ibn 'Abd al-Malik, was born in the Andalusian city of Cordoba in AH 470–472/1078–1080 CE, where he also died in 555/1160.

Little of Ibn Quzman's biography has been documented. However, as is the case with many premodern literary figures, much biographical information, reliable or unreliable, has been extrapolated from Ibn Guzman's poetry.

Before Ibn Quzman's time, the traditional means of livelihood for professional poets in both the East and West was the composition of panegyrics in praise of contemporary rulers. On the Iberian Peninsula this situation changed abruptly with the arrival of the Almoravids, led by Yusuf bin Tashfin (489/1096). The Almoravids' conquest and occupation of territories previously held by the fragmented "factional kings" *(muluk al-tawa'if)* led to the displacement of professional court poets employed by the Almoravids' predecessors. Because the Berber-speaking Almoravids had little appreciation for the encomia composed in classical Arabic, poets were compelled to earn a living by composing praise poetry for the lesser aristocracy, or to redirect their efforts into nonpanegyric forms of poetry. Although Ibn Quzman was not the first to compose *zajals* (Ibn Bajja [d. 533/1138] was the most probable originator), he is considered the genre's foremost practitioner. In the context of a volatile social and cultural environment, Ibn Quzman interjected and popularized the *zajal*, a genre of poetry very different from the classical praise poetry that preceded it.

Ibn Quzman's *zajals* represent a radical departure from the seriousness of the classical panegyric that had been the standard poetic form in both the East and West of the Arabic-speaking world. Instead of the formalized, ritualized praise of rulers common in the encomia, Ibn Quzman's *zajals* constitute a highly ironic countergenre to established norms. Ibn Guzman's *zajal* substitutes the bombastic, florid praise of the panegyric with parodic, tongue-in-cheek, faint praise of individuals who in earlier times never would have been the object of serious poetry. This emphasis on the popular, lower strata of society is also apparent in Ibn Quzman's depiction of popular events, such as carnivals, jugglers' entertainment, marketplaces, and foods. Transgressive elements, such as drunkenness, seduction, fornication, adultery, divorce, and slapstick violence are prominent features of his *zajals*.

The *zajal*, as practiced by Ibn Quzman, not only dealt with subject matter alien to classical poetry, but also, the *zajal's* form and language differed significantly from those found in the classical variety. In its structure the *zajal* resembles its counterpart, the classical *muwashshaha*, a form consisting of five to seven strophes with a complicated rhyme scheme. However, the *zajal* differs from the *muwashshaha* in the use of an introductory strophe rather than a concluding envoi. The most striking feature of the *zajal* is its language. In contrast to the highly formal diction of all classical poetry, the *zajal* subverts the classical norm by introducing often-lengthy passages of the written representation of colloquial speech of Ibn Quzman's time and locale. Ibn Quzman's *zajals,* therefore, not only constitute an innovation on poetic language but also his representations of colloquial speech serve as valuable documentation of Hispano-Arabic, a dialect that often incorporated words and structures from the Romance dialect that coexisted with Arabic in the Iberian Peninsula.

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See also Adultery; Alcohol; Almoravids; Andalus; Cordoba; Decadence; Divorce; Gender and Sexuality; Markets; Nawrus; Popular Literature; Romance, Iberian; Shadow Plays; Wine

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IBN RUSHD, OR AVERROES

Born in 1126 in Cordoba to a family of distinguished jurists, Abû al-Wahîd Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Rushd served as Qadi at Seville and Cordoba and studied deeply works of Sharî'ah (religious law), Kalâm (theological discourse), Aristotelian philosophy, and medicine until his death in 1198. In dialectical religious writings he upheld natural causality in the face of Ash'arite occasionalist assertions of absolute divine power, denied that the Qur'an teaches creation ex nihilo, argued that Divine knowledge is prior to all forms of universal or particular knowledge, and asserted that the Qur'an commands the study of philosophy as obligatory for those capable. In understanding different human beings to be swayed to assent by rhetoric, dialectic, or demonstration, he was able to deny that there can be any "double truth," one of religion and another of philosophy and science, by arguing for the unity of truth. In his *fatwa*-like *Decisive Treatise* on religious law and philosophy, Ibn Rushd insisted that philosophical demonstration, with its necessary character, can be

the ultimate arbiter of the meaning of religious statements and even of Qur'anic passages, saying "Truth does not contradict truth but rather is consistent with it and bears witness to it," a surreptitious quotation of Aristotle (*Prior Analytics* 1.32, 47a8–9). That confidence in philosophical method is even more prominent in his work *Incoherence of the Incoherence*, a detailed commentary on *Incoherence of the Philosophers* by Abu Hamid al-Ghazali, arguably Islam's greatest theologian. Working to refute many of al-Ghazali's attacks on the philosophers, Ibn Rushd also pointed out the non-Aristotelian excesses of al-Farabi and Ibn Sina (Avicenna). In his work *Kashf al-Mahanij* and other dialectical writings he appears to reflect the rationalism of the religious reformer al-Mḥdî Ibn Tûmart (d. ca. 1129–1130), who held for the essential rationality of the Qur'an and the ability of human rationality to apprehend the created nature of the world.

While in some early philosophical works Ibn Rushd followed the Neoplatonic teachings of his famous predecessors, al-Fârâbî and Ibn Sina, in his mature works he rejected emanationism and vigorously defended many teachings that he held to be geniunely those of Aristotle, such as the eternity of the world, the transcendent and separate nature of the human material and agent intellects, the mortal nature of individual human existence, and the final causality of God as Unmoved Mover subtly argued to be appropriately called "Creator." Although he wrote many valuable short treatises, his philosophical thought is predominantly found in his commentaries on works of Aristotle. Medieval Jewish philosophical thought was powerfully influenced by the dialectical works, a number of his early synthetic *Short Commentaries* and his paraphrasing *Middle Commentaries*, as well as his detailed *Long Commentaries* on the *Posterior Analytics* and *Physics*. In contrast, the Latin translations of the thirteenth century were, for the most part, of *Long Commentaries*, with those on natural philosophy, psychology, and metaphysics prominent; none of his dialectical religious writings were translated. In these commentaries the Latin West discovered the power of philosophical reasoning apart from religious belief, something that scandalized some Christian thinkers, led others to uphold the value of independent reason, and generally compelled a rethinking of the relation of faith and reason. Though he taught a controversial theory of the unity of human material intellect, Ibn Rushd had many Western admirers and some followers through the period of the Renaissance, when additional works translated from Hebrew became available in Latin.

Toward the end of his life, he was condemned, his books were burned, and he was sent into a brief exile. After his death, philosophy was suppressed in Andalusia, and in Islamic lands no school developed following his Aristotelian approach. After a nineteenth-century revival of interest in his dialectical thought, various social and educational reformers in the Arabic-reading world have drawn on his work to provide a way for the conciliation of Islamic religion and the methods of scientific reasoning prominent in the West.

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IBN SA'D

Ibn Sa'd (784–845) was among the pioneers of biographical writings in Arabic. He was born in Basra and studied Hadith before moving to Baghdad. Unusual for a Hadith scholar, he was also familiar with Arab genealogy, pre-Islamic tribal lore, and Jewish and Christian narrative traditions. In Baghdad, he apprenticed himself to al-Waqidi (d. 823), a collector of reports on the early history of the Muslim community. After al-Waqidi's death, Ibn Sa'd devoted the rest of his life to arranging his teacher's notes and his own into a book. The result was the *Tabaqat (Generations)*, the earliest biographical and historical compilation to be preserved in its entirety.

Before Ibn Sa'd's time, Arabic biographical writing had consisted largely of name-lists or collections of anecdotes about notable personalities. The only work that resembled a proper biography, at least by later standards, was the *Life of the Prophet* by Ibn Ishaq (d. 767). The remaining biographical material at Ibn Sa'd's disposal consisted of historical legends, name-lists, and reports on the Prophet's contemporaries and their successors. By putting all of this material

together, Ibn Sa'd's *Generations* became one of the earliest Arabic works to present a coherent (if implicit) vision of universal history.

The work begins with a brief history of the prophets from Adam to Muhammad, intended to establish the latter's descent from the founders of monotheism. It then offers biographies of Muhammad's ancestors, who are represented as devout and courageous men despite being pagans. The biography of Muhammad himself, which takes up approximately one-fourth of the book, follows his career from birth to death. It includes accounts of his childhood and marriage, his reception of the Qur'an, his preaching in Mecca, his emigration to Medina, his negotiations with the tribes of Arabia, his military campaigns, and his final illness. There are also sections (with no parallels in Ibn Ishaq) on the Prophet's appearance, habits, clothing, diet, and personal possessions.

As a biographer of the Prophet, Ibn Sa'd follows the convention of citing first-person reports rather than narrating in his own voice, although he occasionally admits to having combined several reports into a single account. He seems to have been scrupulous in reporting everything he was told, including mutually contradictory reports of the same event. He has no hesitation about miracle stories, which appear in profusion. For these reasons his biography of the Prophet is hardly reliable as a source of documentary evidence. However, it is an indispensable source of information on early Islamic history as it was remembered or imagined in the mid-ninth century.

Unlike Ibn Ishaq, whose work ends with the death of Muhammad, Ibn Sa'd continued his account with biographies of the Prophet's successors, that is, the men and women who took part in the transmission of Hadith. These biographies, which number more than four thousand, are arranged in sections and subsections according to generation, tribal affiliation, and place of residence, with all the women appearing together in a section of their own at the end. Some of the entries, such as those on the first four caliphs, are quite long. The majority, however, consist of short notices giving the names of the subject's teachers and students (that is, the persons from whom and to whom he or she transmitted Hadith), as well as a date of death, if known.

Modern scholarship has tended to assume that *Generations* was used as a work of reference. Given its content, the book could certainly have served as a basis for the validation of *isnads* (the lists of transmitters that precede a Hadith report). Nevertheless, it also contains a good deal of anecdotal information with little evident relevance to Hadith transmission. Clearly, then, Ibn Sa'd was not simply a recordkeeper working for the benefit of Hadith scholars. Rather, he seems to have been a historian whose vision of history happens to give pride of place to the transmission of Hadith.

Ibn Sa'd's *Generations* exerted a formative influence on Arabic historical writing. The arrangements he used for organizing entries were adopted and modified by the authors of subsequent biographical works, many of which were arranged by generation or by place of residence. (The only system of organization Ibn Sa'd did not use was the alphabetical one, which was developed independently at approximately the same time.) Most important, perhaps, *Generations* offered a vision of history writing that was based on the collection of individual life stories. This understanding of historiography remained dominant, or at least influential, until the beginning of the modern period.

In 833, Ibn Sa'd was summoned to affirm the createdness of the Qur'an. This controversial opinion had been raised to the status of official state doctrine by the caliph al-Ma'mun (813–833), who sought to rein in the power of the religious scholars by forcing them to proclaim assent to it. Ibn Sa'd gave his assent, although it is likely that he did so under duress. Thereafter, he seems to have been left in peace until his death in Baghdad at the age of sixty-two.

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See also Biography and Biographical Works

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IBN SHADDAD

Baha' al-Din Abu'l-Mahasin Yusuf b. Rafi'

Baha' al-Din Abu'l-Mahasin Yusuf b. Rafi', a leading scholar, writer, and official of the Jazira and Syria, was born in the northern Mesopotamian city of Mosul in AH 439/1145 CE. After a period in Baghdad as *mu'id* (assistant teacher) at the *madrasa* (Islamic school), the celebrated Madrasa al-Nizamiyya, founded by the Seljuk vizier Nizam al-Mulk, he was made *mudarris* (professor) in one of his native city's *madrasa*s.

During this period Baha' al-Din was appointed by the Zankid rulers of Mosul to several diplomatic missions, including two embassies to Saladin. In AH 584/1188 CE, on his return home from the pilgrimage, he was received by Saladin, who was besieging the northern Syrian stronghold of Krak des Chevaliers. The judicious presentation to the sultan by Baha' al-Din of a treatise he had written, titled *Fada'il al-Jihad (The Virtues of Holy War)*, resulted soon after in Baha' al-Din's appointment as Saladin's *qadi al-'askar* (Islamic judge of the army). He was later given judicial and administrative responsibilities in Jerusalem. Baha' al-Din became a close companion and confidant of the sultan, remaining so until Saladin's death at Damascus in AH 589/1193 CE. He then played an important part in negotiating the division of power among Saladin's heirs.

After two years in the service of Saladin's eldest son al-Malik al-Afdal 'Ali, ruler of Damascus, in AH 591/1195 CE, Baha' al-Din moved to Aleppo. There he was appointed *qadi* (Islamic judge) of the city by its ruler, al-Malik al-Zahir Ghazi, who was another of Saladin's sons. In AH 601/1204 CE, he founded his own religious school in Aleppo, the Madrasa al-Sahibiyya, adding to it a *dar al-hadith* (school for the study of prophetic tradition). Linking the two foundations was a mausoleum that he prepared for himself.

Meanwhile, Baha' al-Din's diplomatic skills proved useful to the ruler of Aleppo: He made several visits to Cairo on behalf of al-Malik al-Zahir in an effort to resolve disputes among the Ayyubids. He continued to serve al-Zahir's heir, al-Malik al-'Aziz. In AH 629/1232 CE, he headed the delegation that went to Cairo to bring the daughter of the Ayyubid ruler of Egypt back to Aleppo to marry al-Malik al-'Aziz. Baha' al-Din died at Aleppo in AH 632/1235 CE, at nearly ninety years of age.

Baha' al-Din's most important work is his biography of Saladin, *Sirat Salah al-Din*, also called *al-Nawadir al-sultaniyyah wa-l-mahasin al-Yusufiyyah (The Sultan's Rare Qualities and the Excellences of Yusuf [that is, Saladin])*. It combines elements of hagiography, propaganda, history, and autobiography. The first part of the work describes the sultan's accomplishments and moral excellence. Throughout the work Saladin is presented as exhorting the Muslims not to slacken their efforts against the Crusaders. The second part of the book is an account of Saladin's career from AH 558/1163 CE, when he accompanied his Uncle Shirkuh's expedition to Egypt, until his death in AH 589/1193 CE. For events after the summer of AH 584/1188 CE, when Baha' al-Din joined the service of the sultan, the narrative becomes the eyewitness account of someone in Saladin's inner circle, and a commensurately valuable source for the events of the Third Crusade.

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See also Biography and Biographical Works; Diplomacy; Excellences Literature; Historical Writing; Madrasa

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IBN SHAHIN, NISSIM BEN JACOB (C. 990–1062)

Nissim was a Talmudic scholar of Qayrawan who studied under his father, Rabbi Jacob ben Nissim, and Rabbi Hushiel, an illustrious scholar of Italian origin. Nissim was supported financially by the famed poet and patron of Jewish learning, Samuel Ibn Naghrela. The latter composed a poem of consolation upon the death of Nissim's young and only son and married his son Joseph to Nissim's daughter. Several works (some fragmentary) by Nissim survive in addition to commentaries on tracts of the Talmud and a compilation of legal rulings. Composed in Judeo-Arabic, his *A Key to the Locks of the Talmud* is a reference work of quotations found in the Talmud, and his *Revelation of Mysteries* is a topical treatment

of subjects such as biblical exegesis, religious polemics, responsa, and explications of sections of the Talmud and Midrash. These works exhibit tendencies toward systemization and had profound effects on Jewish intellectuals in the Islamic and Christian domains. The Judeo-Arabic collection of rabbinic tales titled *Kitab al-faraj ba'd al-shidda (Book of Relief after Adversity)* is addressed to console a relative called Dunash who had requested a book to relieve him following the death of a son. Dunash had mentioned that the "heretics" (that is, Muslims) possessed such a book on the subject of relief after adversity, possibly referring to al-Tanukhi's *Kitab al-faraj ba'd al-shidda* or a similar work. Al-Tanukhi's work is an *adab* collection on various species of relief (foretold in omens, realized through dreams, freedom from prison or execution, and so on) and aphorisms concerning relief from Qur'an, hadith, and poetry. Ibn Shahin's book is an anthology of stories, mostly gleaned from rabbinic sources, that assures the reader of God's justice (despite its mysteries) and discusses the qualities of scholars, virtuous and perfidious women, the wickedness of hypocrites, and the duty to pursue kindness and charity while abstaining from evil. The book also draws on apocryphal Jewish books (such as *Ben Sira*) and, in all likelihood, stories from Islamic literature; the book bears some earmarks of Arabic storytelling techniques. It enjoyed great popularity in the medieval period (as testified by Geniza letters) and had direct influence on later Jewish works, such as Joseph Ibn Zabarah's *Book of Delights* and Moses de Leon's *Zohar*.

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See also Adab; Judeo-Arabic; Ibn Naghrela, Samuel; Qayrawan; al-Tanukhi

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IBN SINA, OR AVICENNA

Abu 'Ali al-Hasan Ibn Sina (ca. 980–1037 CE), known in Latin as Avicenna, was a physician, natural philosopher, mathematician, poetic mystic, and princely minister. Of Persian descent, he was born in Afshana in the province of Bukhara. His philosophical chief work, *Kitab al-shifa' (Book of Healing)*, which was known in Latin as *Liber Sufficientia*, together with its condensed revision, *Kitab al-najat (Book of Deliverance)*, led many to regard him as being the authoritative Neoplatonist integrator of the Aristotelian corpus. However, his intellectual acumen elevates his station beyond that of a commentator and lets him stand as an insightful thinker in his own right. His philosophical investigations covered mathematics, music, logic, physical and psychical sciences, as well as metaphysics and theology. In geometry, he critically examined Euclid's *Elements* and attempted to prove its fifth postulate. In his Aristotelian intromission conception of vision, he showed that the velocity of light had a finite magnitude. Partly influenced by Porphyry's *Isagoge*, Aristotle's *Organon*, and Galen's logical investigations, he eventually developed intricate forms of propositional logic. Furthermore, he founded a prototheory of meaning that was partially embodied in his work *Kitab al-hudud (Book of Definitions)*, wherein he arrived at definitions by way of a rigorous distinction among concepts while, unlike most Platonists, he celebrated the merits of the art of persuasion and rhetoric. In astronomy he endeavored to systematize his observations that were grounded by Ptolemy's *Almagest*, and in mechanics he built on the theories of Heron of Alexandria while also seeking to improve the precision of instrumental readings. In his physical inquiries he studied different forms of energy, heat, and force, while presenting a more coherent account of the interconnection between time and motion than what is habitually associated with Aristotle's *Physics*. One of his important achievements in natural philosophy is attested to in his account of the soul in *Kitab al-nafs (Treatise on the Soul)*, which was preserved in his *al-Shifa* and *al-Najat*, and was translated into Latin under the title *De Anima*. Therein, he presented an affirmation of the existence of the soul that rested on a radical mind-body dualism in an argument that is customarily referred to as "the flying person argument," which anticipates Descartes's "*cogito ergo sum*." He also elucidated the notion of "intentionality" in the workings of the internal sense of the faculty of estimation *(wahm)* and its pragmatic entailments. Ranking among the most influential of metaphysicians in the history of philosophy, Ibn Sina offered an original elucidation of the question of "being" *(al-wujud)* that was mediated by a methodical distinction between essence and existence and oriented by an ontological consideration of the modalities of necessity, contingency, and impossibility. Taking the contingent to be a mere potentiality of being, whose existence or

nonexistence did not entail a contradiction, Ibn Sina construed all creatures in actuality as being necessary existents due to something other than themselves. Consequently, any contingent had its essence distinct from its existence while being existentially dependent on causes that are external to it, which lead back to the One Necessary Existent due to Itself Whose Essence is none other than Its Existence. In this, Ibn Sina eschewed Aristotle's reduction of "being" into the Greek conception of *ousia* (substance or essence), and he conceived the Deity as being the *metaphysical* First Cause of existence rather than being the *physical* Unmoved Cause of motion. Although his consideration of Divine creation was primarily mediated by an attempt to found a synthesis between Aristotle's *naturalism* and monotheistic *creationism*, his ontology remained more akin to Neoplatonist *emanationism*, which took the One Necessary Existent to be the Source of all existential effusion. In this processional hierarchical participation in "being," the Active Intellect played a necessary role in the genesis of human knowledge. Following Plato, Ibn Sina held that knowledge, which consisted of grasping the intelligible, did ultimately determine the fate of the rational soul in the hereafter. Believing that the universality of our ideas was attributed to the mind itself, he additionally held that our passive individual intellects are in a state of potency with regard to knowledge, unlike the Active impersonal and separate Intellect that is in a state of actual perennial thinking. Consequently, our passive intellect *qua* mind acquires ideas by being in contact with the Active Intellect without compromising its own independent substantiality or immortality. In a mystical tone that becomes most pronounced in *Kitab al-isharat wa-l-tanbihat (Book of Hints and Pointers)*, Ibn Sina also maintained that certain elect souls are capable of realizing a union with the Universal Active Intellect, thereby attaining the station of prophecy. His philosophical views were debated by Averroes and Maimonides, criticized by al-Ghazali, and integrated by intellectual authorities in medieval Europe, such as Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus, and Roger Bacon. His thinking also impacted the course of development of the ontotheological systems of prominent Muslim scholars such as Suhrawardi, Tusi, and Mulla Sadra. In all of this, his philosophical wisdom did not outshine his celebrated reputation as a physician, and his classic *Kitab al-qanun fi'l-tibb (The Canon in Medicine)*, which was translated into Latin in the twelfth century CE *(Liber Canonis)*, commanded an authority that almost surpassed that of Hippocrates and Galen and acted as the decisive compendium of the Greco-Roman-Arabic scientific medicine, and as the reference *Materia Medica*, throughout the medieval period and up to the Renaissance.

NADER EL-BIZRI

See also Aristotle and Aristotelianism; Astronomy; al-Farabi (Alfarabius or Avennasar); al-Ghazali; Ibn Rushd (Averroes); Illuminationism; Maimonides; Materia Medica; Medical Literature, Arabic; Medicine; Meteorology; Mulla Sadra; Mysticism; Optics; Physicians; Plato and Neoplatonism; Ptolemy; al-Suhrawardi, Shihab al-Din 'Umar; Theology

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IBN TAGHRI BIRDI, ABU 'L-MAHASIN YUSUF (C. 1410–1470 CE)

Ibn Taghri Birdi was a historian of the Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt and Syria (1250–1517) known for his close ties to the Mamluk elite. His father, Taghri Birdi, was a mamluk *amir* (holder of military rank)

who rose through the ranks during the reigns of the Mamluk sultans Barquq (r. 1382–1399) and Faraj (r. 1399–1412), achieving the position of Viceroy in Damascus prior to his death in 1412. Ibn Taghri Birdi's eldest sister was married to Faraj, and Ibn Taghri Birdi was a close companion of a son of sultan Jaqmaq (r. 1438–1453). Ibn Taghri Birdi received a grant of land revenues from Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh (r. 1412–1421) and accompanied Sultan Barsbay (r. 1422–1437) on a military campaign in Syria. He also knew Turkish quite well and was familiar with court life in Mamluk Cairo. These and other connections served him well during his career as religious stipendiary, scholar, and author.

Ibn Taghri Birdi wrote several works, but he is best known today for his biographical dictionary and two historical chronicles. The dictionary, *Al-Manhal al-Safi wa al-Mustawfi ba'd al-Wafi,* written in early adulthood, provides biographies of rulers, scholars, and amirs for the period 1248–1451, with scattered additions dating as late as 1458. His chronicle *Al-Nujum al-Zahira fi Muluk Misr wa-al-Qahira* surveys Egyptian history from the Muslim conquest in 641 up to 1468, although the sections post-1441 are mainly summaries taken from his second major chronicle, *Al-Hawadith al-Duhur fi Mada al-Ayyam wa-al-Shuhur*, a detailed account of Mamluk history covering the period 1441–1469. Ibn Taghri Birdi considered this second work a continuation of al-Maqrizi's important history, *Kitab al-Suluk li-Ma'rifat Duwal wa-al-Muluk*.

Ibn Taghri Birdi's chronicles are focused on the elite segments of Mamluk-era society. As a *walad al-nass* (Arabic "son of the people," meaning literally a son of those who mattered, that is, the Mamluks), it is perhaps not surprising that comparative studies of his work have indicated a tendency by Ibn Taghri Birdi to defend the actions and policies of the Mamluk rulers who were frequently criticized by other observers such as al-Maqrizi. That said, his work also contains frank and critical comments about specific officials both living and dead, for which it is possible that Ibn Taghri Birdi suffered both verbal and physical attacks.

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See also Historical Writing

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IBN TAYMIYYA

Taqi al-Din Ahmad Ibn Taymiyya (1263–1328) has been called both the most important figure from the Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt and Syria (1250–1517) and the most significant Hanbali *'alim* after Ahmad b. Hanbal himself. The author of numerous fatawa and many longer works, he was also imprisoned by the Mamluk state six times for a cumulative period of more than six years between 1294 and 1328, including the last two years of his life.

Ibn Taymiyya's family moved to Damascus when he was a boy, fleeing from Mongol advances in upper Mesopotamia. Ibn Taymiyya was educated within the Hanbali madhhab and by 1284 was teaching in a major madrasa in Damascus. His subsequent career was marked by several brushes with state power, the rivalry and admiration of other jurists, and significant popularity among the Damascene population. His public life was marked by zealous devotion to the principals he held dear and the courage to face those whom his statements disturbed, even if that meant imprisonment. It has also been argued that his popularity with the populace disturbed the Mamluk rulers who found it threatening, and this may have contributed to his frequent imprisonment. His contemporary biographers, most of them also jurists, write of his personal piety, devotion to justice, and defiance of authority. There is a suggestion, however,

particularly in the writings of al-Dhahabi (d. 1339), that Ibn Taymiyya had a difficult personality.

Known first as a Hadith scholar, Ibn Taymiyya's written output ranges far and wide. He wrote about and preached the importance of jihad against enemies of the Muslim world, in particular against the Mongols. (When Il-Khan Ghazan invaded Syria in 1300, Ibn Taymiyya was a spokesperson of the resistance in Damascus.) He stressed the important example of the pious ancestors *(al-salaf al-salih)* and condemned what he saw as the excesses of some Sufi practices. In one of his major works, *al-Siyasa al-Shar'iyya,* Ibn Taymiyya argued that since state and religion were inseparable, the temporal power and the revenues of the state must be harnessed to the path of God. A primary goal of the state was to ensure the centrality of the shari'a, and this required the maintenance of order. Central to the state's mission to maintain order was its ability to use coercive power to enforce the Qur'anic injunction "to command the good and forbid the wrong."

After his death, Ibn Taymiyya's ideas were further disseminated by his chief pupil Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 1350), an individual who also shared in some of his teacher's punishment. Many of Ibn Taymiyya's ideas remain influential today, notably as refracted through the writings of the eighteenth-

also providing the principles, lest his interlocutor be content with a lower degree of insight. To arouse his interlocutor's longing and encourage him to move along the path, Ibn Tufayl offers the tale of Hayy ibn Yaqzan. In other words, to leave us short of the end, it will indicate what the path is like.

Hayy is either self-generated from a lump of clay or comes into being as do all humans but is then put into the sea in a basket because his mother, the sister of a very proud monarch, has wedded beneath her status in secret and fears for the fruit of this union should her brother learn of Hayy's existence. However generated, Hayy grows up on a deserted island, nursed by a doe until he can fend for himself. During seven periods of seven years each, he discovers his natural surroundings and the way they interact, ascending by a series of inductions to embrace physics and its many divisions, as well as mathematics and its parts. He also gains insight into the nature of the heavenly bodies and into the character of the creator, as well as of his messenger and prophet, Muhammad.

Hayy's education is all the more wondrous, for his enforced solitude deprives him of language. Only when he encounters Asal, the inhabitant of a neighboring island who is discontent with the way his fellow citizens practice religion, does Hayy learn to speak. They return to Asal's island intent upon showing people the correct path, but they fail miserably. Only Salaman, a friend of Asal's who discerns that most people cannot appreciate the truths Hayy wishes them to grasp and who is content to let them flounder, understands the limits of human reason. He is also too complacent for Hayy and Asal, not to mention most of Ibn Tufayl's readers.

The tale ends with Hayy and Asal deciding to return to the desert island to spend their remaining days meditating about divine matters. The people on the mainland are left without a solution to the problems that plague them, just as Ibn Tufayl's interlocutor is left without a clear answer to his quest. We readers, having been enticed by this story, must now figure out for ourselves what it can possibly mean for us.

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failed expedition and led raids against the Byzantines in Anatolia. These raids enhanced his stature as a leader of holy war against the infidel. He later inscribed his name on his coinage, in addition to that of the Ja'far. He never openly opposed the authority of the caliph. The prosperity of Egypt and Syria under his rule owes in part to his skill as an administrator. He showed restraint in his taxation. He kept, in addition, most revenues in these provinces rather than remitting them to Baghdad. Upon his death in 884, rule went to one of his sons, Khumarawayh.

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See also Tulinids

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IBN TUMART

The founder of the al-Muwahhidun confederation, Abu Abdillah Muhammad b. Abdillah b. Tumart, a Masmudian Berber, was born (AH 471/1078 CE or AH 474/1081 CE) in the city of Sus, located in Morocco's Anti-Atlas Mountains. We do not have much information about his youth. Observing negative developments such as moral and social decadence, the abandonment of religious principles, and the spread of the anthropomorphist conception of God under the al-Murabitun dynasty, Ibn Tumart was convinced of the necessity of social reform. He went to Cordoba to study theological sciences (499/1106). After taking lessons for about a year from Abu Abdillah Muhammed b. Ali b. Hamdin, Kadhi of Cordoba, he traveled to Mahdiya in Tunisia; there he participated in theological congregations of Abu Abdillah al-Mazeri. Studying with Ibn Abu Rendeka et-Turtushi in Alexandria, Kiyâ el-Herrâs in Baghdad, Abu Bakir Muhammed b. Ahmed al-Shashi, and Mubarek b. Abdilcabbar, Ibn Tumart also read Imam Malik's *al-Muvatta'* with Abu Abdillah Muhammed b. Mansur al-Hadhrami. He traveled back to Maghreb from Alexandria in 510–511/1116. He also served his duty of pilgrimage to Mecca in this traveling period of eleven years. Traveling first to Bougie, and then to Beni Mallal, he met his first disciple and future successor Abdulmu'min al-Kûmî. His courageous personality caused him to be expelled from Vansharîs, Tlemcem, Shubat Enlil, and Fez; so he went to Marrakech, the capital of the al-Murabitun dynasty, but his activities there also caused him to be expelled to Aghmat. He then went on to Tin Mal and continued his "common knowledge and forbid from denied" *(al-amr bi'l-ma'rûf wa al-nahy an al-munkar)* activities. Rejecting Ali b. Yusuf b. Tashfin's invitation to return to Marrakech, he retreated to a cave, the Ghar al-muqaddas, and in Maghreb he began to spread the idea that Mahdi's appearance was near (515/1121).

That same year, his disciple Abdulmu'min and nine other men declared that Ibn Tumart was the Mahdi and that they would be loyal to him for all their lives. Ibn Tumart then started a violent rebellion in the command of Abdulmu'min el-Kumi ve Abu Muhammed al-Bashir against al-Murabitun, claiming that they supported an anthropomorphist conception of God, that they were unjust and causing the corruption of society, they had designs upon people's lives and properties, and that they had thus given up the Islamic faith. There were many battles in the Anti-Atlas region and the city of Sus for the next two years. Against al-Murabitun's efforts to build up their strength, Ibn Tumart moved to Tin Mal to have a stronger defense (517/1123).

Ibn Tumart began a large campaign in the command of Abu Muhammed al-Bashir to acquire Marrakech in 524 AH/1130. However, al-Muwahhidun could not gain hold of the city after a siege of six weeks and was defeated in the battle of Buhayra; five members of the council of ten were lost in this battle. Ibn Tumart passed away several months after this defeat in 14 Ramadhan 524/August 21, 1130. His successor, Abdulmu'min, and close friends concealed his death for about three years.

His works include: (1) *Kitâbu Aazzi mâ yutlab* (edited by Ignaz Goldziher) Algeria 1903 and AmmAr ÙAlibi (Algeria, 1985); (2) *al-Murshida* (published by Goldziher with a French translation *(ZDMG,* XLl, 72–73; XL1V, 168–170); (3) *al-Aqide.* In addition to the Egypt edition (Cairo, 1328), another edition is also available in French, translated by Henri Masse (Paris, 1928); (4) *Muhâzzi'l-Muwaùùa'* (Hizânatu'l-Karawiyyin, no. 40/181; Rabat el-Hizânetul-èAmma, no. 840c, 1222c; published by Goldziher as *Muwatta'u'l-Imâm al-Mahdî* (Algeria,

1905). (5) *Mukhtasaru Sahihi Muslim* (Ibn Yûsuf Library, Marakesh, no. 403).

Thinking himself a religious reformist, Ibn Tumart emphasized the notion of unity and doctrine of the imamate in his theory of faith. He defines knowledge, which he takes as the only basis for faith, as "the divine radiance in the heart which allows us to make a distinction between facts and qualities," thus suggesting that only the qualities of objects and events can be known, not their essences. Because of Ibn Tumart's emphasis on the unity of God, his followers were known as al-Muwahhidun (that is, Unitarians). God's existence was known from intelligence; however, this knowledge was not innate, but deductive. Ibn Tumart ascribed some negative and demonstrative attributes to Allah. However, he gave intelligence no function in his definition of the relationship between the individual and his attributes. Therefore, his approach to this problem cannot be taken as the suspension of all attributes but a distinctive approach that avoided comparison and solidification. According to Ibn Tumart, predicative attributes in the dogmas must be believed, without trying to look for analogies.

Ibn Tumart considered the imamate as a religious obligation and maintained that Imam was innocent *(maèsum)*, therefore, we can assert that Ibn Tumart was influenced by Shi'i doctrine. However, he considered only the first three caliphs as legitimate Imams. Ibn Tumart received the acknowledgment of fealty through his disciples, who acknowledged him as the Mahdi, and he named only those who obeyed him as al-Muwahhidun; all others were regarded as infidels. He accepted the idea that the only creator is Allah and believed that the power of acting in a good or bad way was given by Allah to mankind; thus empowerment is the act in the place of the power of the human being.

According to Ibn Tumart, all canonical judgements originated only from the Qur'an and Sunnah, all convictions and conventions reached by syllogisms were not primary, but supplementary; intelligence had no law-making authority. Ibn Tumart accepted ideas of several religious sects on some matters: He was more like an Ash'ari in subjects concerning faith, a Maliki in subjects of fiqh, and also followed Ibn Hazm's zahiri-salafi thought on some matters. However, the movement initiated by him can be regarded as a political movement to put an end to Al-Murabit's confederation more than being a movement of religion and faith.

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IBN WASIL, MUHAMMAD B. SALIM JAMAL AL-DIN

Ibn Wasil (1208–1298) was a Syrian scholar most renowned for his chronicle *Mufarrij al-kurub fi akhbar bani Ayyub (The Dissipater of Anxieties on the Reports of the Ayyubids)*, which covers, in detail, historical events of the twelfth and the first half of the thirteenth century. This work has drawn modern interest because it presents succinctly the main Crusading campaigns from a Middle Eastern point of view. Although Ibn Wasil relied on an array of earlier sources for the earlier parts of his work, some of which has been lost since then, he based his account of thirteenth-century events (such as the Crusade of Louis IX, King of France, to Egypt in 1249–1250) on eyewitnesses or his own experiences.

Ibn Wasil was well placed to observe the political developments and military events in the Middle East during his lifetime, as he was widely traveled and closely linked to the ruling echelons of society. Originating from Hama in northern Syria, he visited or dwelled in the main urban centers such as Baghdad, Cairo, and Damascus. Although descending from a family of relatively low prominence, he forged close relationships with prominent administrators and military commanders, as well as with Ayyubid and Mamluk rulers. In his sixties he returned to his hometown, where he led a low-profile life as the town's chief judge.

His educational and professional specialization was law, but no writings of his in this field are traceable. Rather, his extant oeuvre focuses on history,

poetry, logic, and astronomy, all of which were of profit to him at various courts. For example, in 1261, while staying in southern Italy at the court of Manfred, the Staufer ruler of Sicily and son of Frederick II, as ambassador of the Mamluk ruler Baybars I, his knowledge of logic gained him the ruler's praise. It is the immersion into these fields of knowledge that allowed him throughout his life close contacts with non-Muslim scholars. Consequently, one finds in his aforementioned chronicle passages where he discusses, for example, the conflict between the emperor and the papacy in thirteenth-century Europe, which is rarely found in other medieval chronicles by Muslim authors.

Ibn Wasil's chronicle did not enjoy wider popularity in the following centuries and was only "rediscovered" in the late nineteenth century with the rising interest in Crusading history.

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See also Historical Writing

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IBN YÛNUS, 'ALÎ IBN 'ABD AL-RAHMÂN, D. FUSTAT, EGYPT

Ibn Yûnus was the leading astronomer of medieval Egypt and perhaps the most important of the entire Muslim world. He was a careful observer, a highly competent mathematician and calculator, and proposed much that was original. He was also the principal initiator of a tradition of astronomical timekeeping *('ilm al-mîqât)* in Islamic society, which is of prime importance because it included the regulation of the times of prayer. He compiled a monumental *zîj*, or astronomical handbook with tables, some four times the size of that of his predecessor al-Battânî (q.v.). This was called *al-Zîj al-Hâkimî* because it was dedicated to the Fatimid ruler al-Hâkim (q.v.). One of its most remarkable features is a record of more than one hundred observations of planetary conjunctions and solar and lunar eclipses, made by his predecessors in ninth- and tenth-century Baghdad and by himself. His solar, lunar, and planetary tables were much appreciated in later Egypt and the Yemen, but some of them were also adopted in a modified form in Iran. It was Ibn Yûnus who compiled the first batch of the tables for timekeeping by the sun and regulating the times of Muslim prayer that later became part of the Cairo corpus of nearly two hundred pages of tables. These tables were used there until the nineteenth century. The medieval tables of this kind for such centers of astronomical activity as Damascus, Jerusalem, Aleppo, Istanbul, Tunis, and Taiz were inspired by the Cairo corpus.

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See also Astronomy

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IBN ZUR'A, ABU 'ALI 'ISA ISHAQ

The philosopher Ibn Zur'a (AH 331–398/943–1008 CE) was born and died in Baghdad. Shortly after his death, the dominance of the Baghdad school of philosophy, with its close adherence to the Platonizing commentary tradition and involvement in translation, yielded to other centers of power and learning. Typical for the Baghdad school, Ibn Zur'a was a Jacobite (Syrian Orthodox) Christian who associated on equal terms with Muslim and Jewish intellectuals.

Ibn Zur'a's character and way of life can be seen from three viewpoints. Most significantly, there are contemporary references in his eight short treatises of Christian apologetics. Second, Ibn Zur'a was known to the writer Abu Hayyan at-Tawhidi, whose books record discussions that took place, often under the patronage of powerful Buyid viziers. Finally, the

medical biographer Ibn Abi Usaybi'a gives "case notes" regarding the treatment of Ibn Zur'a's last illness, including mention of aspects of the philospher's apparently stressful lifestyle.

Ibn Zur'a earned his living as a merchant, and traded with Byzantium. As a philosopher he was the devoted pupil and close friend of the leading logician Yahya ibn 'Adi (d. 974 CE). The Ibn 'Adi circle, including Ibn al-Khammar, Ibn al-Samh, Miskawayh, and 'Isa ibn 'Ali, attended the salons *(majalis)* of the vizier and patron Ibn Sa'dan. Abu Hayyan was also there, although he was scornful of Ibn Zur'a's "vaunting of Aristotle, Plato, Socrates and Hippocrates."

We know from bibliographies, such as those of Ibn Zur'a's associate Ibn an-Nadim, of works such as *On the Intellect, On the Reason for the Luminosity of the Planets,* and *On the Immortality of the Soul*. These did not survive, although a short *Defense of Logicians and Philosophers against the Charge of Irreligion* is known. To later generations of Arab philosophers, Ibn Zur'a was probably best known as a translator. Ibn Sina (Avicenna) used Ibn Zur'a's translation of Aristotle's *Sophistici elenchi*, and Ibn Rushd may have used his translation of the *Compendia of Nicolaus of Damascus*. Among other translations, it is notable that part of a lost commentary by John Philoponus on Galen's *On the Uses of the Parts of the Body* appears to survive in Ibn Zur'a's version. Ibn Zur'a translated from Syriac into Arabic, and he probably did not know Greek. The importance of Syriac in the transmission of Greek philosophy to the Arabs is well known. Ibn Zur'a played a role in making philosophy available to a wider audience, which demanded introductions and translations in idiomatic Arabic. Some of Ibn Zur'a's introductions to Aristotle's logic have been published.

In 979 CE, Ibn Zur'a saw his late teacher, Yahya ibn 'Adi, in a dream commanding him to write a treatise solving a problem with Ibn 'Adi's definition of God the Father as intellect *('aql)*. Ibn Zur'a was then asked to write an account of this vision by an unnamed "lord and brother." This work, *On the Composite Intellect,* is the earliest of his dated treatises of Christian apologetics, which were generally not written for philosophers but at the request of a friend or in response to an opponent. At least twice the request for treatises came from Muslim friends, and often, addressees were high-ranking. One treatise is a refutation of the rationalist theologian *(mutakallim)* Abu 'l-Qasim al-Balkhi. The letter to Bishr ibn Finhas, written to a Jewish friend, is typical of the way Ibn Zur'a combines rationalistic arguments with references to contemporary debates in these apologetic treatises. The work begins by setting out three different categories of law before concluding that the Mosaic law has been superseded. Then Ibn Zur'a describes Plato's tripartite division of the soul and argues that only Christianity teaches the virtues of the rational faculty to the highest degree. Ibn Zur'a sets out the definition of the Trinity as Intellect, Active Intellect, and the Intellected *('aql, 'aqil, ma'qul),* which he learned from Ibn 'Adi. In addition to such arguments, Ibn Zur'a includes a discussion of proof texts, referring in passing to a group of Jews who expected the Messiah in 970–971 CE. At the end of the treatise Ibn Zur'a gives an account of two problems concerning the resurrection, which he discussed with Jews.

The account we have of Ibn Zur'a's death is tragic. One of the physicians who treated him relates that business opponents from the Syriac community "took him many times to the ruler, money was confiscated, and he was overtaken by many disasters." The physician adds that other reasons for Ibn Zur'a's collapse were his hot temperament, and the pressure of writing a treatise on the immortality of the soul.

PETER STARR

See also Abu Hayyan al-Tawhidi; Buyids; Ibn Rushd, or Averroes; Ibn Sina, or Avicenna

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IDOLATRY

In the tradition of Middle Eastern monotheism, idolatry (literally, the worship of an image of a false god) is one of the greatest sins. Only God may be an object of worship, and some versions of monotheism

prohibit any representation, even of God, for a number of reasons, including the fear that the representation will become an object of worship in itself. In religious contexts Muslims, like Jews, have tended to reject the figural representation of God or of any moving being, and some Muslims have extended that rejection more widely.

Although there are words and expressions in Arabic that are semantically equivalent to the English "idolatry," in premodern Islamic culture the concept was more frequently conveyed by *shirk*, a word that at a basic level gives the idea of sharing or associating with something. *Shirk* comes to denote idolatry because it refers to the sin of associating with God, as worthy of worship, other beings or things—divine, human, or superhuman. Although frequently translated as "idolatry" because it is not semantically equivalent to that word, *shirk* may also be rendered by related concepts such as "polytheism" (the recognition of a plurality of gods).

Both idolatry and polytheism are frequently rela-

Most academic scholarship has accepted the image of Arab idolatry that the tradition conveys and agreed that the Qur'anic attacks on *shirk* were directed against the idolatrous Arabs. In place of the account of the corruption of Abrahamic religion in Arabia, many academic scholars have substituted an evolutionary theory of Arab religion to explain the mixture of polytheism and monotheism that the Qur'an and the traditional literature, in different ways, attribute to the Arab contemporaries of Muhammad. According to that theory, the Arabs were evolving out of their ancestral paganism into a monotheistic stage of religion but were still in a process of transition. The coming of Islam marked the completion of the process. It was because of its origins in such a milieu that Islam has constantly been so concerned with the dangers of idolatry and the need to stress absolute monotheism.

However, the author of this entry questions the traditional accounts of pre-Islamic Arab idolatry and the academic. The author regards it as likely that the Qur'an's accusation of *shirk* against its opponents is part of a polemic against other monotheists, and not directed at people who were idolaters in any literal sense. The author suggests that Islam's recurrent concern with the problem of *shirk* reflects the tendency within monotheism to extend the notion of idolatry to the critique of monotheist opponents.

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IDRISI

Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn 'Abd Allah ibn Idris al-'Ala bi-Amr Allah (ca. AH 493–560/1100–1165 CE) was the greatest medieval geographer. As a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad, this Muslim Arab scholar was titled al-Sharif al-Idrisi, but in the West he was known for a long time as *Geographus Nubiensis*, the Nubian Geographer. Born in Morocco and educated in Cordoba, he worked in Palermo at the court of the Norman king Roger II. The most important book he produced is a world geography in 1154, *Nuzhat al-mushtaq fi ikhtiraq al-afaq (Entertainment for One Desiring to Travel Far)*; it is also called *Kitab Rujjar (Book of Roger)*. He later wrote a shorter geography, known under a variety of Arabic titles and usually referred to as "The Little Idrisi." Both are extensively illustrated with maps; the maps in *Nuzhat al-mushtaq* are oriented to the South, the maps in the latter book are smaller and often oriented to the east.

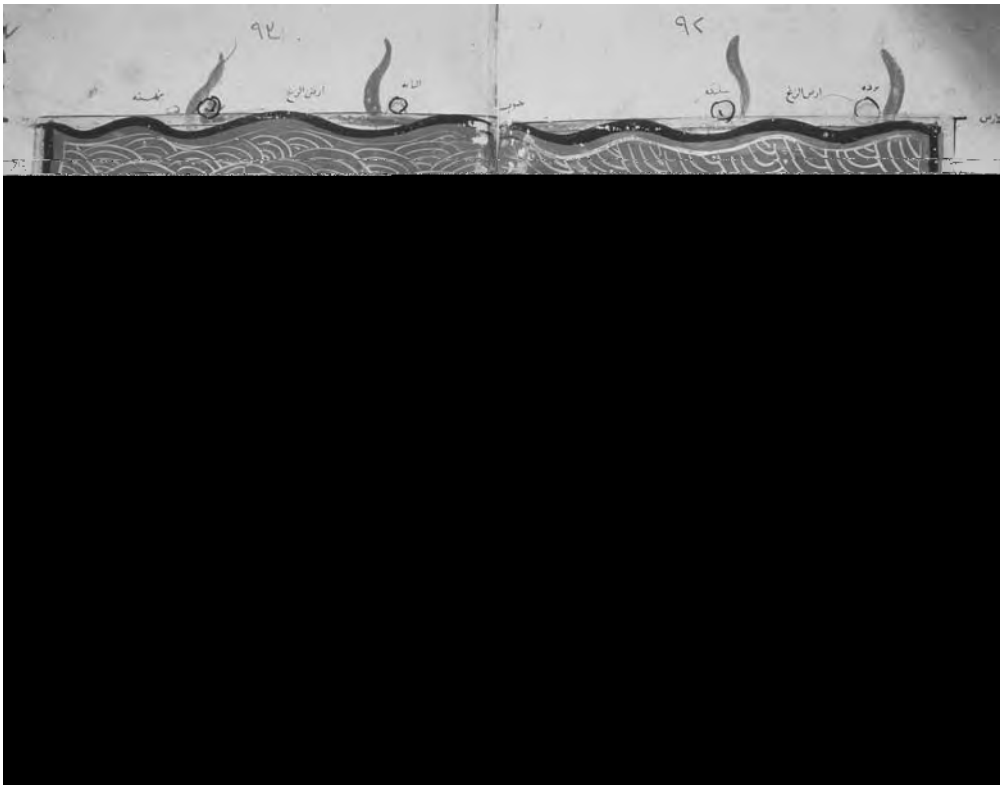
Al-Idrisi traveled in Asia Minor, Europe, and North Africa, and in Sicily he was able to consult both European and Islamic sources procured from books and travel reports. Thus his *Geography* is a synthesis of information and cartographic traditions from both Islamic and European cultures; it is unsurpassed in narrative geography and maps of the Middle Ages. Because the work is a compilation and the data occasionally anachronistic, al-Idrisi's work sometimes has been judged unoriginal. However, he introduced a new type of map that strongly impacted later cosmographers and thinkers, such as Ibn Khaldun, and used a projection that remains unexplained. Al-Idrisi produced more regional maps of the world than any other medieval cartographer, and his description of certain regions, such as the Balkans or northern Europe, is remarkably precise. The parts dealing with Africa remained an important source for Islamic and European cosmographers into the seventeenth century. Al-Idrisi's distinctive cartography and narrative method make it possible to identify later imitations as works in "The Idrisi School." Medieval European Mediterranean cartographers may have had some knowledge of his maps. The book *Nuzhat al-mushtaq* became the first secular Arabic work printed in Europe (Rome, 1592); a Latin translation was published in Paris in 1619.

Al-Idrisi credited his patron Roger with the construction of a large world map, but the work was done by al-Idrisi. The text is a detailed description of the map, engraved on a silver disk and based on the Arabic version of Marinus's map reportedly created under the caliph al-Ma'mun (813–833). The silver prototype was lost, but the book contains a round, schematic map of the world and seventy rectangular maps of the seventy parts into which al-Idrisi had divided the world. Ten manuscripts of

Nuzhat al-mushtaq survive, eight of them with maps; there is no complete good translation.

The system developed by al-Idrisi used the Ptolemaic foundation adopted by the early Islamic scholars, whereby the round earth is divided into quarters and only the Inhabited Quarter is described. It is astronomically divided into seven latitudinal belts (''climates''), leaving off the extreme north and equatorial south. Although familiar with coordinates, al-Idrisi did not use them; in addition to the parallel boundaries of the climates, he introduced, instead of meridians, ten longitudinal divisions. Thus the map and the narrative became divided into seventy sections. The numbering of climates is from south to north, the numbers of sections go west to east, again showing Greek influence. The text follows this arrangement after a brief general introduction, describing important geographical features of each section: cities, mountains, rivers, seas, islands, and so on, progressing eastward. Al-Idrisi names the most toponyms since Ptolemy, expanding and updating the medieval Arabic geographical inventory. He is academically unbiased, and all locations get more or less equal attention; he describes many identifiable locations for the first time in the geographical literature. Only ten of al-Idrisi's sources are named, and contemporary information gets indiscriminately mixed with data compiled from the Greek, Latin, and earlier Islamic sources.

The narrative follows itineraries, connected by travel distances expressed in miles *(mil)*, units *(farsakh)* (three miles), caravan stages *(marhala),* day marches, or days of sailing. The earth is depicted as surrounded by the Encircling Sea, *al-Bahr al-Muhit* (the Greek Ocean). Africa is extended eastward to form the southern coast of the Indian ocean, which, however, remains open in the Far East. The southern limit of the inhabited world is north of the equator in *Nuzhat al-mushtaq*, but south of the equator in The Little Idrisi. The southern portion of the round world map is filled with the African landmass, not shown on sectional maps. The western limit is the prime meridian drawn through the westernmost part of Africa, but the Fortunate Isles in the Atlantic are included. The easternmost country is *Sila* (Korea), supposedly at 180°E. The northern limit is at the Polar Circle (64°N.). The color-coded maps demonstrate a thoughtful and somewhat artistic approach, but



Al-Idrisi (twelfth century). Geographic Atlas of the Indian Ocean. Eleventh to twelfth century. Credit: Bridgeman-Giraudon/ Art Resource, NY. National Library (Dar-al-Kutub), Cairo, Egypt.

neither the degrees nor itineraries are drawn on them, and their practical value is doubtful. A pieced-together Latin version of this map was produced in Paris by Petrus Bertius in the 1620s.

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IDRISIDS

The Idrisids, a local dynasty of Arab origin, emerged out of the shifting Berber tribal groupings of Islamic northwestern Africa *(al-Maghrib)* in the late eighth century CE. Surviving, often tenuously for some two centuries, the dynasty is notable for having founded the city of Fez *(Fas)*, which was their capital, and for establishing Arabo-Islamic religious and political culture in this area.

In 789, the leader of a powerful Berber tribal group, the Awraba, determined to politically and religiously legitimize his dominion, invited a local *sharif*, Idris ibn 'Abd Allah, a descendant of 'Ali b. Abu Talib, to serve as the regime's *imam*, or spiritual leader. After *imam* Idris was assassinated in 791, a period of political unrest followed, after which one of his young sons was named *imam* as Idris II (808–828). Idris II gained the political initiative from his Berber sponsors in 809 by founding a new capital city, Fez, and inviting Arabs from al-Andalus and the Aghlabid territories to settle there. Fez soon became the capital of the most powerful and dynamic state in the Maghrib, Idrisid power having expanded to include most of modern Morocco. Idris II was succeeded by his brother Muhammad (828–836), who passed the throne on to his son 'Ali (836–859), who was then followed by his brother Yahya (859–863). This was the period of greatest stability for the Idrisids, and Fez continued to be a favored destination of refugees and immigrants from al-Andalus and Ifriqiyya.

The reign of the weak Yahya II (863–866) ushered in the decline of the dynasty, which was beset by internal rivalries and degenerated into a state of civil war. This was aggravated in the early tenth century by the rise of the Fatimids, who made them tributaries in 917. Eventually expelled from their capital by Miknasa Berbers, the Idrisids were driven into an alliance with the Umayyads of Cordoba, who allowed the dynasty to reconstitute itself, this time in the RÔf mountains in the 930s, where their capital was the fortress of Hajar al-Nasr. For the following half century the Idrisids survived in semiautonomy by playing off the Umayyads and Fatimids, all the while beset by a host of tribal enemies. Following a defeat of the Umayyads in 958, the family recognized the authority of the Fatimids. In 972, the Umayyads rallied, defeated the Fatimid forces, and took members of the Idrisid family as prisoners to Cordoba, formally deposing al-Hasan b. al-Qasim Gannun in 974. Eventually al-Hasan made his way to Egypt and was reinstalled by the Fatimids in 985. That same year, al-Mansur, ruler of Umayyad al-Andalus, dispatched an army to depose al-Hasan, who was taken prisoner and executed.

Fez is the Idrisid's greatest legacy. The two great mosques, al-Qarawiyyin and al-Andalusiyyin, founded by refugees from Tunisia and al-Andalus, became centers of a vibrant religious culture, further stimulated by the dynasty's connection to the family of 'Ali. The city remained the cultural capital of the Maghrib until the dawn of the colonial period.

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IKHSHIDIDS

The Ikhshidids were a short-lived Turkish dynasty that ruled Egypt and Syria from 935 to 966. The dynasty originally claimed power as the representatives of the 'Abbasid caliph, much like the Tulunids before them. However, with the occupation of Baghdad by the Shi'i Buyids in 945, they styled themselves as independent Sunni rulers.

The founder of this dynasty, Muhammad b. Tughj b. Juff al-Ikhshid, belonged to a military family that served the caliphal government over three generations and was sometimes embroiled in its internecine conflicts. Muhammad grew up in Tulunid Syria and was briefly jailed, along with his father and brother, after the 'Abbasid reconquest. He later received appointment as governor of Egypt. After turning back a Fatimid invasion at Alexandria in 936, he repelled the forces of the 'Abbasids' chief general *(amir l-umara)*, Ibn Ra'iq, in Syria, who wished to check his growing power.

The caliph al-Radi invested Muhammad with the title of al-Ikhshid at the latter's request in 939. This marked a significant concession by the caliph. The title derives from a word for king or ruler in Old Persian and was originally claimed by pre-Islamic rulers of Soghdia and Ferghana.

Muhammad's success relied on his military prowess and practical nature. In addition to the Fatimids and Ibn Ra'iq, he defeated the Hamdanids in Syria in 942 and 945. He did not, however, exploit these victo-

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ILKHANIDS (1258–1335)

Bowing to the request and entreaties of an envoy from the northern Persian city of Qazvin, the Great Khan Möngke (1251–1259), grandson of Genghis Khan, assigned his brother, Hülegü Khan, to march westward toward the Islamic heartlands. The Iranian Qadi (chief justice) had been explicit in his audience with Möngke Khan. Mongol military rule in Iran was corrupt, brutal, and inefficient. The Assassins or Ismailis, considered heretics and terrorists by most Iranians, were undermining the social fabric of Persian society and terrorizing its citizens and indeed had probably even infiltrated the court of the Great Khan himself. The Iranians wanted the Great Khan to extend his justice and rule into the west and end the anarchy that prevailed there. When Möngke discovered that Ismaili assassins had indeed infiltrated his court, he instructed Hülegü to march on Iran, rid the country of the "heretical" Ismailis, seek the submission of the caliph of Baghdad, and extend the rule of his justice and glory from the banks of the Oxus to the sands of Egypt.

Hülegü razed Alamut, the headquarters of the Ismaili Assassins, to the ground in 1256. For Juwayni, the historian and Hülegü's governor of Baghdad, the annihilation of Alamut justified and explained God's purpose in sending the Mongols to the lands of Islam. In 1258, the caliph of Islam, heeding the self-serving intrigues at his court, foolishly rebuffed Hülegü's calls to peacefully submit and defied the gathering Mongol forces. Advised by his Muslim aides and assisted by local armies of Muslim, Armenian, Kurdish, and Turkish troops, Hülegü destroyed Baghdad, though many including Shi'is, clerics, and Christians were given safe conduct from the city. After the battle the caliph was executed, and it is probable that the libraries and treasures of the city found their way to the first Ilkhanid capital, Maragheh (Azerbaijan, northwestern Iran) where Hülegü built an observatory and university for his court favorite, Shaykh Nassir al-Din Tusi.

Both Hülegü (d. 1265) and his son, Abaqa (r. 1265–1282), the first Ilkhans of Iran, were renowned for their wisdom and justice, and Iran experienced for the first time in many decades a period of security, peace, and prosperity. Maragheh, and later Tabriz, became prosperous hubs of international commerce and cultural exchange. Italian traders, Armenian merchants, Uighur middlemen, Persian poets, Chinese astrologers, Arab mathematicians, and intellectuals, scientists, agronomists, and scholars from east and west mingled in the halls and chambers and crowded bazaars of the Ilkhanid capitals. The city–states of Yazd, Kirman, Shiraz, and Herat all pledged allegiance to the Ilkhan and thrived under Mongol rule.

Ghazan Khan (1295–1304) converted to Islam probably more from political astuteness than from conviction, and Islam became the official religion of the state. However, ties with the Yuan dynasty of China continued to strengthen in all spheres bolstered by the personal ties between the "renaissance men," Bolad Chinksank, a Mongol, and Rashid al-Dīn, the Persian wazir. Both Iran and China thrived economically, culturally, and socially under the relatively enlightened administration of their Mongol rulers and there was mutual benefit from the close ties they maintained. The Ilkhanate did not decline but simply disappeared. The last Ilkhan, Abu Sa'id (r. 1316–1335), died without an heir, and it was at its peak that the Ilkhanate ceased. In its wake it left a state roughly corresponding to the modern state of Iran, and its legacy was a rebirth of the Iranian sense of statehood and national identity.

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See also Assassins; Ismailis

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the rightful "representative of God" *(khalifat Allah)* or "divinely inspired leader" *(al-imam al-muta'allih)* is hidden, may well have been enough to provoke his enemies among the *'ulama'* and to eventually lead to his execution.

His ideas were nevertheless taken up and elaborated one or two generations later by philosophers such as Ibn Kamm.na (d. 683/1284), Shams al-Din Muhammad al-Shahrazuri (d. after 687/1288), and Qutb al-Din al-Shirazi (d. 710/1311 or 716/1316), and were at that time well-known among philosophical Sufis (such as 'Abd al-Razzaq al-Qashani, d. 736/1335) as a distinct *ishraqi* tradition. They continued to exercise considerable influence on later intellectual developments in Persia, especially in the philosophical schools of Shiraz (fifteenth and sixteenth centuries) and Isfahan (seventeenth century) with Mir Damad and Mulla Sadra. They were also influential in Moghul India (notably in mixed Sufi and Zoroastrian milieux at the court of the emperor Akbar) and in Ottoman Turkey, where they appear to have found their way into more orthodox Sufi circles (for example, Isma'il Ankaravi, d. 1041/1631). However, it should be noted that the occurrence of the term *ishraq* in Sufi texts does not necessarily indicate an influence of illuminationism as understood by Suhrawardi. The North African Sufi treatise titled *Qawanin hikam al-ishraq* by Abu l-Mawahib al-Tunisi al-Shadhili (d. 882/1477) and published in English as *Illumination in Islamic Mysticism* (translated by E.J. Jurji, Princeton, 1938) has little more in common with Suhrawardi's principal work than a similar title.

On the other hand, Suhrawardi's *Ishraqiyyun* were by no means unknown in fourteenth-century Muslim Spain, as is evident from the excellent summary of "the views of the followers of [the doctrine of] the lights among the Ancients" given by Lisan al-Din Ibn al-Khatib al-Gharnati (d. 776/1374) in his *Rawdat al ta'rif bi l-hubb al-sharif* (edited by M. al-Kattani, Beirut, 1970, II, 564–574); and it is worth noting that this author clearly distinguishes them from "the views of the philosophers naturalized among the Muslims" on one hand, that is, the Aristotelian tradition ending up with Averroes, and from Sufism on the other.

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See also Isma'ili Thought; Mir Damad; Mulla Sadra; Al-Suhrawardi, Shihab al-Din; Saladin

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IMAM

The word *imam* (lit., leader, guide) has different connotations in Sunnism and Shi'ism. In Sunnism the word bears no specific doctrinal importance; it may

refer to a political/religious leader, a religious scholar, or the person who leads a collective prayer. In Shi'ism, however, the word carries an important semantic and doctrinal significance. To understand its full extent, one must know that the person of the imam is the true hub around which revolves the entire Shi'i faith. The function and the nature of the imam, both concentrated in the central concept of the *walâya* (friendship or divine covenant), constitute the esoteric front of the prophecy *(nubuwwa)*.

In Shi'ism's fundamental vision of the world, any reality is made up of a manifest aspect *(zâhir)* and a secret aspect *(bâtin)*, the latter being hidden under the former. One of the many consequences of this basic doctrine is that the Divine Word, the Revelation at the root of the religion, also has an apparent aspect (that is, an exoteric dimension, a letter) and a hidden aspect (that is, esoteric, a spirit).

In this dialectic, the Prophet is the messenger of the letter of the Revelation. He is always accompanied in his mission by one or more imams who are the guides to the spirit of the Revelation. Moreover, in theology, Shi'ism represents the historical imam as the apparent front of a metaphysical, cosmic, archetypal Imam, who is in turn the revealed face of God, a theophanic vehicle of the Divine Names and Attributes.

These fundamental facts make it possible in Shi'ism to distinguish three separate but complementary meanings to the word "imam," from an exoteric level to more esoteric dimensions:

1. Imam as a religious scholar, teaching exoteric aspects of law, theology, exegesis, cosmology, and so on to an audience of mixed pupils, both Shi'is and non-Shi'is.
2. Imam as initiating master and thaumaturge, who holds the secret knowledge of the mysteries of God, of man, and of the universe and who possesses supranormal and miraculous powers. At this level the imam is the divine guide who teaches the esoteric level of the teachings only to Shi'i disciples. He thus transmits his knowledge and powers to those he has initiated.
3. Lastly, imam as the Face of God, perfect Man in which the divine attributes are manifested. This image of the deified man constitutes the "esoteric of the esoteric" of the imam's person and can be considered as The Secret of all secrets in the Shi'i doctrinal teachings. It is illustrated in several traditions going back to the historical imams, whose daring tone recalls the mystics' paradoxical words *(shatahât)*: "We are (we, imams) the Most Beautiful Names of God; we are the Face of God, His Hand, His Tongue"; "I am the First and the Last; I am the Apparent and the Hidden; I am the Merciful and the Compassionate."

One can thus measure the impact of this sacrosanct title held by political leaders, such as Mûsâ al-Sadr in Lebanon and Khomeyni in Iran, for the first time in Shi'ism after the historical imams, having recourse to the many meanings of the word, as well as to the ambiguity of its connotations.

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See also Shi'i Thought; Shi'ism; Titles

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INDIA

The earliest Muslims came to the Indian subcontinent to earn a living, to conquer, to teach religion, and to seek refuge. The first immigrants were Arab traders who, as early as the eighth century, settled in many of the seaports along the western and southern coasts of India. Later, their descendants moved to major cities inland, as well as farther south to Sri Lanka. In 711, a small Arab expedition, under the command of a seventeen-year-old general, Muhammad ibn Qasim, was sent to subjugate pirates who had been pillaging Arab ships. The expedition conquered parts of Sind and, with the assistance of local allies, founded a state that survived for nearly three centuries. These early Arab mercantile and political connections laid the basis for the strong affinity of later Muslim communities in southern and southwestern India with the Arab world and Arabian culture. In contrast, in northern and northwestern regions of the subcontinent, the first immigrants were from Central Asia, mostly consisting of Turks and Afghans who had been culturally Persianized. As a result of political turmoil in Central Asia in the tenth century, these groups crossed the Himalayas and entered India. Initially they were interested in acquiring booty rather than settling in the region. The most prominent of these invaders was Mahmud (d. 1030), ruler of the

bequests. May a close relative receive a bequest of up to a third of the estate in addition to the fractional share speci“ed in the inheritance verses? No, because Muhammad is reported to have said on the occasion of his Farewell Pilgrimage in 632, ••No bequest to an heir,•• that is, a person contemplating death may not leave a bequest for anyone who will receive a fractional share of the estate as speci“ed in the inheritance verses. Since the time of al-Sha“•i (d. 820), Muslim jurists have regarded this prophetic dictum as an indicator that the inheritance verses abrogated the bequest verses.

Other problems were identi“ed and resolved during the “rst century AH. Oddly, Q 4:12b awards siblings a maximum of one-third of the estate, whereas Q 4:176 awards siblings anywhere from 50% to 100% of the estate. The apparent contradiction was harmonized by Qur•an commentators who taught that uterine siblings are intended in Q 4:12b, whereas consanguine and/or germane siblings are intended in Q 4:176. This explanation requires that the revelation of Q. 4:12b precede that of Q 4:176. To this end the tradition teaches that Q 4:176 was the last verse revealed to Muhammad.

The mechanical operation of the Qur•anic rules created further problems. For example, Q 4:11 speci“es that ••a male is entitled to a share of two females,•• a phrase that the scholars understood as a general principle applying to all males and females of the same class and degree of relationship to the deceased (for example, sons and daughters, brothers and sisters, mothers and fathers). This principle is contradicted, however, in the case of a childless man who dies, leaving his wife and both parents: Q 4:11 assigns one-third of the estate to the mother; and Q 4:12 assigns one-fourth to the widow, leaving “ve-twelfths for the father, who inherits as the closest surviving agnate. Clearly, the father•s share is not twice as large as that of the mother. The principle is also violated if a childless woman dies, leaving her husband and both parents, in which case the Qur•an assigns half to the widower, one-third to the mother, and one-sixth to the father, a solution that inverts the M ¼ 2F ••principle.••

The solution to this problem is attributed to the second caliph, Umar b. al-Khattab (r. 634…644). Asked about a childless man who died, leaving a wife and both parents, Umar replied, ••The wife is entitled to 1/4, the mother is entitled to 1/3of what remains[viz., 1/4], and the father is entitled to whatever is left [viz., 1/2].•• Here, Umar preserves the M ¼ 2F principle (the father inherits half, the mother one-fourth) by interpolating the Qur•anic phrase that awards a share of the estate to the mother as if it reads ••one-third of what remains.•• But the principle was saved at the expense of the Qur•anic speci“cation that the mother should inherit ••one-third•• of the estate. The solution to the case in which a woman dies, leaving her husband and both parents, was reportedly resolved in a similar manner by Ali (d. 661), al-Harith al-A•war (d. 684), or Zayd b. Thabit (d. 665).

A different problem arises when a person dies and leaves a particular constellation of heirs, all of whom are sharers, and yet, the sum of their Qur•anic fractional shares exceeds 100% of the estate. Suppose that a man dies and leaves two daughters, both parents, and a wife. All six persons qualify as sharers, but the sum of the shares speci“ed in the Qur•an (two-thirds for the daughters, one-sixth for the father, one-sixth for the mother, and one-eighth for the wife) equals 27/24. The solution to this problem is attributed to the caliph Umar, Zayd b. Thabit, and/or Ali: By reducing the share of each heir on a pro rata basis (a procedure known as awl), the sum total of the shares is reduced to one. In the present case the shares become 16/27 (for the two daughters), 4/27 (father), 4/27 (mother) and 3/27 (wife), with a total of 100% (27/27). Although this procedure solved a mathematical problem, it created a further hermeneutical and theological complication, for the result of this procedure is that no heir receives the exact share speci“ed in the Qur•an.

The general features of the science of the shares were clearly established by the middle of the second century AH, as re”ected in the earliest extant treatise on the topic, written by Sufyan al-Thawri (d. 161/778): There are two classes of heirs„sharers and agnates. The sharers are those persons for whom the Qur•an speci“es a fractional share of the estate (daughter[s], father, mother, spouse, and, in the absence of children, sibling[s]). The agnates are persons related to the deceased exclusively through male links,

closest surviving agnate, totally excluding the brothers as heirs. If the deceased also leaves a daughter, she is transformed into a residuary heir by her brother: he inherits 7/12 and she inherits 7/24, after the wife takes her 1/8 share. In theory, the person contemplating death is powerless to affect the relative entitlement of the heirs; he or she may not, for example, stipulate that the estate will pass to one heir to the exclusion of the others, that is, the deceased does not have the power to disinherit his close relatives.

The Imami Shi'is reject the systematic residuary entitlement of the agnates. Instead of a principle of male agnatic succession, they rely on a criterion of nearness of relationship that applies equally to males and females and to both agnatic and uterine relations of the deceased. Their system gives priority in inheritance to an inner family consisting of the children, parents, and siblings of the deceased, together with the spouse. These close relatives are regarded as the "roots" through whom are linked to the deceased the "branches" of the outer family, who stand next in priority in inheritance. No branch is excluded on the grounds of nonagnatic relationship to the deceased; every root is capable of transmitting its right of inheritance to its "branch."

Western Perspectives

Islamic sources indicate that the Muslim community's understanding of the Qur'anic inheritance verses was the subject of controversy during the lifetime of Muhammad and in the years immediately following his death.

At the center of this controversy stand Umar b. al-Khattab and the word *kalala*, which occurs twice in the Qur'an, once in Q 4:12b and again in 4:176. The commentators define *kalala* as "a person who dies leaving neither parent nor child." The sources, however, preserve a series of vivid reports that point to early confusion over the meaning of this word and the "reading" *(qira'a)* of Q 4:12b: On one occasion Umar said that he would rather know the meaning of *al-kalala* than possess the equivalent of the poll-tax of the fortresses of Byzantium. After he became caliph, Umar announced his intention to issue a decree about this word but was dissuaded from doing so by the appearance of a snake. Shortly before his demise, Umar said, "If I live, I will issue a decree about [*al-kalala*] so that no one who recites the Quran will disagree about it." On his deathbed, Umar destroyed a document that he had written about *al-kalala* (al-Tabari, Jami', 6:43–44).

Taking these narratives as his starting point, D. Powers has proposed three significant departures from the traditional understanding of the Qur'anic inheritance verses. First, he has suggested an alternative "reading" of Q. 4:12b according to which this subverse refers to the possibility of designating a testamentary heir; understood in this manner, the verse then clarifies the situation in which the deceased disinherits a brother or sister in favor of a wife or daughter-in-law. Second, he argues that the fractional share awarded to a surviving spouse in Q 4:12a was originally intended to apply only in the exceptional case of a wife who had received no dower, and that the exception was transformed into a rule during the generation following the death of the Prophet. Third, he argues that the bequest verses remained in force for at least twenty-five years after Muhammad's death, at which time a shift in the understanding of Q 4:12 made it appear as if the bequest verses were incompatible with the inheritance verses. Muslim scholars harmonized the relationship between the bequest and inheritance verses by invoking the doctrine of abrogation, ostensibly a sign of a change in the divine will, in reality a sign of changed perceptions of the meaning of the divine word. One advantage of the thesis proposed by Powers is that it eliminates the apparent contradictions and mathematical complexities associated with the science of the shares.

Islamic Inheritance System

As the conquests unfolded, Muslims living in the Near East and beyond found themselves subject to the science of the shares, which, to the extent that it was applied, resulted in the progressive fragmentation of wealth and capital. It is not surprising that proprietors found numerous ways to circumvent the inheritance rules or that they received important assistance in this regard from Muslim jurists who, distinguishing between postmortem and inter vivos transactions, taught that the inheritance rules take effect only on property owned by the deceased at the moment that he or she enters his or her deathbed illness and that proprietors are free, for the most part, to dispose of their property in any way they wish prior to that moment. Thus a proprietor may shift assets to his desired heir or heirs by means of a gift, acknowledgment of a debt, sale, or creation of a family endowment, on the condition that these legal actions conform to the requisite formalities. Thus, to understand how property passed from one generation

to the next in Muslim societies, it is important to consider not only the science of the shares but also the wider and more comprehensive Islamic inheritance system.

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INTELLECTUAL HISTORY

Definition

Islamic intellectual history, like that of other movements, is the story of the longitudinal effort to assist it in surviving, and to implement its ideology in practice. One should bear in mind that the following is a rather schematic survey of positions whose boundaries in reality were far less clear cut.

Age of Ideology

Islam, as a total system, was the solution offered to the basically local practical problem of social justice in Mecca, as reflected in the Meccan suras of the Qur'an. In the seventh century the intellectual context of that society was, according to Islamic historiography, pagan fatalism mixed with harsh capitalism, although some modern scholars question this view.

Viewed from a scholarly point of view, Muhammad's Islam is an Arabic version of earlier monotheistic beliefs of Judaism and Christianity. As many ideologies tend to be puristic, viewed from a believer's point of view, Islam is a renewal of the original monotheistic religion that was sent to the Prophet Muhammad directly from its eternal source, with no foreign contribution whatsoever.

Both ideology and measures were more or less sufficient for the needs of the time of the Prophet and perhaps somewhat into the era of the four righteous caliphs.

Practicality Problems

Already during their reign difficult practical problems arose that threatened ideology:

1. Firstly, Islam as a tool for the solution of a specific problem turned into an end in itself, that is, a universal solution for any problem. Inevitably, with the spreading of the original

faith thinly on new Muslims, the gap between ideology and practicality widened. Perhaps the principal question became how to translate ideology into practicality in running an empire rather than a town.

2. Secondly, class strife, such as the Medinan aristocracy's attempt to preserve power, did little to bridge the widening gap between ideology and practicality. Personal conflicts over claim to justice and power turned ideological: 'Alid's, Shi'a came to occupy a position of guardians of the ideological against what seemed to them unjustified deviation toward the practical.
3. Thirdly, after the death of the Prophet Muhammad, the authoritative fountain-head for ideology ceased to provide, leaving ever-created new questions unanswered. Attempts to solve the problems were made on both the personal and the general levels by assassination and military steps (the first and second civil wars of the old Medinan aristocracy against the Prophet's cousin and son in law 'Ali ibn Abi Talib), neither providing any real remedy.

As the ideological approach was seen to fall short of addressing all the above difficulties, a shift toward the practical was made on more than one level:

Leadership ceased to be granted to individually elected leaders on a basis of equality in Islam. In addition, the Umayyads, replacing it by a dynastic system, were faced with a major problem of ideological justification.

Among the salient problems that resulted was inequality of both the internal Arabs, and also such perceived as directed against the new non-Arab Muslims. Another was the fact that the Qur'an did not suffice for addressing all the contemporary practical needs. Foreign input and connection therefore needed to be sought. As part of the openness toward the exterior, the capital was moved to Damascus, closer to Byzantium and centers of Christianity.

Preference was given to political leaning over religious purist policy. In addition, and perhaps more menacingly, along with a rationalistic view to problem solving, a more humanistic, skeptical, and philosophical direction infiltrated Islam, especially in the form of the Qadariyya and the beginnings of the Muhtazilah.

As a result, the Umayyads were perceived as leaders who were inclined too heavily toward the practical (and also to what might be called secular) at the expense of the ideological.

The reaction was an open conflict between 'ulama' and the court, with strong political opposition that culminated in the Abbasid revolution of 750 CE.

Return to Ideology

The 'Abbasids, belonging to the family of the Prophet Muhammad, claimed to constitute a return to ideology and condemned their predecessors on religious grounds. They, in turn, moved the capital to Al+s basis of power, Baghdad. As on principle the tension between ideology and practicality cannot be undone, not only did it remain during their five centuries of reign, but also it became more acute, spreading over the entire intellectual range.

In the earlier part of the period it took the form of division between the sciences of the Arabs, such as Qur'anic interpretation (ideology), as well as artistic means (poetry), those of the Ancients, such as medicine (practicality), which were translated systematically during the ninth and tenth centuries, and a range of disciplines to bridge the two (for example, kalÁm).

The sciences of the Ancients were all imported, but other disciplines were imported as well, such as literary genres *(adab),* politics, and some poetic themes from Persia, and philosophies (such as Indian atomism). Furthermore, even within the ideological camp the views ranged; for example, the institution of legal schools *(madhÁhib),* the existence of the discipline of legal stratagems (Ýilm al-hiyal), or the wide range of Qur'anic interpretation (starting with bilÁ kaifa, and ending with allegorical ones). On the other hand, ideology had to defend itself against opposition from within too (Sufism), where the conflict sometimes took a bloody turn. By contrast, that between practicality and ideology at the time of al-Mamkn created the MiÎnah, the Islamic form of inquisition. Its most illustrious victim was Ibn Hanbal (d. 855 CE), whose redefinition of the ideological holds to date.

Non-Arab Muslims, especially Persians, reacted to Arab Islam puristic attitude with the Shu'ubiyya movement that on the one hand stressed equality in Islam, but on the other hand stressed their special side. This movement produced some of the most outstanding Muslim thinkers in all intellectual domains, thus responding to Islam's practical and growing need for external fertilization.

On the political level, one of the discrepancies between ideology and practicality had to do with the proliferation of Islamic dynasties. It was solved in such a way as to allow their existence (practicality) while maintaining the institution of the caliph (ideology) and justifying reality as the manifestation of God's will. In spite, or perhaps because of, this competition between ideology and practicality, the tenth century was the richest in Islamic history in

all domains and contributed the most to world culture.

The shift toward the closed ideological grew stronger especially after al-Ghazali (d. 1111). On the one hand, he declared amnesty to Sufism and incorporated it into official Islam, but on the other hand he revived religious studies (ideological) and attacked philosophy. This very discipline was an issue of reciprocal influence with other cultures, and an important criterion for our controversy: Although import of ideas existed already in the time of the Prophet, it was presented as anything but import.

Ideologically, Islam could, and had to, export its religious message only by inclusion of nonbelievers. Starting in the tenth century CE it exported other ideas that were theological, philosophical, scientific, and medical, without gaining new believers as a result. The Crusades served as yet another, unwelcome, catalyst for this mutual exchange.

Although the fall of the caliphate (1286) to the Mongols put an end to the political representation of the Islamic ideological position, in other domains the latter seems to have gained the upper hand. This was especially manifest in Ibn Taymiyya (d. 1328 AD), who, more than anyone else, has represented the ideological, not the least thanks to his fierce opposition to foreign intellectual import *(Against the Logicians)*.

With the exception of Ibn Khaldun's (d. 1406) unique contribution to the practical, it would seem as though the ideological had the upper hand toward the end of the period.

In conclusion it would seem that it was practical openness to reciprocity with other cultures, rather than exclusive ideology, that helped Islam survive and prosper.

ILAI ALON

See also 'Abbasids; Adab; al-Mamkn; Caliph; Civil Wars; Crusades; Fatalism; Ghazali; Ibn Hanbal; Ibn Khaldun; Ibn Taymiyya; Minah; Mutazilah; Philosophy; Qadariyya; Umayyads

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INTERFAITH RELATIONS

It would be anachronistic to think of interfaith relations in the Islamic world during the Middle Ages in contemporary postenlightenment terms. The modern virtues of social, religious, and political equality would have been incomprehensible to anyone living in the three great medieval cultural zones west of India—the Dar al-Islam (domain of Islam), Byzantium, and Latin Christendom. Muslims, Christians, and Jews all believed that they had been granted the most perfect of Divine dispensations, and whether they had been given temporal power over others or were themselves subjects to nonbelievers, they would be justified in the next world, if not in this one. A medieval person's true citizenship was not within a political state but within a religious polity, and adherents of other religions were, in a very real sense, aliens although not necessarily enemies. Contact between individuals from the different religious communities took place on many levels (economic, administrative, intellectual, even social) and, depending on time and circumstance, could be more or less cordial, but the overarching framework of interfaith relations was always subject to the parameters imposed by religious identity.

Early Theological, Legal, and Social Setting

Jews, Christians, and Zoroastrians, who were deemed by Islam to have valid, albeit imperfect, scriptural religions, were accorded freedom of religion within certain discreet boundaries, freedom of economic endeavor with some minor disadvantages, and the protection of the state in exchange for accepting the Islamic rule, a measure of social inferiority, and the paying of the *jizya*, or poll tax. They had their own communal officials, courts, schools, and welfare institutions. Under the so-called Pact of 'Umar, they were proteges *(dhimmis)* of the Muslim community. The dominance of Muslims and the subordinance of *dhimmis* was at all times and in all places an underlying subtext to all interconfessional intercourse.

The Qur'an specifically enjoins Muslims not to form friendships with members of the tolerated faiths: "O you who believe! Take not the Jews and the Christians as friends. They are friends to one another. Whoever of you befriends them is one of them. Allah does not guide the people who do evil" (Sura 5:51). In the earliest years following the establishment of the Dar al-Islam, this injunction probably was strictly adhered to, except with regard to the Christian–Arab tribesmen of Taghlib who took part in the wars of conquest and were not considered *dhimmis*.

The ruling Arab Muslims who concentrated at first in their own military camp towns (the *amsar*) constituted a small military elite governing an enormous empire, the inhabitants of which not only belonged to other faiths but spoke other languages as well. However, with the conversion of large numbers of the native population to Islam, the progressive Arabization, urbanization, and prosperity of the empire in the two centuries following the conquests, Muslims and non-Muslims increasingly came into daily face-to-face contact with one another. Although much of this contact was in the commercial sphere of the marketplace or the administrative sphere of the bureaucracy in which many *dhimmis* were employed, there were social and intellectual exchanges even before the period of the Hellenistic renaissance of the ninth through twelfth centuries.

Interfaith Relations on the Intellectual Level

During the Umayyad period (661–750 CE), Syria was one of the few provinces where Muslims and non-Muslims lived side by side in mixed urban communities, and many Arabs had lived there well before the advent of Islam. From the polemical writings of John of Damascus (ca. 675–750) and Theodore Abu Qurra (ca. 740–820), it is clear that Syrian Christian intellectuals were well informed of Islamic beliefs and intra-Islamic theological debates probably from first-hand contact with Muslims. Even if Damascene's *Dialogue between a Saracen and a Christian* is a fictional account, it reflects the kinds of interfaith discussions, both amicable and controversial, that were beginning to take place in the Levant. These discussions centered around such issues as the unity of God and the question of free will versus predestination. Representatives of the *dhimmi* communities sometimes were drawn into religious discussions at the ruler's court. Even when the dialogue was friendly, the inequality of status required the non-Muslim to be defensive and, no less important, inoffensive. The Nestorian Catholicos Timothy I records such a discussion that he had with the 'Abbasid caliph al-Mahdi in Baghdad around 781 in a work appropriately titled *Apology for the Christian Faith*. The Shi'i traditionalist Ibn Babawayh records a theological discussion between a Jewish exilarch and the twelfth 'Alid imam, 'Ali Rida, at the court of the caliph al-Ma'mun, which took place probably sometime between 816 and 818. The Andalusian literary scholar, Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, describes Jews and Christians discussing allegorical scriptural exegesis *(ta'wil)* also in front of al-Ma'mun.

During the period of the Hellenistic revival in the medieval Muslim world, which Adam Mez has dubbed "the Renaissance of Islam," there was considerable contact and even intellectual cooperation that crossed confessional lines. This was particularly true among men of science, medicine, and philosophy. Muslim, Christian, and Jewish physicians served alongside one another not only at the ruler's court but also in the public hospital *(bimaristan)*, and it was not at all unusual for a medical student of one faith to study with a notable teacher of another religion. For example, Ibn al-Jazzar, a well-known Muslim physician, was the pupil of Isaac Israeli (ca. 850–950), a Jew and one of the greatest figures in medieval medicine. Neither was it at all extraordinary for a doctor to have a non-coreligionist as a patient. Several generations of the Christian Bukhtishu' family served as physicians to the early 'Abbasids, and the Jewish physician and philosopher Moses Maimonides, was not only the personal doctor of the qadi al-Fadil and later the Sultan al-Malik al-Afdal in twelfth-century Cairo, but he also was lauded in verses by the Muslim poet Ibn Sana' al-Mulk. Biographical dictionaries of physicians, such as Ibn Abi Usaybi'a's *Tabaqat al-Atibba' (The Classes of the Physicians)* include respectful and complimentary entries on Christian and Jewish doctors.

But in no realm was interfaith cooperation more salient during the height of the Islamic Hellenic renaissance than in the realm of philosophy *(falsafa)* and rational theology *(kalam)*. The Muslim philosopher al-Farabi (d. 950) received his philosophical training in Baghdad from the Nestorian Yuhanna b. Haylan, and later al-Farabi himself took on at least one Christian student. A tenth-century visitor from the Islamic West, Ahmad ibn Sa'di, mentions that at an assembly of theologians in Baghdad, he found not only Muslims, "but unbelievers, Magians, materialists, atheists, Jews and Christians, in short, unbelievers of all kinds." He reports that debates were carried on exclusively on the basis of rational arguments without resort to citing scripture. Disturbed by what he saw, Ibn Sa'di sought out another such gathering but found the same thing, which he described in his own words as "calamity." Even legal scholars of different faiths cooperated with one another on occasion. Although the practice was strongly discouraged by Christian and Jewish authorities, members of their flock sometimes had recourse to the Islamic courts, and cases sometimes went back and forth between the latter and the *dhimmi* courts. Sometimes, the non-Muslim authorities themselves turned to the qadi for government backing when their own rulings had been challenged by recalcitrant members of their community. As Goitein has noted based on the evidence of the Cairo Geniza,

professional contacts between members of the Jewish and Muslim judiciary could even develop into personal friendships.

Although it was not a common practice, students of one confessional community sometimes studied in the school of another. The decree of the ‘Abbasid caliph al-Mutawakkil issued in 850, reiterating and reenforcing the Pact of ‘Umar, specifically prohibits

issued in 1009, commanding Christians and Jews to wear, respectively, a cross and a bell around their necks when bathing. These measures fell into desuetude with the disappearance of the caliph a few years later, and similar restrictions were not imposed for several more centuries when interfaith relations had seriously eroded throughout the Muslim world.

The commercial sphere also provided for interfaith contact and cooperation. Although business partnerships were preferred among family and coreligionists, it is clear from the evidence of the Cairo Geniza documents that business contracts, joint ventures, and partnerships among members of different faiths were not at all extraordinary. In such cases, it was Islamic commercial law that prevailed. Artisans of different faiths who owned an atelier in common, each took off their own weekly day of rest.

Interfaith Participation in Popular Religious Practices

It may seem paradoxical that in a society in which individual and group identities, state administration, and law were defined first and foremost by religion, that one important domain of interfaith contact among the common folk was within a religious context. This was not the realm of formal, orthodox religion, but of noncanonical popular religious practice. Unlike Christianity with its officially sanctioned cult of saints, normative Islam and Judaism looked askance at the veneration of holy men and making shrines of their tombs. Nevertheless, the graves of biblical figures, rabbinical sages, companions of the Prophet Muhammad, martyrs, and wonder workers not only attracted the faithful from one religious community but not infrequently from others as well. In Iraq, Muslims and Jews visited the shrines of Ezra and Ezekiel, both of which were maintained by the Jewish authorities, and members of all three faiths visited Daniel's tomb in Persia. Likewise the synagogue of Dammuh in Egypt, which supposedly was founded by Moses prior to the exodus, attracted Muslims alongside the Jewish pilgrims. In Damascus, Christians, Jews, and even Zoroastrians brought votive offerings to the tomb of the Muslim saint Shaykh Arslan. The Hanbali theologian Ibn Taymiyya (1263–1328), who rejected all such popular cults as heretical innovation *(bid'a)*, is particularly contemptuous of "ignorant Muslims" who make votive offerings at Christian shrines and "seek blessings from priests, monks and the like." In Islamic Spain and Fatimid Egypt where Christians made up a significant proportion of the population, some Christian festivals were occasions for celebration by the general public despite periodic objections raised by Islamic authorities.

Deterioration of Interfaith Relations in the Late Middle Ages

The spiritual, social, and economic climate of the Islamic world underwent a profound transformation during the course of the thirteenth century due to both internal and external pressures: the Crusades, the Reconquista, the Mongol invasions, the debasement of the currency, and plague. The secular and humanistic tendencies of the Hellenistic renaissance declined and were replaced by a less tolerant and more institutionalized Islam. The number of non-Muslims steadily declined (in the Maghrib, indigenous Christians disappeared in the wake of the Almohads), and they became ever more marginalized in Islamic society. This had a corrosive effect on interfaith relations. The laws of differentiation *(ghiyar)* came to be enforced with new stringency and vigor. Anti-*dhimmi* riots erupted periodically—in Baghdad in 1284 and throughout the Il-Khanid empire in 1291, in Cairo in 1301 and 1354, and in Fez in 1438 and 1465. The intellectual common ground that had allowed for interfaith debates in earlier centuries, even at the caliphal court, disappeared. In 1419, the Coptic patriarch was summoned by the Mamluk sultan al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad and was compelled to remain standing before him while Muslim scholars delivered lengthy anti-Christian diatribes. So too, the secular domain of the sciences was no longer congenial to interfaith contact and cooperation. Although there had always been some pious opposition to *dhimmis* practicing medicine on Muslims, it was never taken seriously. However, in 1448, Sultan Jaqmaq promulgated a decree forbidding Christian and Jewish doctors from treating Muslim patients. During the preceding two centuries, polemical treatises such as al-Jawbari's *Kashf al-Asrar (Unveiled Secrets)* and al-Wasiti's *Radd 'ala Ahl al-Dhimma (Refutation of the People of the Pact)* contained horror stories concerning *dhimmi* physicians and Muslim patients, and legal handbooks such as Ibn al-Hajj's *Madkhal al-Shar' al-Sharif (Introduction to the Noble Religious Law)* stated outright that such interconfessional doctor–patient relationships are forbidden. The spirit of the times and the general decline in education made attendance by members of one faith at the school of another even rarer than in the past. The implacable Ibn al-Hajj states that Muslim parents should not send their

career of Muhammad ibn Isma•il, who went into hiding, marking the initiation of the dawr al-satr, or period of concealment, in early Ismailism which lasted until the foundation of the Fatimid state when the Ismaili imams emerged openly as Fatimid caliphs.

On the death of Muhammad ibn Isma•il, not long after 179/795, his followers, who were at the time evidently known as Mubarakiyya, split into two groups. A majority refused to accept his death; they recognized him as their seventh and last imam and awaited his return as the Mahdi, the restorer of justice and true Islam. A second, smaller group acknowledged Muhammad•s death and traced the imamate in his progeny. Almost nothing is known about the subsequent history of these earliest Ismaili groups until shortly after the middle of the third/ninth century.

It is certain that for almost a century after Muhammad ibn Isma•il, a group of his descendants worked secretly for the creation of a revolutionary movement against the •Abbasids. The aim of this religiopolitical movement was to install the Ismaili imam belonging to the Prophet Muhammad•s family (ahl al-bayt) to a new caliphate ruling over the entire Muslim community; and the message of the movement was disseminated by a network of da•is, summoners or religiopolitical propagandists. Observing taqiyya, or precautionary dissimulation, these central leaders concealed their true identities in order to escape •Abbasid persecution. •Abdullah, the “rst of these leaders, had organized his da•wa (mission) around the doctrine of the majority of the earliest Ismailis, namely, the Mahdiship of Muhammad ibn Isma•il. •Abdullah eventually settled in Salamiyya, central Syria, which served as the secret headquarters of the Ismaili da•wa for some time. The efforts of •Abdullah and his successors bore results in the 260s/870s, when numerous da•is appeared in southern Iraq and adjacent regions under the leadership of Hamdan Qarmat and his chief assistant •Abdan. The Ismailis now referred to their movement simply as al-da•wa, the mission, or al-da•wa al-hadiya, the rightly guiding mission. Soon, the Ismaili da•wa appeared in numerous other regions, notably Yaman, where Ibn Hawshab Mansur al-Yaman (d. 302/914) acted as the chief da•i, Egypt, Bahrayn, Persia, Transoxiana, and Sind, as well as remoter regions in North Africa.

By the early 280s/890s, a uni“ed Ismaili movement had replaced the earlier splinter groups. However, in 286/899, soon after •Abdullah al-Mahdi, the future Fatimid caliph, had succeeded to leadership in Salamiyya, Ismailism was rent by a major schism. •Abdullah claimed the Ismaili imamate openly for himself and his ancestors who had organized the early Ismaili da•wa, also explaining the various forms of guises adopted by the earlier central Ismaili leaders who had preferred to assume the rank of hujja (proof or full representative) of the hidden Imam Muhammad ibn Isma•il. The doctrinal reform of •Abdullah al-Mahdi split the Ismaili movement into two rival factions. A loyalist faction, comprised mainly of the Ismailis of Yaman, Egypt, North Africa, and Sind, did recognize continuity in the imamate, acknowledging •Abdullah and his •Alid ancestors as their imams. On the other hand, a dissident faction, originally led by Hamdan Qarmat, retained their original belief in the Mahdiship of Muhammad ibn Isma•il. Henceforth, the term Qarmati came to be applied speci“cally to the dissidents who did not acknowledge •Abdullah al-Mahdi, as well as his predecessors and successors to the Fatimid caliphate, as their imams. The dissident Qarmatis acquired their most important stronghold in the Qarmati state of Bahrayn, founded in 286/899 by the da•i Abu Sa•id al-Jannabi. The Qarmati state of Bahrayn eventually

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JA'FAR AL-SADIQ (D. AH 148/765 CE)

Ja'far al-Sadiq was born in Medina in 80/699 or 83/703 and became one of the foremost exponents of the teachings from the Prophet's family. He is the most frequently cited authority on points of law and tradition, transmitting his family's wisdom to Muslims of diverse backgrounds and advocates of other religions, theosophists as well as gnostics who frequented his house in quest of knowledge.

Ja'far al-Sadiq is a central figure in Shi'i tradition, and he is the last common imam recognized by both the Ithna'asharis and the Isma'ilis. His contribution and influence, however, are far wider than his Shi'a. He is cited in a wide range of historical sources, including al-Tabari, al-Ya'qubi, and al-Masudi. Sunni, Sufi' and Shi'i sources all give testimony to his influence. Al-Dhahabi recognizes his contribution to Sunni tradition, whereas Abu Nu'aym and Farid al-Din Attar see him at the head of the Sufi line of saints and mystics. Ithna'ashari writers like al-Kulayni and Isma'ili scholars such as al-Qadi al-Nu'man record his monumental contribution to their respective Shi'i traditions.

Ja'far al-Sadiq inherited his position as a Shi'i imam from his father, al-Baqir. His versatile personality is, however, beyond classification, and his family perhaps saw him as a last attempt for reconciling the diverse groups of Muslims, since he was the great-great-grandson of 'Ali on one side and of Abu Bakr on the other. He remained distant in the power struggle that ensued from extremist Shi'is, with the Zaydiyya and the 'Abbasid movement of the Hashimiyya unfolding from the Kaysaniyya. He faced doctrinal difficulties from individuals who exaggerated his position, who were later known in history as the *ghulat*. Like his father before him, he repudiated them. Ja'far's detachment from politics gave him more time for scholarly activities, holding sessions at home as well as following his family's practice.

Law and Thought

Following the foundations laid by his father, al-Sadiq developed an extensive system of law and theology so that the Shi'i community had its own distinct ritual and religious doctrine. His traditions represent a range of subjects involving the 'ibadat and the mu'amalat, incorporating themes such as faith, devotion, alms, fasting, pilgrimage, and faith *(jihad)* as well as food, drink, social and business transactions, marriage and divorce, inheritance, criminal punishments, and a number of issues dealing with practically all aspects of life. Law in Islam, as is well known, is an all-embracing body of commands and prohibitions consisting of ordinances governing worship and ritual in addition to a proper legal system. Ja'far al-Sadiq is the most frequently quoted authority in Shi'i tradition. The Ithna 'ashari legal school is called the Ja'fari madhhab after him. Ismaili fiqh *(jurisprudence)* as codified by al-Qadi al-Nu'man is also primarily based on al-Sadiq's traditions and those of his father, al-Baqir. Besides guiding his own followers, he was

widely regarded as a central reference point for many who sought his advice.

Amidst the theological issues of his day, such4’281ce.

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at Trawulan and Tralaya, which suggests a Muslim presence at court there, perhaps even among the royal family.

According to some Javanese traditions, the Majapahit capital was sacked in 1478 by a force from Demak, with the hero of these raids later founding his own capital at Kudus (named after Jerusalem [al-Quds]). Although the actual course of events linking the rise of Islam to the fall of Majapahit and the foundation in its place of the Sultanate of Mataram is still unclear (1527 is the more likely date for the Demak attack), Java certainly became a more noticeably Muslim island over the course of the coming centuries. By the seventeenth century, the related sultanates of Banten and Cirebon (said to have been Islamized by a saint from the Sumatran kingdom of Pasai) had emerged and played a role in maritime trade with the Atlantic powers. Banten in particular had excellent access to holdings of pepper and maintained close links with the court of Aceh in northern Sumatra. In addition, as they were in Aceh, links were cultivated with the wider Muslim world. The Bantenese king, Pangeran Ratu (r. 1596–1651), sent a mission to Mecca in 1638 to obtain the title of Sultan, reigning thereafter as Mahmud Abd al-Qadir Abu 'l-Mafakhir.

The teachings of the mystical orders associated with the courts—particularly the Shattariyya and Qadiriyya orders—were also fostered. The cult of 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani was particularly prominent, and Javanese, Sundanese, and Malay literature contain adaptations of the stories of his life, especially those compiled by the Yemen-born hagiographer 'Abd Allah b. As'ad al-Yafi'i (1298–1367). Furthermore, these stories appear to have been seminal to the very transmission of Islam. Some of his miracles are paralleled in some of the conversion stories found in the wider region. In addition, as G.W.J. Drewes once suggested, Sultan Mahmud Abd al-Qadir Abu 'l-Mafakhir of Banten even appears to have chosen a regal title in 1638 that harmonized with that of a work of al-Yafi'i *(Asna al-Mafakhir fi Manaqib 'Abd al-Qadir)* and his favorite saint al-Jilani, who is still seen as the primary intercessor for southeast Asian Sufis.

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See also 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani; Sufism and Sufis; Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula

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JERUSALEM

Jerusalem in medieval Arabic literature is known as Ilya (from the Latin *Aelia Capitolina*), Bayt al-Maqdis, al-Bayt al-Muqaddas, or, simply, al-Quds. The latter three names all derive from the pure Arabic roots *b.y.t.* and *q.d.s.*, meaning "home" and "holy"; hence, "The Holy House." The form of the appellation, however, is an exact Arabization of the Hebrew *Beyt HaMiqdash*, the Hcommo Jaewis1auCdesignation

the eschaton or end time, when humanity will be "nally judged. Jerusalem became the ••gateway to heaven,•• and the pious made their way there in pilgrimage or burial in hope of resurrection and eternal life. This infused the city with a psychological quality of expectation and hope, but it also suggested that its political control might improve one•s merit for salvation. Individuals made their way to Jerusalem to die and be buried there, and Crusades and counter-Crusades would radically increase the number of the holy dead.

When Jerusalem was conquered by the Arabs in 637 or 638, the center of holiness returned to the Temple Mount, now called the Sacred Precinct (Haram al-Sharif). At this early period of Arab conquest, the religion of Islam was in its infancy, and it is not clear how ••Islamic•• the conquest led by the forces of the second caliph, •Umar Ibn al-Khattab, actually was. This may account for the ambivalence re"ected by the sources regarding the sanctity of Jerusalem in relation to the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. In any case, tradition credits •Umar with constructing a simple mosque on the Haram. On the same raised earthworks but further to the north, where the Solomonic Temple once stood, the Umayyad caliph •Abd al-Malik constructed the oldest surviving Islamic monumental structure (ca. 691), the Qubbat al-Sakhra (the Dome of the Rock). Within a few decades, he or his son Walid built the mosque called Al-Aqsa (••the distant mosque••), which became associated with the night journey of Muhammad from Mecca to Jerusalem.

Unlike Christian Jerusalem, which preserved the memory of prior religions only as archaic ruins, Islamic Jerusalem allowed for Christians to maintain their religious monuments and shrines, and Jews were allowed their synagogues. Only occasionally, such as during the reign of the Fatimid Caliph Hakim during the early eleventh century, were churches and synagogues sacked and destroyed.

Medieval Islamic Jerusalem re"ected the ••memories•• of both the past and the future Day of Judgment. In these memories, the new Dome of the Rock represents the Solomonic Temple and the gateway to heaven of past sacri"ce and future salvation. At the end time, the rock under the dome will be the stronghold of Muslims against al-Dajjal (the Antichrist) and the place to which the Mahdi (the Messiah) will come in triumph to restore justice to earth. Both Mecca and Medina will be brought to Jerusalem on the Day of Judgment.

However, the primary memory of Islamic Jerusalem is the isra (night journey) of the Prophet Muhammad to Jerusalem and his mi•raj (ascension) from the al-sakhra (rock) to heaven. In heaven, beyond the Lotus tree, he meets God and receives the wisdom that guides him and forms the authority for his leadership and pious behavior. The Prophet•s behaviors and aphorisms make up the sunna, and the sunna forms the most sacred religious literature of Islam after the Qur•an. The authority for the sunna derives from Muhammad•s infallibility, and that infallibility derives from his journey through the gateway to Heaven in Jerusalem to meet the Creator.

REUVEN FIRESTONE

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JESUS

Islam celebrates Jesus as a prophet who is superior to all other prophets except Muhammad. Two particular issues in the Islamic dogma led to this recognition: (1) Jesus proclaimed the coming of Muhammad, and (2) Islam will achieve ultimate triumph with Jesus• second coming at the End of Times. The stories about Jesus in the Qur•an and Islamic literature, including the Tales of the Prophets genre, relate to his birth, life, career, and miracles. Most of these stories have close parallels in canonical and apocryphal Christian texts. In this respect, one can say that Jesus is a "gure who is claimed simultaneously by two religions (Christianity and Islam). However, it is the nature of Jesus where these two religions differ.

Jesus is a legitimizer of Islam. According to Qur•an (61:6), one of the duties of Jesus was to proclaim the

every human, thus concluding his prophetic mission. The elaboration of this doctrine is in the hadith; the Qur•an only refers to it vaguely by nicknaming Jesus •alamun li-l-sa•a(sign/condition of the coming of the hour) (43:61). At “rst, the Mahdi of Islam came to be identi“ed with Jesus, but this became a less-popular view after the Mahdi was determined to be a descendant of Muhammad. In Shi•i theology in particular, Jesus becomes the lieutenant of the Mahdi; his second coming will usher in the return of the Mahdi from his ghayba(occultation).

Islamic theology, including the Qur•an, was partly concerned with ••correcting•• the wrong Christian perceptions about Jesus, in particular his divinity (i.e., whether he should be considered to be God, the son of God, or part of the Trinity). This has to be understood in the context of the Islamic obsession with the concept of the oneness of God(al-Tawhid) and the outright rejection of any hint of divine associates. The Qur•anic denial of the cruci“xion (4:157) is not addressed to the Christians, but it became an accepted discourse in Islamic theology to challenge the Christian belief about the reality of the cruci“xion. However, Islam accepts particular Christian concepts about the nature of Jesus, especially Jesus as the Word of God and a Spirit from God (Qur•an 4:171).

Jesus has also been implicated in several religious and political controversies in Islam. His sayings were quoted, for instance, in support of the Murji•a•s view of abstaining from judging other Muslims and referring the judging to God (see Khalidi, nos. 1 and 3), and also in support of the predestination creed that God determines everything (Khalidi, no. 69). As for Islamic asceticism and mysticism (Su“sm), Jesus features as a patron saint, and his perceived lifestyle became a model to imitate, especially his celibacy, unconcern for property and wealth, and struggle against Satan. His miracles were constantly highlighted, and they were explained as resulting from the divine empowerment because of his total devotion to and reliance on God.

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See also Qur•an and Christians; Prophets, Tales of; Messianism; Shi•ism

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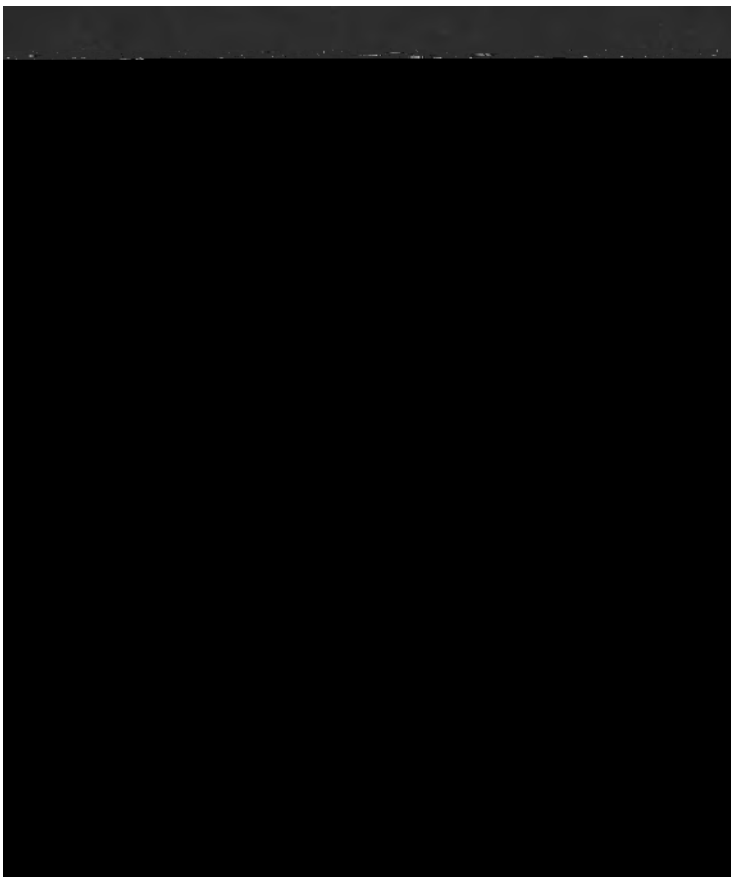
JEWELRY

In the Qur•an, the use of jewelry is not speci“cally encouraged or prohibited. However, its material value, aesthetic qualities, and ornamental function are de“nitely acknowledged through several mentions of precious sartorial accessories constituting rewards given to true believers in Paradise. For example, the faithful will be adorned with ••bracelets of gold•• in Surah 18:31 and ••bracelets of silver•• in Surah 76:21. Surahs 22:23 and 35:33 state similar promises of adding pearls to bracelets. Belonging to the category of jewelry, pearls, corals, and precious stones are especially considered in the Qur•an, because they are wonders to be found in nature, God•s creation (Surah 55:22). In depicting Paradise, Surah 55:58 mentions rubies and pearls as paradigms of beauty and perfection, whereas Surah 76:19 compares heavenly creatures to pearls. By thus including jewels in the depiction of Paradise, the Qur•an attributes a great



Gold necklace decorated with tiny floral designs in filigree; on the center pendant inscription "da'im" (everlasting prosperity). Naskki script. Mamluk dynasty, thirteenth CE. Credit: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY. Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo, Egypt.

openly shall be punished.'" A few traditions report that Muhammad and after him men of wisdom compared gold to fire, obviously alluding to Hell. However, in another hadith, the Prophet also stated that "gold and silk are permitted to women of my congregation and forbidden to the men." In contrast with the ambiguous connotation of gold jewelry, silver adornments clearly constitute licit jewelry according to the Prophetic tradition.

There are numerous references to jewelry in Islamic historical and literary sources. Jewelry was a controlled commodity, subject to taxation *(zakat)*. Both the commerce and making of jewels were supervised by an inspector *(muhtasib)* in a specific office *(Dar al-'Iyar)*. The Hisba literature provides many details about the profession of muhtasib. Inventories and chronicles describe quantities of precious objects that princes of the great medieval dynasties amassed in their treasuries, like the famous one of the Fatimids. Symbols of power and social status, jewels constituted honorific and diplomatic gifts exchanged among rulers and members of the royal family or offered to court subjects and representatives of the state during official ceremonies. Together with descriptive texts, pieces preserved in the worldly museums and private collections attest to the variety of techniques and stylistic influences that shaped the art of Islamic jewelry in the Middle Ages. Goldsmiths adapted the old Oriental Persian–Sasanian and Mediterranean Greco-Roman traditions to the taste and needs of Islamic culture, thereby at once creating new forms and perpetuating the native lore of lands conquered by the Muslims.

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See also Amulets; Artisans; Beauty and Aesthetics; Clothing and Costume; Court Dress; Fatimids; Gender and Sexuality; Gifts and Gift Giving; Guilds, Professional; Hadith; Marvels and Wonders; Metalwork; Mythology and Mythical Beings; Precious Metal; Qur'an; Qur'an and Arabic Literature; Roman Empire, Islamic Traditions; Sasanians, Islamic Traditions; Talismans and Talismanic Objects; Tax and Taxation

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In the Qur'an

Although some Qur'anic contexts in which "striving in the path of God" occurs do not convey a sense of stress or physical defense (2:218; 9:64; 49:15), most do (4:95; 8:72, 74; 5:54; 9:16, 19, 41; 31:15; 60:1; 61:11), and some quite clearly refer to engaging in war on behalf of a beleaguered young Muslim community. The more common Qur'anic term, however, is *qital*, and this word means, literally, "warring" (2:190, 244, 246; 3:13, 167; 4:74–76, 84; 9:111; 21:4; 73:20). Like jihad, qital also occurs in the idiomatic expression "in the path of God"; qital thus conveys a sense of religious war more consistently than does jihad. A third term, *harb,* also refers to wars, but this term does not occur in the idiom, "in the path of God," and it is distinguished by designating only aggression and wars that are not legitimized by religious authority.

The Qur'an acknowledges that conflict between peoples, religions, and individuals is a part of life (22:40: "If God did not push off [some] people by means of others, then monasteries and churches and synagogues and mosques in which the name of God is often cited would have been destroyed." 5:8, 48; 16:93; 34:24–26; 49:10–13, 109). Other means of resolving religious disputes, such as argument or discussion, are also found in the Qur'an (16:125; 29:46).

In the Hadith

Various activities subsumed under jihad are said by Muhammad to distinguish true believers who are loyal to God's Prophet: "Every prophet sent by God to a nation *(umma)* before me has had disciples and followers who followed his ways *(sunna)* and obeyed his commands. But after them came successors who preached what they did not practice and practiced what they were not commanded. Whoever strives *(jahada)* against them with one's hand is a believer, whoever strives against them with one's tongue is a believer, whoever strives against them with one's heart is a believer. There is nothing greater than [the size of] a mustard seed beyond that in the way of faith" (Muslim, *Sahih,* Cairo; *K. al-Iman* 20.80, 1:69-70). Muhammad is also credited with saying: "The best *jihad* is [speaking] a word of justice to a tyrannical ruler" (Abu Dawud, *Sunan*, Cairo, 1988/1408; *K. al-Malahim* 4344, 4:122).

There are, thus, various subcategories of jihad found in the hadith literature, such as jihad of the heart, the tongue, and the hand, all of which are said to promote God's kingdom on earth by behaving ethically, by speaking without causing harm to others, and by defending Islam and propagating the faith, respectively. Jihad as religiously grounded warfare—sometimes referred to as *jihad of the sword (jihad al-sayf)*—is subsumed under the last two categories of defending Islam and propagating the faith, although these need not be accomplished only through war. When the term *jihad* is used without qualifiers such as "of the heart," or "of the tongue," it is universally understood as war on behalf of Islam (equivalent to "jihad of the sword"), and the merits of engaging in such jihad are described plentifully in the most-respected religious works.

Nevertheless, Muslim thinkers (and particularly ascetics and mystics) often differentiate between the greater jihad *(al-jihad al-akbar)* and the lesser jihad *(al-jihad al-asghar)*, with the former representing the struggle against the self, and only the lesser jihad referring to warring in the path of God. It should be noted that this is not a sound tradition and cannot be found in any of the canonical Sunni hadith collections.

Even within its range of meaning as war on behalf of Islam, the term is often used in relation to conflicts between Muslims. Such examples of jihad include wars fought against groups of apostates rebelling against proper Islamic authority *(murtaddun)*, dissenting groups denouncing legitimate Muslim leadership *(baghi)*, highway robbers and other violent people, and deviant or un-Islamic leadership. The determination of when Muslim leaders may call for jihad and the requisite demands that such a call makes upon the Muslim populace are developed in the legal literature.

In Islamic Law

Muslim jurists developed a highly sophisticated legal doctrine of war, and Averroes (Muhammad ibn Rushd) makes several general points. First, it is a collective legal obligation for healthy, adult, free men who have the means at their disposal to go to war. All polytheists should be fought (Jews and Christians are included in this group). Second, the aim of warfare against Peoples of the Book is either conversion to Islam or payment of the *jizya* (a poll tax) signaling subjugation to Islam. Generally, collection of the jizya is only accepted from Jews, Christians, and Zoroastrians, although some scholars allow it for "any polytheist other than Arabs" (which would include Hindus). Otherwise, conversion to Islam is required of non-monotheists. Third, damage inflicted on the enemy may consist of damage to his property, injury to his person, or violation of his personal liberty (slavery). Such damage may be directed against

listened to a recitation of the Qur'an and then went to inform their fellow jinn about Islam (72:1–5).

Islam considers the jinn to be responsible for their deeds. Both humans and jinn are described as free and fully capable of making choices that will determine their abode in Paradise or Hell, and the jinn and humankind are closely associated in the afterlife as well. Both confront the same destiny (6:128; 55:39), both will be judged simultaneously by God, and both will be rewarded or punished in accordance with their deeds (7:179; 55:56).

To understand the concept of jinn in Islam, emphasis must be placed on the repetition of the striking phrase, "Lord of the worlds," that Muslims use in their daily prayers and that is mentioned at the beginning of each chapter of the Qur'an. The use of the plural implies the existence of other worlds that are inhabited by numerous kinds of intelligences, all of which are outside humankind's perception. The world of the jinn is only one of many of such realms.

In many chapters, the Qur'an reminds humankind and jinn of the impossibility of physically coming close to God (55:33). However, this incapability before God is not only physical, it also includes the mental and creative limitations that are shared by jinn and humans alike. God sets a challenge for both species (17:90).

However, the numerous instances of the association of jinn and humans do not imply that these two species are equal. God says in the Qur'an that humans alone are the inheritors of the earth. The first man and prophet, Adam, is considered God's vicegerent on earth; this honor does not go to the jinn who share the earth with humankind nor even to the angels who worship God in the heavens by day and by night (17:70). Even the basic elements from which human beings and jinn are composed give humans greater distinction over the jinn. Although the jinn generally boast about their superiority because they are made of air and smokeless fire, the element of water, which gives life to everything, and from which human beings themselves are created, bestows upon them actual superiority over the jinn. The supremacy of human beings above all other creatures derives from the fact that they are a combination of elements from lower compounds (the same as animals and plants) as well as higher compounds (angelic entities). Only human beings are constituted from both realms.

The association of humans and jinn is not limited to the Qur'an. It is also found in classical Arabic literature, Sufi texts, folklore, and even modern narratives. These diverse texts unravel the belief of a large population of the Arab Muslim world in an abiding relationship between the jinn and humans. Popular culture, even today, abounds with stories of jinn carrying off humans, of marriages between the two species, and of people possessed by jinn, in which case the jinn are internalized within the human psyche. These lasting beliefs insinuate that, where there are human beings, there are almost always jinn nearby who interfere in their existence and who are subject to the same set of laws and beliefs.

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JUDAH HA-LEVI

The poet and religious philosopher Judah (Abu'l-Hasan) ben Samuel Halevi (c. 1075–1141) was one of the outstanding figures among Andalusian Jewry during the first half of the twelfth century. Hailing from Tudela or Toledo, he came to Cordoba at the invitation of the poet Moses Ibn Ezra. Although Halevi was a practicing physician, he also engaged in commerce and was apparently quite prosperous. His fame, however, derived from his Hebrew verse. According to Judah al-Harizi (c. 1165–1225), Halevi was the most versatile of Hebrew writers, a virtuoso in every genre of secular and sacred poetry and rhymed prose. He pioneered the Hebrew girdle song *(muwashshah)* and also produced Hebrew renderings of Arabic verse. The superscriptions to his poems indicate warm relationships with other members of the Jewish elite. Much of his verse was gathered posthumously into a *diwan* (collected poems), which has survived in two recensions. Many of his liturgical compositions are preserved in the rites of Sephardic and oriental Jewish communities.

Deeply immersed in Greco-Arabic culture, Halevi commanded a fine Arabic prose style and was thoroughly conversant with Islamic philosophy. Shi'i and Sufi influences have also been detected in his writings. However, he came to repudiate the truth claims of speculative knowledge while adopting a conservative, particularist conception of Judaism. He expounded his views in *The Book of the Khazar (Kitab al-Khazari)*, a platonic dialogue between a rabbi and a pagan king seeking religious enlightenment. The work draws upon the etiological legend of the conversion of the Khazar kingdom (located in southern Russia between the Black and Caspian Seas) to Judaism during the eighth and ninth centuries. The book's alternate title, *The Book of Argument and Proof for the Despised Faith,* aptly expresses its apologetic character. The rabbi argues for the intrinsic superiority of the Jewish religious tradition, the Jewish people, and the land of Israel while rejecting the claims of other religions (Islam and Christianity), other intellectual systems (Greek and Islamic philosophy), and heresies (Karaite Judaism). Because of its engaging form and powerful, positive message, the *Book of the Khazar* was soon translated into Hebrew by Judah Ibn Tibbon (Provence, 1167); *Sefer ha-Kuzari* became one of the classic works of Jewish thought.

Toward the conclusion of the *Khazari,* the rabbi asserts that he must leave the diaspora for the land of Israel, which is the noblest place on earth. In fact, as an old man, Halevi himself finally abandoned his comfortable life in Andalusia and traveled east to the Holy Land. This journey is documented in a remarkable series of poems that describeking

Sulayman b. •Abd al-Malik (r. 715…717), judges were appointed directly by the caliphs from the capital in Damascus.

The Umayyads used the qadiship as a form of patronage, appointing important and in”uential religious “gures as qadis and using them to disseminate their ideology and to promote the popularity of the regime. Although there was no lack of quali“ed candidates to “ll these posts, many potential candidates either refused to accept such appointments or had to be cajoled to do so, presumably because they were reluctant to associate themselves with a state regarded as unjust or impious.

The early qadis issued their judgments on the basis of their understanding of the Qur•an (sunna) and local custom, supplemented by ra•y (personal discretion), thereby contributing to the formation of nascent legal doctrine and laying the foundation for what would become the mature legal doctrine of the law schools (madhhabs).

After 750 CE

In Umayyad and early •Abbasid times, the jurisdiction of the qadi was limited to the town over which he was appointed. At “rst, the qadi was usually a local representative of the inhabitants of a town who was familiar with many of the residents and responsive to

reasoning *(ijtihad)* only on matters with respect to which no consensus has emerged. If he is qualified to exercise independent reasoning, he is bound by it, and he should not follow the recommendation of his advisors, even if their juristic qualifications are better than his.

The classical position of the law schools holds that a judge's decision, when based on the proper legal texts and fulfilling the necessary procedural conditions of judgment, is binding and may not be reversed. However, this formulation leaves open the possibility of reversing a decision that fails to meet these conditions. In fact, a judgment may be reversed in two circumstances: (1) if the pronouncing judge was not legally competent to pass judgment; and (2) if a judge who was legally competent nevertheless engaged in the improper use of ijtihad—that is, if his judgment contradicts a Qur'anic text (the plain meaning of which there is universal agreement on), a widely transmitted hadith, or the consensus of Muslim jurists. Thus, if a judge is not legally competent or if a legally competent judge engages in the improper use of independent reasoning, his judgment may be nullified by another judge. Conversely, a judgment issued by a competent judge that is based on sound ijtihad may not be reversed under any circumstances. Islamic law developed a system of successor review that regulates how a succeeding judge should treat judgments issued by his predecessor.

In those areas of the Muslim world that were independent of central control, local rulers introduced

Muslim pilgrims before the Kaaba in Mecca. Miniature, 1577. Inv.: Ding A, fol.3/fol.46a. (Pertscn Nr. 1016) Photo: Ruth Schacht. Oriental Division. Credit: Bildarchiv preussischer Kulturbestiz/Art Resource, NY. Staatsbibliothek Zu Berlin, Berlin, Germany.

the animal fables of the *Pancatantra*. Eighth-century frescoes found at Panjikent, near Samarkand, that include depictions of the *Pancatantra* tales attest to a well-established iconographic tradition that was later absorbed and adapted in the Muslim Near East.

Ibn al-Muqaffa• states in his introduction the fourfold purpose of the *Kalila wa Dimna*: (1) to engage the youth through the vehicle of animal fables; (2) to delight the hearts of princes through richly illustrated depictions of the tales; (3) to entice kings and common folk everywhere to acquire their own copies and bene"t the painters and scribes; and (4) to engage the philosophers in the wisdom of its tales. Were he alive today, Ibn al-Muqaffa• would not have been disappointed in the least. Throughout the ages, the *Kalila wa Dimna* has been reworked and translated, as both prose and poetic verse, into Persian, Mongol, Malay, Ethiopian, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Spanish, Italian, French, German, and several Slavonic languages. The most famous Persian recension from the Timurid period is the *Anvar-i Suhayli*, which was later translated into Ottoman rhymed prose as the *Humayun-nama* for Sultan Suleiman the Magni"cent. A new version of the Timurid work entitled *Iyar-i Danish* was commissioned by the Mughal emperor Akbar.

FAHMIDA SULEMAN

See also Adab; Akbar; Arabic; Books; Firdawsi; Frescoes; Hindus; Ibn al-Muqaffa•; Manuscripts; Mirrors for Princes; Mughals; Painting, Miniature; Painting, Monumental and Frescoes; Persian; Poets; Popular Literature; Scribes; Shahnama; Stories and Storytelling; Suleiman the Magni"cent; Timurids; Translation, Arabic to Persian; Turkish and Turkic Languages

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KARAITES

A Jewish sect, the Karaites emerged in the Islamic East during the eighth and ninth centuries CE. The Hebrew name qara•im (Arabic qara•iyun) probably derives from miqra, or ••scripture,•• because the Karaites are scripturalists who deny the authority of the rabbinic tradition embodied in talmudic and midrashic literature, depending instead directly on the Bible, which they interpret rationally. Although the sect•s origins remain obscure, medieval sources connect its rise with a certain Anan ben David (active in Iraq during the middle of the eighth century). During the late ninth century, Karaite ideology crystallized around three principal ideas: (1) opposition to rabbinic teachings and leadership; (2) an apocalyptic worldview; and (3) the physical return to Zion. Daniel al-Qumisi of Damaghan argued that the Jews• suffering in exile was divine punishment for their having instituted rabbinic legislation of human origin. Reading scripture prognostically, he referred prophecies to contemporary times, identifying biblical names, places, people, and images with the world he knew. Assuming a central role in the unfolding eschatological drama, his followers called themselves ••Mourners for Zion•• (Isa. 61:3). Settling in Jerusalem, they studied and recited scripture, observed vigils, and fasted.

The Karaites elicited "rm opposition from rabbinic leaders, notably Sa•adyah Gaon. Polemics between Rabbanites (adherents of rabbinic Judaism) and Karaites were harsh, but competition between the two groups undoubtedly contributed to the intellectual "owering of eastern Jewry. During the tenth century, Karaite scholars stood at the forefront of Jewish learning. Like Sa•adyah, they wrote extensively in Arabic on a range of subjects, including law, biblical exegesis, grammar, lexicography, and theology. Most of the leading "gures hailed from Iran and Iraq, but,

cordial relations, even intermarrying. With the extinction of the Jerusalem community (late eleventh century), the Egyptian center became the most important in the Islamic lands, surviving until the end of the twentieth century. In Spain, Ibn Hazm documented the presence of Karaites during the mid-eleventh century. Andalusian Rabbanites, such as Judah Halevi, Abraham Ibn Daud, and Maimonides, sharply condemned Karaite teachings, and they recorded efforts to suppress the sect. In Byzantium, the sectarians translated a large body of scholarship from Arabic to Hebrew, adapting Karaite teachings and practices to a new Christian environment. The communities that later developed in the Crimea, Poland, and Lithuania originally looked to Constantinople for spiritual guidance. Today, there are perhaps twenty-five thousand Karaites in the world; most are of Egyptian extraction and reside in Israel.

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See also Hebrew; Judah Halevi; Judeo-Arabic; Kalam; Polemics and Disputation; Sa'adyah Gaon; Scriptural Exegesis, Jewish; Translation, Arabic to Hebrew

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of Karbala and other groups who were opposed to Hussein were severely persecuted, and heavy restrictions were placed on visits to the shrine as well as on scholarly activity in Karbala. Karbala is surrounded by a number of cemeteries, reflecting the wish of many devout Shi'is to be buried near Imam Husayn and other martyrs. It is also the seat of several places of learning, and, after its recent turbulent history, Karbala is struggling to revive its traditional role as a pilgrimage city and a seat of religious learning and scholarship.

AZIM NANJI

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KHALID IBN AL-WALID

Khalid ibn al-Walid was the most famous military commander of early Islamic times. He was a member of the powerful Makhzum tribe, who converted to Islam after the hijra. He fought against Muhammad

of Sif"n (in 657) against Mu•awiya after the murder of •Uthman were a violation of religious principles. Kharijis rose against •Ali at Nahrawan in 658 and were defeated, but a Khariji later assassinated •Ali in 661, indirectly leading to the Arab succession of Mu•awiya and the Umayyad dynasty.

The Khariji opposition centered on the political leadership of Islam and the rejection of the worldly authority of the (initially) Umayyad caliphal regime. They maintained that there was no precedence in Islam except for virtue (the ful"llment of all laws and duties incumbent on Muslims as individuals), and, by committing a sin, sinners had apostatized, renounced their faith, and„some extreme Kharijis said„thus incurred the penalty of death. The Kharijis thus rejected the hereditary succession to the caliphate and the restriction of it to Arabs; rather, Kharijis held that the head of the Islamic community was the imam elected on the basis of religious learning and piety. Ultimately, the Kharijis contributed to the emergence of a self-conscious Islamic identity.

With such an uncompromising stance, especially toward the incumbent caliphal regime, the Kharijis became a disparate and persecuted group with rebellious and fanatical inclinations, and they often found refuge in the peripheral regions of the empire. Initially based in Basra, the Kharijis inspired numerous rebellions against Umayyad rule in the Arab east (Mashriq) from the 660s. In Iraq, Kharijis led by Ibn al-Azraq (known later as Azariqa) gained the support of non-Arab Persian Muslims and propagated the most extreme form of Khariji doctrine. However, from 675 to 684, the Umayyad Governor •Ubayd Allah ibn Ziyad undertook a bloody campaign against the Kharijis, supplying numerous martyrs to the sect. From their ideological epicenter in Basra, the Kharijis gradually divided into three distinct groups named after their eponymous leaders: the extremist Azariqa (••blues••), the radical Sufriya (••yellow••), and the moderate Ibadiya (••whites••). In the Arab peninsula, Najda ibn Amir in particular used Kharijism as a banner for rebellion in the empire, and the Najdites controlled large territories in eastern Arabia, Yemen, and the Hadramawt until they were "nally defeated by •Abbasid power. Later in the ninth century, Khariji doctrine inspired a revolt of African slaves (the Zanj) in southern Iraq. At times and places in which the caliphate was weak, Khariji leadership "lled the void.

Khariji Islam had its most profound in"uence in North African Maghrib. Political fugitives from the Arab east (Mashriq) brought the Khariji teachings and found a receptive audience in the independently minded Berber populations in the Maghrib. Khariji missionaries (both Sufrite and Ibadite Khariji) are reputed to have appeared in Qayrawan (Ifriqiya) at around 719. Sufrite Khariji in"uence in the Maghrib is attributed to a Berber missionary, •Ikrima. Berbers used the Khariji doctrine against the remote and sometimes oppressive rule of their Arab conquerors, denouncing caliphal rule as having departed from the true Islamic path. At issue were the demands that the Arab conquerors of the Maghreb made on the Berber populations, who, as well as the usual„and Islamic„ principles of jizya (poll tax) and kharaj (land tax), also bore the unlawful levying of human tribute, especially of slave girls. Moreover, as non-Arab converts to Islam (mawali; clients of Arab tribes), Muslim Berber recruits to the Muslim army were given a status that was inferior to Arabs.

The Berbers, who were initially under the leadership of the Sufrite Maysara, a ••water carrier from Qayrawan•• who was in"uenced by •Ikrima, rebelled against caliphal rule in 739 and 740 in Tangier. In 741, they destroyed a large Umayyad army in North Africa, but they were prevented from taking Qayrawan. Only in 756 did the Sufrite Kharijis (and the Warfajuma Berbers who dominated the ranks) conquer Qayrawan. Ibadi Kharijis then brie"y conquered Qayrawan in 758 and installed the (Iranian) Imam Ibn Rustman, who was forced westward by the consolidation of the new •Abbasid dynasty over the empire.

Resistance and recalcitrance continued, which brought about the foundation of small sectarian Khariji states in Algeria and Morocco. The western Maghrib became a stronghold for independent Khariji Berber leaders. Berber-Khariji states were founded at Tlemsen (under the Sufrite leadership of Abu Qurra), Tahert (Ibadite Rustamids), and Sijilmassa (Sufrite Midrarids). The Berber Kharijis also founded small trading oases, and they developed trade routes with the Sudanic African kingdoms and were among the "rst carriers of Islam into Sudanic Africa.

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KHATIB AL-BAGHDADI, AL-

Al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, Abu Bakr Ahmad ibn 'Ali ibn Thabit ibn Ahmad ibn Mahdi al-Shafi'i, the "Preacher of Baghdad" and the "Traditionalist of the East," was born in 1002 CE in a village in the vicinity of Baghdad, and he died in the city in 1071. Beginning his studies very early with his father and other local sheikhs, he soon immersed himself in the science of the prophetic traditions (hadith), which remained the focus of his intellectual pursuits thereafter. His keen interest in the hadith led him to undertake long journeys to several centers of learning, reaching as far as Nishapur in search of knowledge. He sought to hear Islamic traditions directly from the lips of various authorities and, through them, become a link in the chain of transmission extending back to the Prophet. During the years after his first return to Baghdad in 1028, he became a great authority on hadith, and his fame spread far beyond the city's walls.

Al-Khatib's life belonged to a particularly crucial period in the history of Baghdad and the eastern part of the 'Abbasid caliphate as a whole, a period marked by the expansion of Shi'ism under the Buyids and the restoration of Sunnism under the Seljuks. During the "Shi'i century" as well as the period immediately after, Ibn al-Hanbal's pupils, who were numerous and powerful in Baghdad, not only took it upon themselves to persecute the Shi'is, but they were also occupied in fighting rationalism of all types. At first a Hanbali like his father, al-Khatib later followed the Shafi'i school of jurisprudence and adopted the Ash'ari opinions, thereby entering upon the clashes between the Hanbalis and the "masters of opinion" over the status of rational investigation. The religious and political turmoil in Baghdad at his time further encouraged him to embark on long journeys to several Syrian towns and on a pilgrimage and long sojourn to Mecca. Finally, in 1059, he returned to his native city after the Seljuks restored order there.

Al-Khatib's magnum opus is *Ta'rikh Baghdad,* an immense biographical dictionary containing more than 7800 entries about scholarly, pious, and famous men and women connected with Baghdad from the earliest times. Prefaced by a substantial topographical introduction, the *History of Baghdad* was intended by its author to convey the imperial splendor of the city's physical image and the intellectual climate created by its thousands of noted scholars and pious individuals. In the view of the famous preacher, Baghdad was the geographical center of the Islamic empire and the most important center of Islamic thought. At the same time, his monumental work set the model for the genre of local history, one of the most productive genres of Arabic and Persian historiography during the Middle Periods (950–1500).

For all its value as a local history and for furthering the evolution of this genre, *Ta'rikh Baghdad* should not be regarded merely as a panegyric of local intellect. The accuracy with which al-Khatib reconstructed the chains of transmission over the generations and the judicious care with which he recorded and narrated the transmitters' lives and activities resulted in a comprehensive work of scholarship and the product of a renowned traditionalist. His extensive work on hadith demonstrated his profound erudition in this science and established his authority as one of the greatest critical experts of hadith methodology throughout the Islamic medieval period.

DAPHNA EPHRAT

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KHURASAN

One of the most important cradles of the Iranian civilization, the province of Khurasan (also called Khorasan) has been a crossroads of cultures since antiquity. The cultures of Iran during the pre-Islamic, Islamic and Pahlavi (ca. 1925–1979 CE) periods, the cultures of Central Asia up to China, and the cultures of India encountered each other constantly. The name is probably a contraction of *Khur* and *istan*, literally the "place of the sun."

The province's borders have blurred and changed with time. One can, however, roughly delineate them

during the classical and medieval eras from the southeast of the Caspian Sea to the center of modern Afghanistan and from the upper Oxus River in Central Asia up to the north of Sistan.

During the Middle Ages and up to the Mongol invasion at the beginning of the AH seventh/thirteenth century CE, the city of Marw and the capital city of Nishapur were two of the biggest metropolises of the Islamic empire. Both were almost entirely destroyed by the Mongol troops, and even if historians have possibly exaggerated, it seems that about 1.5 million people were massacred there. The devastation of Khurasan would last for more than a century, and it would not be until the arrival of the Timurids in the mid-eighth/fourteenth century that both great cities—and others, such as Herat and Bayhaq—would gradually recover their former prosperity.

What was once the village of Sanabad became the city of Mashhad (''place of martyrdom''), which was built around the mausoleum of the Twelvers' eighth imam 'Ali al-Rida; the mausoleum was already richly decorated by the time of Ilkhanid Iran. Mashhad began to grow more and more, starting with the Safavid era (tenth/sixteenth century) and the proclamation of Shi'ism as the state religion in Iran. To this day, Mashhad remains the capital city of Khurasan, with more than two million inhabitants.

The population of Khurasan has always been mixed. The Iranian substratum has of course always been its main component. After the Arab conquest, however, under the reign of the third caliph 'Uthman, expatriates from Yemen's Qaysite and Azdite tribes settled there permanently. In addition, Turkmens, Kurds, Baluches, Hazaras, and Central Asian nomads contributed to make the population a rich ethnic melting pot.

Around 130/748, Khurasan became the center of the 'Abbasid revolution, and the Khurasanian troops of the famous Abu Muslim were its main participants. Al-Ma'mun acceded to the caliphate from Marw in 193/813. This explains, at least in part, the great influence of the Iranians under the first 'Abbasid rulers.

During the Islamic era, Khurasan was indeed the heart of what could be called ''Iranity.'' The Samanids from Khurasan, succeeding two other Iranian dynasties, the Tahirid and Safavid, started in the third/ninth century the great movement to preserve Persian culture and language. Thus, Persian became the second language of Islam, after Arabic.

To illustrate this Irano-Islamic Renaissance, one need only recall the great numbers of scholars, learned persons, and intellectuals that came from Khurasan: Bukhari, Muslim, Ibn Sina (Avicenna), Ghazali, Bayhaqi, Nasir-i Khusraw, the authors of the great classics of Sufism (Sarraj, Kalabadhi, Qushayri, Ansari, and Jami), and the founders of Persian mystical poetry (Abu Sa'id Abu 'l-Khayr, Sana'i, and

mollify the caliph. The caliph then turned and asked those around him for their verdict. Ahmad•s blood was declared forfeit, and the caliph moved to enforce the verdict. However, it is made clear that the caliph was in charge the entire time. Al-Wathiq called for his sword and proceeded to implement the sentence. It took a series of blows, but the job was eventually done. This, however, leaves the central question unanswered: for what was Ahmad convicted that incurred the death penalty? There were many others tried during the Mihna, but very few were actually executed. In all versions of the narrative, Ahmad•s body was then gibbeted next to the notorious rebel Babak. His head was sent to Baghdad to be put on display, with a description of his crime hung on his ear. This gives us some clues as to what al-Tabari perceived to be his crime. He was clearly tried and convicted as a rebel against the community of believers as embodied in the caliph. His association with rebellion established a case against him, and his refusal to answer the caliph correctly under questioning de“ned and proved his rebellion. Some sources characterize him as a steadfast defender of the faith in the same vein as Ibn Hanbal; other versions characterize him as a rebel worthy of his punishment. Al-Tabari includes the removal of Ahmad•s body from the gibbet in 851 as part of his notation that al-Mutawakkil forbade any debate about the createdness or uncreatedness of the Qur•an, thus indicating that the Mihna had come to an end.

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See also Commanding Good and Forbidding Evil; Ibn Hanbal; al-Ma•mun; al-Tabari

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KILWA (KILWA KISIWANI)

Kilwa is an island off the coast of southern Tanzania. The urban settlement located there and known by the same name (also known as Kilwa Kisiwani; ••Kilwa on the island••) was one of the earliest Swahili trading towns. From approximately the tenth century CE, stone structures were erected, as were sea barriers. Iron was used, and it was also an important trade item. During the following centuries, because of its safe harbor and good fresh water supply, Kilwa rose to become the foremost entrepb of East African coast goods such as gold, slaves, and ivory from the interior. Imported goods included cloth, beads, furnishings, and pottery, mainly of Asian origin. Chinese pottery and Persian earthenware have been excavated from the early Kilwa settlements.

Like many of the Swahili cities, Kilwa mythological origins are recorded in a chronicle. The oldest recorded version of the Kilwa chronicle was recorded by the Portuguese de Barros during the sixteenth century. This was called theCronica dos Reyes de Quiloa, and it referred to the arrival of kings from Shiraz, Persia, who set up kingdoms in Kilwa, as well as other places. Later research has interpreted the chronicle as the arrival of social and political hierarchical structures related to the emergence of Kilwa as a Muslim society as well as the transition from hunting and “shing to trade.

L

LAND TENURE AND OWNERSHIP, OR *IQTA‘*

Iqta‘ is an Arabic term designating the land or tax revenues allocated by the great amir or sultan to soldiers in return for military service *(khidma)*. *Khubz* (bread) was synonymous with this term in Ayyubid and Mamluk Egypt and in Syria. Its holder was called *muqta‘* in Arabic and *iqta‘dar* in Persian.

Qati‘a and Day‘a in the Early Islamic Period

in state revenue, which caused great fiscal difficulties. Other than the development of privileged landownership, pecuniary waste by the 'Abbasid court also added to these difficulties. Al-Maqrizi (d. 1442), an Egyptian historian, explains that the '*ata*' (salary) system was conducted in the early Islamic period, paying salaries to the soldiers and officials out of the state treasury (Khitat I:95). However, these serious problems made it more difficult to maintain the 'ata' system by the early tenth century. Accordingly, when the Buwayhid army entered Baghdad at the beginning of the year 946, the military iqta' system was first introduced in Islamic history.

Establishment and Development of the Iqta' System

Miskawayh (d. 1030) relates that Mu'izz al-Dawla, the Buwayhid great amir, granted iqta's to his officers *(quwwad)*, his associates *(khawass)*, and his Turkish chivalry (Tajarib al-Umam, II, 96). A few years later, when the whole of Iraq came to be apportioned into iqta', small iqta's were granted to Daylamite foot soldiers as well. The peasants under the iqta' system, who now paid the land tax not to the government but to their muqta' (iqta' holder), had to bear hardships of the unjust rule of the muqta'. According to B. Johansen, the distinction between tax *(kharaj)* and rent *(ujra)* first became vague through the spread of the iqta' system, which led to the fundamental changes of the rural society in the Middle East.

The Seljukids, who entered Baghdad in 1055, inherited the Buwayhid iqta' system almost as it was. When Tughril Bek advanced from Nishapur to Baghdad, he consolidated his authority through iqta' assignments to the local rulers and their subordinates. A. K. S. Lambton observes that the iqta' system in Islamic society was quite different from feudalism in Europe, in the sense that the element of mutual obligation inherent to European feudalism was notably absent in the iqta' system. Under the Seljukid rule the administrative iqta's, as opposed to the military iqta's, were granted to amirs who conducted both rights of administration and tax collection. As disclosed in Siyasat nama, Nizam al-Mulk, a Persian vizier of the Seljukids, intended to clarify the muqta's rights and duties, to change their iqta's every 2 to 3 years, and to send, if needed, supervisors to the local provinces. However, as the sultan's authority decreased after Malik Shah died in 1092, the atabeks and amirs gained independence by means of inheriting iqta's from their ancestors.

In Syria and Jazira, iqta' grants by the Zankid rulers followed the breakup of the Seljukid empire. 'Imad al-Din Zanki (1127–1146), who entered Mosul in 1127, allocated iqta's to his amirs and soldiers and introduced similar allotments into Jazira and northern Syria. I. Khalil relates that each amir was assigned a district including local towns, while soldiers were granted small iqta's. The rights of muqta' during the Zankid period, as in the Seljukid period, was legally restricted to the levying of taxes on their iqta's; but soldiers, who wished to hold stable iqta's, insisted that iqta's were privately owned land (milk) to be inherited from father to son. Accepting this argument, Nur al-Din al-Zanki (1146–1174) consented to the inheritance of iqta' holdings and ordered that a guardian be chosen if the heir was still a child (Ibn al-Athir, al-Ta'rikh al-bahir, 169). This Zankid iqta' system was soon introduced into Egypt by Saladin (Salah al-Din).

In Fatimid Egypt, amirs and high officials held privately owned lands called qati'a or iqta'. According to H. Rabie, the muqta's were not required to provide military service except in a few cases, but they had to pay the tithe to the government. In this sense the Fatimid iqta' system was still different from the military iqta' system during the Buwayhid or Seljukid periods. When Salah al-Din was installed as the Fatimid vizier in March 1169, he began to confiscate the iqta's held by the Fatimid soldiers and assigned the confiscated lands to his followers in the form of iqta' (Abu Shama, Kitab al-rawdatayn, II, 450). As al-Maqrizi relates, from the reign of Salah al-Din, all the Egyptian lands have been distributed to the sultan, amirs, and soldiers as iqta's (Khitat, I, 97). In Ayyubid Syria also, the iqta' assignment was the most crucial factor for maintaining the Ayyubid state order. However, one of the characteristics peculiar to the Ayyubid iqta' system was that demands to the sultan were made concerning iqta' holdings. This was due to the fact that the rules and regulations of granting iqta's were not yet established, particularly at the early stages of the Ayyubid period.

Because iqta's in the early Mamluk period were often granted according to the amir's requests, iqta' assignments had features similar to those of the Ayyubid period. However, by the end of the thirteenth century the power of the royal Mamluks had eventually emerged. The sultans saw the necessity of getting rid of the old amirs and strengthening the basis of their power by means of their own Mamluks. To achieve this objective they twice carried out countrywide cadastral surveys, al-Rawk al-Husami (1298) and al-Rawk al-Nasiri (1313–1325). These rawks, especially al-Rawk al-Nasiri, resulted in the iqta' revenue *('ibra)* of the royal Mamluks being

increased sharply at the expense of the freeborn *(halqa)* chivalry (al-Maqrizi, Khitat, I, 88). Amirs from these Mamluks operated advantageous iqta' holdings, which they used as a basis of strengthening their control over the agricultural communities in Egypt and Syria. Al-Rawk al-Nasiri has considerable historical significance in the sense that it brought about great change in the organization of the iqta' system and prescribed the state structure during the middle of the Mamluk period.

TSUGITAKA SATO

See also Waqf

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LIBRARIES

Maktaba is the Arabic word normally used to mean "library," but in classical Islam, corresponding ap-

(physicians, and then official and literary men under the 'Abbasids and Buyids), collected at Baghdad a small library of one thousand volumes (with a waqf, in 452/1060), in various Islamic sciences, to which admission was granted to a limited number of students. He had the hope of replacing the library founded by Baha' al-Dawla. After the death of Ghars al-Ni'ma, the "vile and avaricious" superintendent of the library sold the books on the excuse that the installment of the Nizamiyya college in Baghdad had made Ghars al-Ni'ma's library superfluous.

The libraries of the Shi'i scholars were no less impressive than those of the Sunni. For instance, six hundred Jarudi Zaydi, author of the Kufan Ibn 'Uqda (Ahmad, d. 333/944) wanted to move his books. They amounted to six hundred loads, and the costs was accordingly one hundred dinars. We have already encountered previously the case of al-Sahib Ibn 'Abbad. Al-Sharif al-Murtada, already mentioned, left at his death thirty thousand *juz's* (fascicles), whereas others say eighty thousand volumes.

"Traveling in quest of knowledge," or seeking knowledge, offered to scholars the opportunity of visiting many libraries and of collecting books. The Iranian Avicenna (d. 428/1037), for instance, benefited from the libraries of the Iranian princes. His first visit to the royal library was in Bukhara on the invitation of the Samanid King Nuh (II) b. Mansur. He describes this personal event in the following words: "I found there many rooms filled with books which were arranged in cases row upon row. One room was alloted to works on Arabic philology and poetry; another to jurisprudence, and so forth, the books of each particular science having a room to themselves. I inspected the catalogue of ancient Greek authors and looked for the books which I required: I saw in this collection books of which few people have heard even the names, and which I myself have never seen either before or since." He also used the libraries of the town of Gurgang in Khwarizm, of the Buyids in Rayy and in Hamadhan (Shams al-Dawla), of the Kakuyids ('Ala' al-Dawla Muhammad) in Isfahan, and so forth. The example of the celebrated man of letters, bookseller and copyist Yaqut al-Rumi is also representative of that. He had extended visits to the library of Ibn al-Qiti in Aleppo, the two libraries of the family al-Sam'ani in Marw, and so on.

Books in Figures

It must be said that almost all the figures of books that are provided in this article thus far cannot, as a rule, be accepted at face value; a lot of them are hyperbolic. Many of these libraries, both "public" and private, had catalogues, but none of the six first centuries of Islam are known to have come to us. Perhaps the earliest extant known to us is the catalogue of the library of the Qayrawan mosque, dated 693/1294. A manuscript dated 694/1295 and entitled *The Selection of [the books] in the Libraries of Aleppo* was not, as its title indicates, the catalogue of a special library. One of the methods to ascertain accuracy consists in the writing of exhaustive monographies on authors. This was done, for instance, for the Shi'i scholar Ibn Tawus (d. 664/1266), who was born in Hilla and established himself in Baghdad. He wrote a catalogue of his library, which is now lost. However, thanks to a precise study, we know that his library contained some one thousand five hundred titles. It included works on all major branches of knowledge of his time. He had a ten volume copy of Koranic commentary of the Mu'tazilite Abu 'Ali al-Jubba'i (d. 303/915). Apart from the number of volumes, which is a problem, there is another one that is encountered when speaking of figures in Islamic libraries: the term *juz'* (fascicle), which can refer to several things: a gathering of sheets (often some twenty folios or more), forming a separate volume; a number of booklets bound together; a volume consisting of a number of booklets; or a notebook.

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LINGUISTICS, ARABIC

"In Arabic—the only Semitic language that has remained the language of a whole civilization—ideas spring forth from the matrix of the sentence like sparks from the flint." If Louis Massignon finds the Arabic language inseparable from the civilization it enveloped, then Arabic linguistics played an indispensable role in setting Islamic scholarship ablaze.

Following the advent of the Qur'an in the seventh century CE, the intellectual fervor spurred by the direct contact Arabs and non-Arab Muslims alike had with other civilizations made it impossible for the learned among them not to reflect on the sacrosanct language of the Qur'an. The exchange of knowledge and ideas in the first Islamic centuries between the Arabs and the Byzantines, Greeks, Indians, and Persians—initially in the garrison towns of Basra and Kufa and later in the imperial capitals of Damascus and Baghdad—occurred alongside the development of the Arabic linguistic tradition. As other fields advanced, they borrowed heavily from the logic and methodology of the linguistic sciences. Certainly law and jurisprudence, the prose, poetry and polite learning of the Islamic period *(adab)*, scriptural exegesis, and theology all have their methodological roots in Arabic linguistics. In addition, medicine, mathematics, and the natural and applied sciences were expounded upon and expanded primarily in the Arabic language. Thus the Arabic language became the primary tool for research and a sine qua non to the development of Islamic civilization.

Pietistic and pragmatic concerns also necessitated the development of the linguistic sciences. Most, if not all, Arabic linguists were employed as reciters of the Qur'an in their official capacities. One motivation for linguistic analysis of the Arabic language was to explain the recitational variants of the Qur'an, which Muslims throughout the world use in their obligatory *salah* (prayers). Moreover due to the rapid expansion of the Arab empire, and with it of Islam, the need emerged for teaching correct readings and recitations of the Qur'an to the newest members of the faith, because mistakes in pronunciation can significantly alter the Qur'an's meanings. Extant manuscripts exhibit a native Arabic-speaking laity and their charges making basic grammatical errors (see Arabic, Middle Arabic), which suggests that Arabic grammars became necessary for teaching Arabic to the Arabs and the faithful for practical reasons.

Indeed, by the 800s, little more than one and a half centuries after the death of Islam's "unlettered Prophet," the Arabic linguistic sciences constituted a paradigm or "normal science" as defined by Thomas Kuhn, which is an established method that facilitates problem solving and attracts scholars to the field. This paradigm is not a single grammarian's possession but is rather constitutive of the entire Arabicist assemblage, and is still accepted as authoritative by modern scholarship, so much so that when researchers today find results that contradict the normal science, they ascribe the divergences to their own error rather than to any shortcomings of the paradigm.

Although paradigms of Arabic phonology, morphology, grammar, and lexicography were first articulated in the works of al-Khalil ibn Aḥmad (d. ca. 786), random data collection, field research, error analysis, corpus collection, anomaly study, and symbolic generalization had been pursuits of the scientific community to which Al-Khalil belonged since the writing of the Qur'an more than one hundred years earlier and the collection of pre-Islamic poetry a little

later. However, before al-Khalil's systematized Arabic linguistic paradigm, only facts about Arabic existed, and all facts were equally relevant. Al-Khalil condensed and formalized morphological rules into symbols from which all word patterns derive. Based on these patterns, he devised the first Arabic dictionary, the *Kitab al-'Ayn*, that served as a comprehensive and systematic accounting for all the Arabic lexemes. His most famous student, Sibawayh (d. ca. 793), authored *Al-Kitab*, which is regarded to this day as the prototypical descriptive grammar for Arabic. In this way, normal science developed while continually complementing—but not superseding—what was inherited from previous generations. Hence the Arabic linguistic tradition presaged the rise of the Arabic language as the lingua franca of the Islamic world, a state of affairs that lasted well into the medieval period.

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See also Grammar and Grammarians; Poets; Qur'an; Scholars; Scribes

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LOVE POETRY

Pre-Islamic poetry knows no independent love poems, but *qasīdas* (poems that traverse a sequence of major themes) commonly open with an elegiac remembrance of a love affair *(nasīb)*. Often the vestiges of an encampment trigger a memory. The woman, it may be, belonged to another tribe and left with it. She may have sent the poet packing once she saw his hair turning gray. The essential motif is that of a past parting. With fine descriptions of the desert setting, the *nasīb* is often beautiful in itself, but its function in the *qasīda* is to contrast the elegiac with the poet's self-possessed brio in other episodes (desert journeys, war, feasts, and so on), and the personal with his life as a member of the tribe.

Love poetry proper *(ghazal)* appeared in the Umayyad period. It was now possible to write about love in the present and future. 'Umar ibn abī Rabī'a (d. ca. 103/721) is the foremost representative of the ijāzī school, based in the cities of Mecca and Medina. Whether he is describing jolly, amorous encounters occasioned by the pilgrimage, or tears exacted by caprice, his poetry is usually distinguished by a lightness of spirit, an urban atmosphere, and a delicious diction incomparably simpler than that of pre-Islamic poetry. Some of the poets of Kūfa—not quite a school, perhaps—wrote with pleasant frivolity about slave girls and libertinism. Very different is the 'Udhrī ghazal. The Banū 'Udhra were said to be a people who die when they love. 'Udhrī poetry (among whose principal representatives are Jamīl ibn Ma'mar and Qays ibn al-Mulawwa, known as Majnūn Laylā) is informed by chaste yearning for an unattainable woman, often leading to melancholy, madness, or death. The romancing biographies of these poets were widely read.

In the early 'Abbasid period, Bashshār ibn Burd (d. ca. 167/783), Abū Nuwās (d. ca. 200/815), and the other "moderns" embraced the diverse strains inherited from the Umayyad age, and enriched the ghazal with wit and rhetorical charm. The classical ghazal (which was to last through all of premodern Arabic literature) abounds in conventions of form and image but can reach great sophistication in its psychological insight—tender or ironic—into the lover's condition.

In the 'Abbasid age and thereafter, love poetry, written to boys as often as to women, could be sly

Asia. Documents from the Geniza trove, found in Cairo during the late nineteenth century, suggest that there was also direct contact between Egypt, Kra, and the west coast of Sumatra at Fansur between the tenth and thirteenth centuries. This was handled by Jewish merchants and their Malay partners, and it facilitated the movement of the all-important spices from the Indian Ocean into the Mediterranean through the port of Alexandria.

Java, Spice, and Conversion

Today the area that constitutes the nation-states of Indonesia, Brunei, and Malaysia is largely Muslim and Shafi'i in orientation. Although the presence of Muslim traders seems certain from at least the ninth century, there is great uncertainty about how or when Islam came to prevail in the western reaches of the archipelago. The first epigraphic evidence of any Muslim ruler comes from the northern tip of Sumatra, the site of the former port kingdom of Samudra (also known as Pasai). Here is to be found the restored tomb of a sovereign called Malik al-Salih, conventionally dated to 1297. Even so, Samudra is not remembered by Malay accounts as the first Muslim kingdom of the archipelago. Malay literature speaks instead of the neighboring port of Perlak as the first Muslim kingdom and the agent of the conversion of Samudra Pasai. This chronology is confirmed by the account of Marco Polo, who passed through the Straits in approximately 1291 and mentioned the existence of a major island called Java Minora that consisted of eight separate kingdoms. Of these he described Ferlec (Perlak), Basma, Samara, Dagroian (Indragiri), Lambri (Lamreh), and Fansur and remarked that, although most were under the rule of the Great Khan (of Java), Ferlec had been recently won over by the Muslim merchants who frequented the place.

Although trade must have played a vital role in the conversion of Sumatra's entrepôt ports, indigenous accounts stress the role of saints from the Middle East who had ventured to the islands via ports in southern India. The great lag between first contact and royal conversion—as opposed to the local instances that must have occurred betwen traders and locals—has caused some scholars to suggest the possibility of a new missionary impulse led by Sufis

Whatever the roots and reasons for royal conversion, the spread of Islamic rule and its concomitant symbolic forms—including dress, Arabic script, and titles—gathered momentum during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, although this process often contained clear reference to the previously prevailing Indianized traditions. For example, the next major known inscription after the tomb of Malik al-Salih comes from the eastern side of the Malay Peninsula at Trengganu. This inscription, datable to either 1303 or 1387, takes the form of a large stone engraved in Malay written in a modified Arabic script and records the adoption of new Islamic rules. Even so, although the rules and script pay tribute to Islamic models, much of the terminology—including the name of

Significantly, the displaced Sultan Mahmud appealed to China for aid. By the same token, the taking of Malacca did not guarantee any Portuguese monopoly in the region but rather a chance to compete with the emerging states of importance. Among these, Aceh, which overwhelmed most of north Sumatra—including Samudra—gained in influence in the 1520s. The Acehnese also seem to have engaged in a degree of trade with the Portuguese, just as the rulers of Samudra had done, even allowing a Portuguese factory to be established there. Peninsular Johor also maintained trade relations, although only after a long period of intermittent attacks. It was then forced into an uneasy alliance with Malacca after 1536. Despite Acehnese ambitions of regional hegemony and trading relations with the Ottoman Empire, it would appear that it was only in the middle of the century—and perhaps with encouragement from local Ottoman spice procurers—that Aceh engaged Malacca in open warfare. To this end, the Acehnese rulers requested aid from the Ottomans, and a fleet was even dispatched in the 1560s. However, it was forced to deal with an uprising in Yemen, and what forces did arrive were primarily in the form of large cannon and artillery experts.

Aceh remained a regional force well into the seventeenth century in the company of the comprador states of Banten in Java and Johor on the peninsula. It was also during the seventeenth century that the Atlantic nations became more actively involved in the spice trade to the cost of their Portuguese and Spanish predecessors. Both the Dutch and the English sought to establish factories in Aceh, but they were refused and settled instead in ports further to the east at Batavia and Bencoolen. In the emerging struggle, Portugal was slowly excluded, even if Portuguese retained its importance alongside Malay as a language of regional importance. Malacca itself was finally taken by the Dutch in 1641.

The Doctrinal Importance of Aceh

Whereas Malacca holds center stage in modern Malay accounts of Islam and Islamization, it was Aceh that played the preeminent role in determining the future course of Malay Islam and indeed the mystically leaning Islam of many of the courts of the archipelago, such as Banten and Cirebon on West Java. Unlike earlier periods, there is a great deal of textual evidence surviving from the seventeenth century showing that north Sumatra was regarded as the leading site for interpretations of Sufism in the archipelago, especially as compared with Malacca, for which there is little evidence of great scholarly concern with Islamic matters outside of those of trade and legislation. Some of the earliest known Malayo-Muslim writings were composed by Hamzah al-Fansuri, whose patronym indicates that he came from the west Sumatran region of Fansur, which was long noted as a source of excellent camphor. Indeed, camphor is often referred to in his poetry, which also hints at induction into a Sufi order in Ayodhya and further travels to Mecca and Jerusalem. Although al-Fansuri was long thought to have died in Aceh during the late sixteenth century, the evidence—again based on a headstone—points instead to his passing in Mecca in 1527.

Whereas al-Fansuri was clearly a member of a mystical order, he left no known writings of an expository nature regarding his belief or his scholarly affiliations. Instead, the first such indigenous writings come from the pen of a scholar who acknowledged his intellectual debt to al-Fansuri, Shams al-Din al-Samutra'i (often spelled al-Samutrani; d. 1630), who highlighted the place of Malay as the primary language of exegesis of Arabic and Persian works.

Certainly Southeast Asia remained interlinked with an Indian Ocean world. The earliest accurately datable Malay work, the *Taj al-Salatin,* which was composed in Johor in 1601, makes repeated references to events and persons in India and to Arabic and Persian books read there. Even so, the intellectual motor of change lay not so much in the historical links with India itself but with the ongoing interaction with expatriate communities throughout the entire Indian Ocean, whether among Malays abroad in the Yemen and the Hejaz or with peripatetic scholars linked by trade and patronage of the courts.

One of the most famous such émigrés was apparently a Hadrami from India, Nur al-Din al-Raniri (d. 1656), who rose to prominence at the Acehnese court around 1637 under Sultan Iskandar II (r. 1636–1641) and who is often remembered for his condemnation of the works of al-Fansuri and al-Samutra'i as constituting deviant or heterodox understandings of Sufism. Under al-Raniri, a form of local inquisition was instigated, which resulted in the public burning of these works, and, apparently, of some of the followers. However, al-Raniri is also remembered more widely for his major contribution to Malayo-Islamic juridical literature, the *Sirat al-Mustaqim,* which remains one of the most important works of Shafi'i jurisprudence used in Malay-literate religious networks; it is often regarded as a work that sits in good company with the works of al-Ghazali. It is also noteworthy that, although the Islamization legends of Kedah (on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula) backdate Islamization to a putative connection with Pasai, the name

central agencies of redistribution and possessing a majority or monopoly of power and authority, at least episodically, for the duration of one or more regimes. Rulers accomplished centralization by absorbing„“rst politically through conquest or clientship and then culturally„regions into the Empire. Whether Mali was an ••empire•• depends to a large extent of the de“nition of the word.

Historiographically, the Mali Empire is the most illustrious empire of the medieval west Sudan. To understand the importance of the Mali Empire, a closer look at scholarly interpretations is necessary. The French colonial regime, according to the oral traditions, emphasized Sunjata•s role as the alleged founder of the dynasty of rulers of Mali. Although Sunjata•s name is mentioned in the Arab sources, data about his deeds come from oral accounts that were written down after 1850. These accounts, known as the Sunjata epic (Austen, 1999; Johnson, 2003) narrate Sunjata•s quest for the throne of Mande. He was said to have been sent in exile by his older brother Dankaran Tuman, a weak “gure who was subsequently defeated by the sorcerer-king Sumaoro Kanté of Susu (a kingdom that is not related to the present-day Soso ethnic group, who live in Guinea). After the occupation of Mande by Sumaoro, the people of Mande sent a delegation in search of Sunjata, a delegation that convinced him to return to Mande. The actual confrontation between Sunjata and Sumaoro Kanté is a wonderful story full of witchcraft and magic. Sumaoro is said to have transformed himself into the rocks near Koulikoro, which is one hundred kilometers east of Bamako. Sunjata thus liberated the people of Mande and became ruler. He gave each family a task in society at a meeting at the plain of Kurukanfugan (“ve kilometers north of present-day Kangaba, along the river Niger), thus establishing Mande society. Inherent to present-day Mande society is a tripartite division of its population into status categories: noblemen, artisans, and servants: This is a social system that was probably already in existence during the Middle Ages. In the village of Kangaba, every seven years, a ceremonial restoration and reroo“ng of the Kamabolon sanctuary takes place. During this ceremony, which evokes the imagination of many people in Mali and beyond, the authoritative recitation of the Sunjata epic is performed by the jeliw of the village of Kela. However, this recitation is a ••secret•• family affair; it takes place inside the sanctuary, and the hundreds of attendees are only allowed to watch the event from a distance. The Kamabolon ceremony is clear proof of the importance of the memory of the Mali Empire in present-day historical imagination.

Inevitably, Arab writers, when writing about the foundation of Mali, refer to the Sunjata epic. Moreover, this narration has functioned for centuries as a political charter for the Maninka (Jansen 2001). Sunjata also has a major appeal to political elites in West African nation states such as Mali (a name chosen by the political elite of Soudan Fran¸ais in the 1950s, at the eve of independence), Guinea, and the Gambia. These countries base national histories on the Sunjata epic, and each considers the Mali Empire its historical predecessor, which sometimes leads to doubtful strategies to appropriate Sunjata into their own nation•s medieval history (Conrad 1994).

Academic history, which considers the reign of Mansa Musa as the heyday of the Mali Empire, has

MALIK IBN ANAS

Malik ibn Anas was a Medinan jurist whose teachings laid down the foundations of the Maliki school of law. He died in AH 179/796 CE in Medina at the age of eighty-five. He cultivated the study of hadith, fiqh, and qira'a.

Malik spent most of his life in Medina, where his scholarly activities appear to have been highly valued. In 144/761, the 'Abbasid caliph al-Mansur entrusted him to transmit the Hassanids of Mecca a demand to hand over the Shi'i pretenders Muhammad and Ibrahim b. 'Abd Allah. The mission failed, and, in 145/762, Muhammad seized power in Medina. This rebellion seems to have been supported by Malik, because he issued a fatwa declaring that the homage paid to al-Mansur was not binding because it had been given under compulsion. When the rebellion failed, Malik was flogged by the 'Abbasid governor of Medina, an action that strengthened his religious prestige. Subsequently, Malik came to terms with the government.

The most important writing attributed to him is the *Muwatta',* although the authorship and chronology of this book have been the subject of debate. The *Muwatta'* consists of a compilation of about two thousand Prophetic reports organized in sixty-one chapters dealing with questions of ritual *('ibadat)* and legal transactions *(mu'amalat)*. Its somehow hybrid character between hadith and fiqh is reflected in the fact that the *Muwatta'* is considered a legal textbook as well as—at least according to some scholars—one of the canonical collections of hadith. As the term *Muwatta'* suggests, Malik's compilation was intended to "level the path" to the implementation of justice and law. A distinctive feature of the *Muwatta'* is the role given to the practice of the people of Medina, which is put forward as an additional source of law as well as the decisive criterion in the interpretation of Qur'an and hadith.

Malik had hundreds of disciples who spread his teachings in all directions. The historian Ibn Jaldun mentions three geographical lines in this transmission: (1) Qayrawani; (2) Andalusian; and (3) Eastern (including Iraqi and Egyptian branches).

Qadi 'Iyad b. Musa pointed out the existence of twenty different versions of the *Muwatta',* the most famous and widespread being the riwaya of the Andalusian Yahya b. Yaya al-Laythi. Worthy of mention are also the transmissions of al-Shaybani, Ibn Bukayr, 'Ali b. Ziyad, al-Qa'nabi, Abu Mus'ab al-Zuhri, Suwayd al-Hadathani, Ibn al-Qasim, and 'Abd Allah Ibn Wahb. Other relevant names in the spread and early development of Maliki doctrine are those of Ashhab, Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, Asad b. Furat, Ibn al-Majishun, Mutarrif, Asbagh b. al-Faraj, Ibn Habib, and al-'Utbi.

Malik was also venerated as a trustworthy hadith scholar. The names of al-Awza'i, al-Layth b. Sa'd, al-Shafi'i, and al-Thawri stand out from among the mass of scholars who are reported to have transmitted prophetic reports from him.

DELFINA SERRANO RUANO

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MALIKISM

Malikism is a juridical–religious school the origins of which can be traced back to the teachings of Malik ibn Anas (d. Medina, AH 179/795 CE) as compiled in the *Muwatta'*. The legal arguments of this legal school are based on the Prophetic traditions *(hadith)* and the juridical practice *('amal)* of Medina, backed in many cases by Malik's personal opinion. As is true of other legal schools, Malikis base their doctrine on the Qur'an, Prophetic traditions, and *ijma*' (consensus). Malik was accused of limiting the concept of ijma' to the practice of the people of Medina, and he was accused as well of putting this practice on a level with the Prophetic traditions and with the precedents of the Righteous Caliphs and the opinions of the prominent Companions. He was additionally criticized for excessive resort to the *ra'y* (personal judgment) to restrict the application of certain hadiths or even to leave them aside. Finally, another criticism made to him was his application of the analogy *(qiyas)* to the ijma'. Malikis of later generations faced these criticisms by making an effort to "traditionalize" jurisprudence, although no significant changes were made in practice. It has to be said as well that diverse tendencies within the Maliki school existed (i.e., Iraqi, Andalusi, and Ifriqi) that were not reunited until the twelfth century. According to the historian Ibn Khaldun, this reunification was possible thanks to the efforts of the jurist Abu Bakr al-Turtushi (d. 1126).

From Medina, Malik's doctrines were disseminated in Egypt, Iraq, Khurasan, Syria, Yemen, the Maghrib, al-Andalus, and, much later, in Sudan and the Islamicized areas of the west of black Africa. Currently this is the prevalent legal school in Sudan, Morocco, Mauritania, Nigeria, and all of the Islamicized areas of sub-Saharan Africa, with the exception of the Indian Ocean coastline. Malikism coexists with Ibadi and Hanafi centers in Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya. Finally, there are some Maliki groups in the cities of Hijaz and the United Arab Emirates.

DELFINA SERRANO RUANO

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MALIKSHAH

Malikshah was the third sultan (r. 1072–1092 CE) of the Great Seljuk Empire. Born in 1055, he was a son of Sultan Alp Arslan, who named him his successor in 1066. Malikshah was with his father when he was assassinated in Transoxiana in 1072 and was immediately proclaimed sultan. Alp Arslan's grand vizier, Nizam al-Mulk, facilitated Malikshah's succession and retained the vizierate. Nizam was the guiding force behind Malikshah throughout his rule and managed the empire while the sultan expanded its borders and brought it to the height of its power and glory.

As soon as Malikshah became sultan, his uncle Qavurt, the ruler of Kirman, challenged his rule. Malikshah crushed Qavurt's revolt in Hamadan in 1074 and executed him. While Malikshah was dealing with Qavurt, the Qarakhanid ruler Shams al-Mulk pushed south from Transoxiana into Tukharistan. The sultan rushed to drive him back in 1073 and 1074, and he then gave his brother Tekish control of Tukharistan. At the same time, Malikshah shored up his borders in the same region against Ghaznavid

irredentism. Malikshah returned to suppress a rebellion of Tekish in 1080 and 1081 and again in 1084. In 1089, the sultan invaded Qarakhanid territory, taking Seljuk arms to their farthest point east and forcing the submission of the Qarakhanid ruler of Kashghar and Khotan.

In the west, Malikshah had to deal with a hostile Georgia, independent Kurdish and Arab emirates, and various Turkmen leaders. He campaigned twice in the Caucasus, during 1078/1079 and 1085, keeping Georgia on the defensive and the Kurds under control. In 1084, he destroyed the Kurdish Marwanid dynasty in Diyarbakr. Meanwhile, various independent Turkmen bands had been forcing back the Byzantine frontier. Malikshah's cousin Sulayman ibn Qutulmish was the leader of one such group. He captured Nicaea in 1075 and took control of much of western and central Anatolia. Malikshah was suspicious of him and around 1077 or 1078 sent an army to subdue him but without success. Sulayman's descendants later created the Seljuk Sultanate of Anatolia or Rum, which survived until 1307. For Malikshah, more important than Anatolia were Syria and Jazira. There he strove to ensure that the influence of the Shi'i Fatimids in Egypt was neutralized, that the major cities were in Sunni Muslim hands, and that the local Arab emirates were obedient. In 1084 and 1085, he campaigned in Syria and reached the Mediterranean.

Malikshah also devoted some attention to Arabia. Through diplomacy, he had the Friday sermon *(khutba)* in Mecca changed so that it was given in the name of the 'Abbasid caliph rather than the Fatimid. In 1076/1077, one of his commanders invaded the eastern coast of Arabia as far as Bahrain, attacking the Shi'i Qarmathians en route. Around 1091 or 1092, he sent a force to Yemen, which briefly occupied it and Aden.

Malikshah used Isfahan exclusively as his capital until his second trip to Baghdad in 1091, when he decided to make that city his winter capital and began large-scale building projects there. He generally excluded the 'Abbasid caliphs from affairs of state. Nizam al-Mulk had the task of enforcing Seljuk policy toward the caliphs. In 1087, he arranged a marriage between the caliph al-Muqtadi and a daughter of Malikshah. Relations between the sultan and caliph cooled, however, and, by 1091, Malikshah was planning to depose al-Muqtadi. Nothing came of this, because, in 1092, less than two months after Nizam al-Mulk was assassinated, the sultan suddenly died of fever. He was buried in Isfahan. At his death, the empire plunged into turmoil as his sons struggled for the throne.

Malikshah managed to unite most of the heartland of the Middle East, from Transoxiana to Syria, into one state, although this unity did not survive him. More important, he gave his full support to a revival of Sunnism, ensuring its triumph over Shi'ism. This revival was carried out on two fronts: one military and the other ideological. The sultan continuously campaigned to forcefully crush centers of Shi'ism; generally he was successful, but pockets of it persisted in remote areas. The Isma'ili propagandist Hasan-i Sabbah, for example, seized the fortress of Alamut in the Alburz mountains in Iran in 1090. At the same time, Nizam al-Mulk promoted Sunnism with the full financial and political resources of the state. He was especially renowned for establishing colleges of Sunni law (the Nizamiyya madrasas) in most of the major cities of the empire; these colleges flourished and had a lasting effect on Islam.

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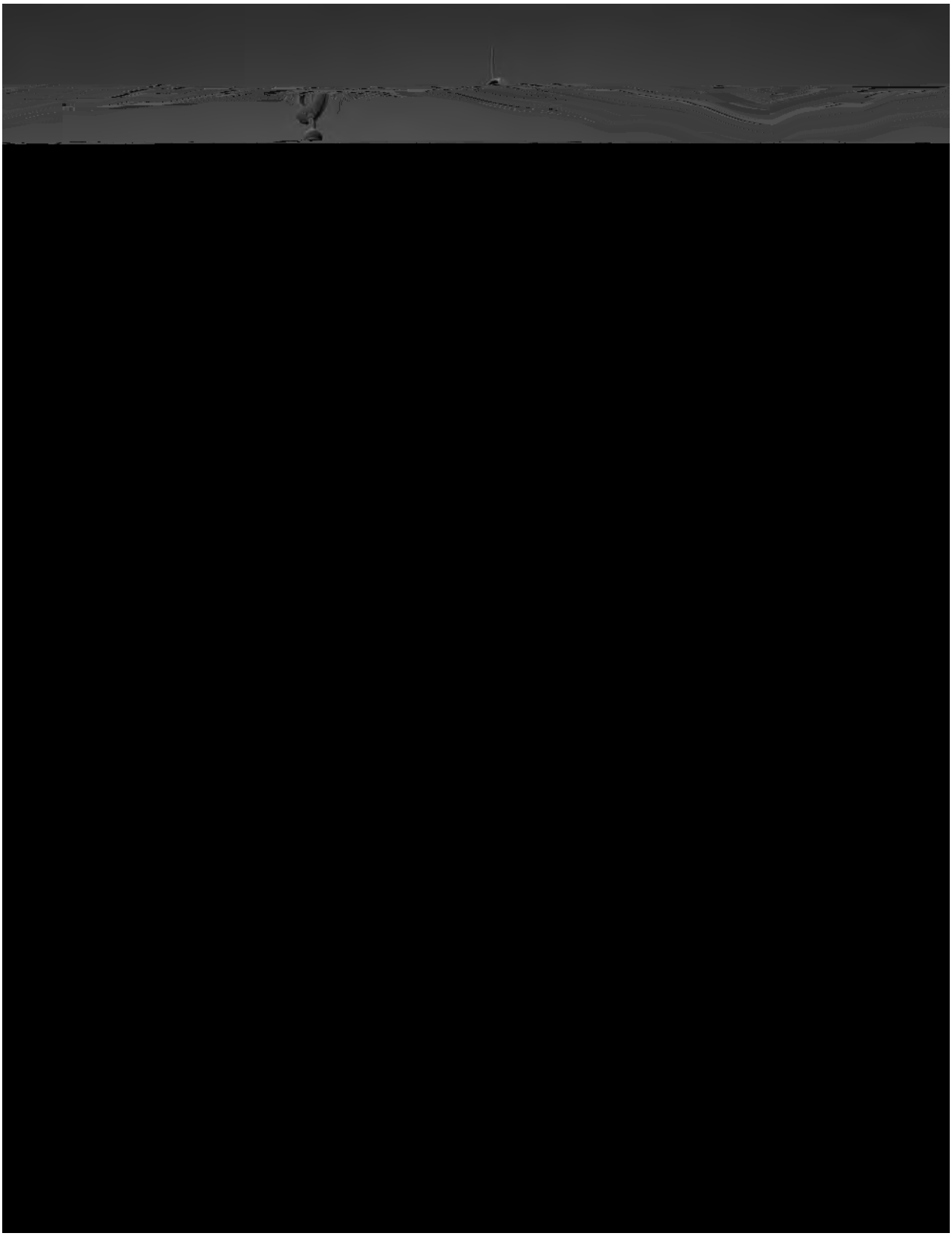
MAMLUKS

The Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt and Syria (1250–1517 CE) had its origins in the tempestuous middle decades of the thirteenth-century eastern Mediterranean region: the Ayyubid confederation, founded by Saladin in 1169, was troubled by intrafamily conflicts across the lands it controlled in Egypt, Syria, and upper Mesopotamia; the remnants of the Latin Crusader states were clustered around the Levantine port cities of Acre, Tripoli, and Antioch; and hostile Mongol armies were advancing from the East. In the face of challenges from fellow Ayyubids, al-Malik al-Salih Ayyub, the last major Ayyubid ruler of Egypt (r. 1240–1249), had recruited a corps of approximately eight hundred to one thousand military slaves (*mamluks*; literally "owned") to serve as a loyal bastion of his military forces (see Slavery, Military). These mamluks were referred to in the sources as either the "Bahri" corps (so named because their barracks were on an island in the river Nile [bahr al-Nil]) or the "Salihi" mamluks after their king's royal title. They subsequently played a key role in defeating



Fifteenth Century CE. The Dome of Sultan al-Ashraf Qaytbay's tomb and mosque. Exterior. Late Mamluk dynasty, 1474–75. Credit: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY. Mosque of Sultan Qaytbay, Cairo, Egypt.

the Egyptian Crusade of King Louis IX of France in 1248 through 1250. Al-Malik al-Salih Ayyub died during that campaign, and shortly thereafter his Mamluks murdered Ayyub's son and heir, who had threatened their lives and positions.

During the ensuing turbulent decade, this Mamluk corps fought with Ayyubid forces and each other. After they had consolidated their control of Egypt, they faced a Mongol invasion of Syria mounted after the latter's sack of Baghdad in 1258. An army led by these Salihi Mamluks and the Mamluk Sultan Qutuz (r. 1259–1260) defeated Mongol forces at 'Ayn Jalut in northern Palestine in 1260. On the return journey to Egypt, the Salihi Mamluk Baybars I assassinated Qutuz and became sultan.

Baybars (r. 1260–1277) was the true establisher of the Mamluk Sultanate, which soon became the major power in the eastern Mediterranean region. Under Baybars, the Mamluks established control over the Ayyubid Syrian provinces and began a concerted effort to eliminate the Crusaders from the eastern Mediterranean littoral; this goal was achieved by 1291. Until the mid-fourteenth century, the sultanate was engaged in a protracted struggle on its eastern borders with the Il-Khanid Mongols. The Mamluks then survived the campaigns into Syria by Timur at the beginning of the fifteenth century, and they later struggled with the Ottomans on their northern borders. The sultanate was conquered by the Ottomans in 1517, and, although their Mamluk system of rule ended, memories of Mamluk ideals and legacies played a subsequent role in the politics and society of Ottoman Egypt.

The Salihi Mamluks and their successors established a ruling system that was based on militarily defined ranks. Although actual practice over the more than two and half centuries of Mamluk history was often different, ideally the Mamluk sultan was at the top of a hierarchy of ranks and responsibilities open only to mamluks. Mamluk society valued loyalty to both the master who purchased, trained, and supported an individual mamluk and to the group of fellow mamluks belonging to that master. Because both the sultan and leading mamluk amirs (holders of military rank) would purchase mamluks of their own, the jockeying for power among the resulting factions was complex and frequently violent. A typical mamluk career might begin in the cavalry ranks and then progress through the posts of Amir of ten (number of mamluks in his retinue), Amir of forty, and Amir of one hundred. In addition to these promotions, a mamluk might receive positions in the military-political administration, from offices in the court to appointments as governors of towns or cities to commander of the army or even viceroy. As rank and position increased, a Mamluk would count on receiving an *iqta'* (a right of revenue from agricultural districts of varying size and wealth). Detailed land surveys were carried out early during the Mamluk sultanate to aid in the process of revenue determination and iqta' distribution. Although rewards would increase with higher rank, so to would risk. The Mamluk chronicles frequently relate the confiscation of wealth, imprisonment, and/or death of Amirs who had fallen from favor.

As freeborn Muslims, the sons of Mamluks, known collectively as *awlad al-nas* (''sons of the people''; i.e., the sons of those who matter), were to be excluded from this ruling system. It frequently occurred, however, that Mamluk Sultans attempted to bequeath office to their sons. Although it appears that there were family dynasties of sultans—the largest and most famous being the descendents of al-Malik al-Mansur Qalawun (r. 1280–1290)—most of these rulers were essentially place holders, controlled by leading Mamluk amirs who were themselves maneuvering to claim the throne. A notable exception to this was al-Malik al-Nasir Muhammad ibn Qalawun, whose third reign (1309–1340) is often described as the zenith of Mamluk power.

The leading cities of the sultanate, Cairo and Damascus, were centers of learning in the medieval Islamic world. Both sultans and leading amirs patronized the construction of mosques, madrasas, hospitals, convents, dormitories, tombs, and other structures, many of which still survive. Financial support for these institutions and those who worked in them was often detailed in endowment deeds *(waqfs)*. These legal documents would typically identify the revenue sources dedicated for the expenses of the institution. One result of Mamluk patronage of the religio-educational segment of society was the composition of large number of works in many genres. Large numbers of texts survive and provide a wealth of primary source material unparalleled in other Muslim states of the time.

The revenue needed to cover the expenses of the Mamluk military system and to provide this high level of patronage came from many sources. The first and most important was the income generated by the tremendous agricultural fertility of Egypt; a second was the revenue generated from trade. The Mamluk domains were astride the lucrative trade routes linking the Mediterranean region to the Indian Ocean and points east. Mamluk Cairo and the Syrian coastal cities were thus hubs of commerce attracting goods and merchants from far beyond the Mamluk borders, many of whom did their business in commercial buildings constructed by the order of Mamluk sultans.

WARREN C. SCHULTZ

that had a dual function: to protect the fore edge and to serve as a bookmark.

To ensure the correct sequence of gatherings and leaves, signatures (numbering of quires), foliation (numbering of leaves), or catchwords were used, although parchment Qur•ans copied in the ancient scripts never had signatures, and neither did many non-Qur•anic manuscripts.

Originally the quires were marked using the alphanumeric notation (abjad; until the end of the sixth/twelfth century) or Greco-Coptic numerals. Later (i.e., the second half of the “fth/eleventh century), the number of the quire came to be spelled out in full letters. In medieval and later manuscripts, the word juz•or kurrasah(quire) accompanied by a numeral was used. The usual position of the signature was the top left-hand corner of the “rst folio of each quire.

It appears that the use of catchwords goes back to the beginning of the third/ninth century (and not, as previously thought, to the early “fth/eleventh century). In some manuscripts, there are no catchwords (properly speaking) in the form of isolated words at the bottom of the recto (i.e., page a). Instead, the last word or words of the bottom line of the verso (i.e., page b) are repeated at the beginning of the top line on the recto of the next leaf. Most codices„and especially early Arabic ones„were not foliated. The practice of foliation seems to have been uncommon until some time after the introduction into the Arab world of the Indian numeric symbols, around the fourth/tenth century.

Although various writing surfaces were used by the early Arabs, papyrus and parchment were the materials most extensively employed during the “rst centuries of Islam. Furthermore, it seems that most (if not all) Qur•ans were copied on parchment, perhaps following the Jewish tradition of copying the Torah on kosher parchment. On the other hand, the majority of non-Qur•anic medieval manuscripts were written on

was more appreciated by bibliophiles than scholars. However, not all books were collated: Abu Rayhan al-Biruni, for instance, writing during the middle of the fifth/eleventh century, complained about the widespread neglect by scribes of collation and of the verification of a text's accuracy.

Most of the errors made in the process of copying were involuntary omissions. In well-executed manuscripts, they were marked by a signe de renvoi (reference marks), which has its origin in the Greek lambda. Some texts were heavily glossed using interlinear space and margins.

With regard to the present knowledge of the extant corpus of Islamic manuscripts, there is no fragment or codex with a non-Qur'anic text that can be attributed to the Umayyad period (41–132/661–750) or earlier. There are no dated manuscripts from the period before the third/ninth century, and those that are datable on paleographic grounds are mainly Qur'anic fragments in Hijazi and early 'Abbasid scripts. There appear to be no more than forty datable manuscripts from the third/ninth century; in this figure are included eleven Christian manuscripts and a number of Qur'anic fragments. Furthermore, there are only some 530 dated or datable manuscripts from the fourth/tenth and fifth/eleventh centuries. The overwhelming majority of manuscripts that have survived span the period from the sixth/twelfth century to the end of the thirteenth/nineteenth century, with most of them belonging to the late Islamic period (tenth/sixteenth–thirteenth/nineteenth centuries).

Most of the surviving Arabic codices are written on parchment and paper, although papyrus was also used for their production during the first centuries of Islam. The oldest surviving papyrus codex, dated 229/844, contains the work *Hadith Dawud* by Wahb ibn Munabbih (d. 110/728). The second oldest, copied before 276/889, is the *Jami' fi al-Hadith* by 'Abd Allah ibn Wahb (d. 197/812). Most of the surviving manuscripts on parchment are Qur'anic fragments. There are a few large fragments of the Qur'an in codex form written in Hijazi scripts and therefore datable to the second half of the first/seventh or early second/eighth century. Some fourteen parchment fragments of the Qur'an are safely datable to the third/ninth century. The earliest non-Qur'anic codex written on parchment is a portion of *Siyar al-Fazari* dated 270/883; the oldest dated codex written on paper is *Gharib al-Hadith* by 'Abu 'Ubayd al-Qasim ibn Sallam (d. 224/838), which was executed in 252/866 and is preserved in the library of the University of Leiden.

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MANZIKERT

Manzikert was a town in eastern Anatolia and the site of the famous battle in 1071 CE between the Byzantine emperor Romanus IV Diogenes and the Seljuk sultan Alp Arslan. Throughout much of its known history, Manzikert had been a fortified Armenian town on a major trade and invasion route between central Anatolia and Iran. It was in Byzantine hands in 1054 when Toghril Beg, the first sultan of the Great Seljuk Empire, unsuccessfully besieged it. Alp Arslan, Toghril's successor, captured it in 1070. Meanwhile, acting independently, bands of Turkmen had been raiding Byzantine territory. By 1068, when General Romanus Diogenes became emperor, these raiders had reached the Bosphorus. During his third campaign to put a stop to this growing menace, he set out in March 1071 to capture Manzikert, Akhlat (some thirty five miles to the south), and close major Turkish invasion routes. Alp Arslan learned of this while in Northern Syria and turned to meet him. The emperor had divided his forces between Manzikert and Akhlat; he had just taken the former when Alp Arslan appeared. Many of the emperor's foreign mercenaries then deserted (some to the sultan), and the commander in charge of his read guard plotted against him. Outnumbered, Alp Arslan proposed a peace agreement, but Romanus refused to negotiate. During the ensuing battle (probably on August 26th), the sultan defeated and captured the emperor but released him after dictating peace terms. The emperor was deposed while returning to Constantinople. Byzantine defenses collapsed, leaving Anatolia open to large-scale Turkish invasion. Alp Arslan did not, however, order a systematic conquest of Byzantium; he immediately marched east to face a crisis in Transoxania. Nevertheless, Turkmen tribes began streaming into

Byzantium on their own. Thus began the long process of the Turkification and Islamization of Anatolia.

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See also Byzantine Empire; Muslim–Byzantine Relations; Seljuks; Seljuk Warfare

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MAQAMA

The *maqama* (pl. *maqamat*) is a short narrative written in rhymed prose *(saj')* that often consists of a recasting of any number of well-known literary, scholarly, or religious discursive styles. Although the details vary from one author to another, some general characteristics can be described. The maqama features a recurring pair of characters: the narrator and an eloquent trickster. The trickster often appears in disguise and usually speaks in a recognizable style or tone. For example, he may speak as a preacher, an astrologer, a literary critic, or a poet. The climax occurs in the recognition scene, during which the trickster's identity is revealed and the two protagonists part ways, although often not before the gullible crowd, including the narrator, is convinced to hand over considerable sums of money. Studies of the maqama largely agree that it emerged out of the larger field of adab learning, drawing upon the latter's treatment and use of a wide range of themes, motifs, clichés, and images from all manner of literary and intellectual contexts. It has been argued that the original intent of composing the maqama was to lighten the mood of scholarly adab sessions. In its later manifestations, the maqama may have been intended as a pedagogical tool for the secretarial *(katib)* class.

The maqama crystallized in 995 or 997 CE, when Badi' al-Zaman al-Hamadhani (d. 1008) composed his collection of maqamat. However, it was not until the maqama collection of al-Hariri (d. 1122) appeared that the form reached its peak in sophistication, assumed its relatively standard structure, and was accepted into the literary canon as one of Arabic literature's first admittedly fictional forms. Al-Hariri had a number of imitators, the most notable in Arabic being al-Saraqusti (d. 1143), and in Hebrew, Judah al-Harizi (d. 1225); both of these writers were Andalusians. In addition to these classical imitations, the maqama also provided the inspiration for a number of creative variations. These experiments included the development of character and plot (e.g., the maqamats of Solomon Ibn Saqbel [first half of the twelfth century] and Ibn al-Murabi' al-Azdi [d. 1350]). Although direct lines of influence are difficult to draw with any certainty, strong relationships between the maqama and the Spanish picaresque novel have been discussed extensively.

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See also Adab; Andalus; Education; Humanism; al-Hamadhani, Badi' al-Zaman; Judah al-Harizi; Translation, Arabic to Hebrew

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MAQQARI, AL-

Al-Maqqari Ahmad b. Muhammad Abu 'l-Abbas Shihab al-Din, Algerian scholar and polygraph, was born in Tlemcen in AH 986/1577 CE from a prominent intellectual family that traced its origin to the village of Maqqara, near Masila. After an early training in Tlemcen, the young Ahmad moved to Fez in Morocco and then to Marrakech, following the court of the Sacdid sultan Ahmad al-Mansur, to whom he dedicated his *Rawdat al-As (The Garden of Myrtle)* about the ulemas of Marrakech and Fez. After al-Mansur's death in 1012/1603, al-Maqqari established himself in Fez, where he was the imam at the Karawiyyin mosque and led the standard life of a religious scholar. In 1027/1617, he left for the East, possibly after a quarrel with the local ruler, and took his residence in Cairo, where he composed his best-known work, *Nafh al-Tib.* This work was based on personal recollections and the consultation of a wide array of sources. He performed several pilgrimages to the Holy Sites, and he traveled to other intellectual centers in the East, most notably to Damascus, where he made himself a reputation as a teacher. Al-Maqqari died in Cairo in 1041/1632.

Although he was a prolific writer about various subjects (at least twenty-four works are ascribed to him), al-Maqqari's reputation is consigned to his two works of Andalusian matter: (1) *Azhar al-Riyad (The Gardens' Flowers)*, about a noted Andalusian twelfth-century judge and scholar, Iyad, which offered, in addition to his biography, a wealth of information about Andalusian and Moroccan scholars; and (2) the monumental *Nafh al-Tib fi Gusn al-Andalus al-Ratib (The Wind's Breeze on the Juicy Andalusian Branch)*, which consisted of two sections—the first one an antiquarian compilation of Andalusian geography, history, and literature and the other a biography of the Granada writer and court secretary Lisan al-Din Ibn al-Khatib (fourteenth century), together with a selection of his administrative and literary writings. The first and most popular part of the *Nafh* was partially translated into English in the nineteenth century by P. de Gayangos from the manuscripts owned by the British Museum; it was then edited by a pool of eminent orientalists led by R. Dozy, thereby providing a basis for the scholarly research on and the knowledge of the Iberian peninsula under Islamic domination until well into the twentieth century. Al-Maqqari's importance rests, even today, with his use of a multiplicity of sources that no longer exist; he quoted these at length in his two major works.

BRUNA SORAVIA

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MAQRIZI, AL-

Taqi al-Din Ahmad b. 'Ali al-Maqrizi (1364–1442 CE) was a noted scholar, author, historian, and occasional civil servant for the Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt and Syria. Born in Cairo and possibly of descent from the Fatimid dynasty, he spent the majority of his early life in that city. In his forties and after an evidently frustrating career in the Mamluk religious administration in which he held the post of Muhtasib (among others), he left for an extended teaching sojourn in Damascus. About this time, al-Maqrizi withdrew from public life, quite possibly because of his disillusionment with Mamluk rule (although one of his later works may have been an attempt to gain a new sultan's attention and influence his policies). Whether this was an active choice by al-Maqrizi or one forced upon him by the vicissitudes of his career, the fact remains that many of his works are noteworthy for

their pointed criticism of leading Mamluks, their actions, and their policies.

Al-Maqrizi is best known today for his works of *ta'rikh* (history). He may have been inspired to write history by Ibn Khaldun, whom he knew and studied under. He wrote annalistic chronicles (most notably of the Fatimids *[Itti'aẓ al-Hunafa']* and a longer one devoted to the Ayyubid and Mamluk sultanates *[Kitab al-Suluk]*), biographical works, shorter treatises, works devoted to such topics as criticizing the economic policies of the Mamluks or detailing the differences between the Umayyads and the 'Abbasids, and a thorough topographical and historical description of Cairo and its environs *(Khitat)*. His relationships with his contemporary historians—most notably al-'Ayni (d. 1451), who had replaced him as Muhtasib of Cairo at one point—seem to have been strained. Regardless of the opinions of his contemporaries, al-Maqrizi's works have proven to be a major source of information for scholars of the Mamluk Sultanate.

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See also 'Abbasids; Ibn Khaldun; Ibn Taghri Birdi; Mamluks; Umayyads

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MARINIDS

The Marinids were the Berber dynasty that ruled Morocco from around 1250 to 1465 CE. Originally affiliated with the Almohad empire, the Marinids (or Banu Marin tribe [Zenata confederation]) began to assert control over the towns of eastern Morocco from the early thirteenth century, crushing an Almohad army in 1216 and eventually seizing Meknes, Fez, and, in 1269, the capital Marrakesh. The reign of Abu Yusuf Ya'qub (1258–1285) saw the construction of numerous mosques, madrasas (Islamic schools), and official buildings, especially in a newly laid-out capital just to the west of old Fez. During this time, the Marinids, disposing of a Berber cavalry as well as Christian mercenaries and a naval fleet, also began to intervene in Spain in support of the Nasrid emirate of Granada, but they were decisively beaten by Castille at Rio Salado in 1340 and played no part in stemming the *reconquista* after that. They were more successful on the African front, where, after numerous tries, Abu 'l-Hasan 'Ali (r. 1331–1351) conquered Tlemcen and adjoining regions from the Zayyanids in 1337, ostensibly in support of the Hafsid dynasty of Tunis, whom the Marinids recognized as caliphs. Securing control of the eastern trans-Saharan caravan trade was most likely also a reason, because Abu 'l-Hasan went on to occupy Tunis itself from 1347 to 1349 before being confronted by an Arab tribal revolt and returning to Morocco, where he was deposed by his son Abu 'Inan Faris (r. 1348–1358). Abu 'Inan occupied Algeria and Tunis a second time in 1357 before being turned back by another revolt; after his reign, the Marinids increasingly fell prey to internecine struggles that saw real power exercised by their viziers. This factionalism was exploited by the Nasrids and even more so the Portuguese, who, in 1415, annexed Ceuta. Continued Portuguese encroachment saw the rise of a militant Sufism over the next decades that preceded the reestat ofId8(rided)-29SSahi(8ers.)(and)-581(ever

religious significance, ensured that it retained its commercial importance throughout the medieval period. The link between religion and commerce can be seen in the plan of many traditional Islamic cities; the markets are located around the main Friday mosque, with markets selling more valuable goods (e.g., gold) located closer to the mosque and stalls selling less pure or more polluting goods (e.g., pottery) located further away. The division of markets into different commodities is not unique to the Islamic world and was also found in medieval/Byzantine Constantinople, although the association with religion is more marked in the Islamic world. For example, in many cases, markets were incorporated into the fabric of the mosque and were used to subsidize the functioning of the mosque. Famous examples include the White Mosque in Ramla (ca. 720 CE), the al-Aqmar Mosque (1125) in Cairo, and the Suleymaniyya Mosque (1550–1557) in Constantinople/Istanbul.

The majority of markets were located in urban centers and it could be argued that markets are a prerequisite for an Islamic city or town. There were, however, some exceptions to the urban location of markets, with annual fairs held in remote rural or desert locations throughout the premodern period. These rural markets were often centred on khans or caravanserais (e.g., Khan al-Tujjar/Suq al-Khan and Khan al-Minya, both in Galilee). Markets were usually regulated by an inspector *(mutasahib)* who would ensure that correct weights and measures were used.

Although it is probable that the majority of markets were semipermanent stalls lining a street, in some cases elaborate architecture was built to house the markets. For example, at Baysan/Scythopolis/Baysan, archaeologists have discovered a market hall with a polychrome glass mosaic inscription dated 749 CE and attributed to the Umayyad caliph Walid II. In Baghdad, there is a rare surviving example of a medieval market hall known as Khan Mirjan, which was built by the Ilkhanid rulers in 1359. The building is two stories high and roofed with eight transverse ribs joined by transverse barrel vaults with windows/vents at each end.

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MARRIAGE, ISLAMIC

Marriage in Islam finds mystical, sociolegal, and cultural expression. The Qur'an states that, although God generally created everything in pairs (e.g., 51:49), He created the human being first from a single soul in His divine Presence and then fashioned it into a pair (4:1, 75:39, 39:6, passim). In mystical terms, it becomes the constant quest of the masculine and feminine aspects of this single soul to reunite so that they return to the state of completeness of the first moment of creation, when the soul was in close proximity to the divine and unaware of separate existence. This quest is facilitated through the mutual attraction of male and female. According to verse 30:21: "And of His signs is that He created for you mates from amongst yourselves, that you might dwell with them [in comfort and tranquility], and He has placed between you love and mercy."

In sociolegal terms, the union of male and female finds expression in the institution of marriage. A civil contract in form, marriage differs from the ordinary contract in that its core elements are religiously determined. Muhammad reformed the pre-Islamic practice of Arabia with the overall effect of a strengthened nuclear family and an improved status of women relative to his time. Some reforms included a limitation on polygyny and emphasis of women's status as full legal persons with accompanying property rights. For example, the bride-gift (mahr, sadaq) became one of several pecuniary rights to which the woman was entitled upon marriage. Islamic law regulates the valid conclusion and dissolution of marriage and specifies broad contours of spousal rights and duties. For a valid marriage contract, most Sunni jurists require an offer and acceptance of marriage in the presence of two witnesses with the approval or participation of the female's guardian. Shi'i jurists require neither witnesses nor the approval or participation of a guardian. In accordance with classical Islamic law, Muslims jurists still formally permit polygynous marriage, although some Muslim countries have outlawed the practice (e.g., Turkey, Tunisia). Likewise, Shi'i jurists still permit temporary marriage (mut'a), although Sunni jurists abolished it during the generations after Muhammad. Islamic law conceived of divorce as the unilateral right of the husband, and it specified limited ways for a woman to dissolve the marriage. Adherence to Islamic family law has become circumscribed or wholly voluntary, depending on the extent to which a state incorporates that law. Law in most majority-Muslim countries today combines an eclectic hybrid mix of Islamic rules, customary law, and portions of European codes.

Weddings vary widely according to cultural and local traditions, from the Near East and South Asia to China and the Americas. A simple wedding can entail a private, informal meeting during which a man and woman sign a marriage contract before witnesses. More commonly, weddings are public ceremonies that resemble local traditions and that are modified to retain core Islamic elements. Typically, guests assemble in mosques, in halls, or outdoors to listen to a short sermon *(khutba)*. Then the officiant asks the man and the woman (or her representative) whether they accept the other in marriage and whether the woman accepts the dower offered, which has been typically negotiated before the ceremony. The couple may sign the contract; this may be done symbolically if they have done so before the public ceremony. Finally, the guests participate in a celebratory reception *(walima)*, usually with food, drink, and music.

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See also Divorce

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MARRIAGE, JEWISH

In the Hebrew Book of Genesis 2:18, God says: "It is not good for man to be alone; I will make a fitting helper for him." Furthermore, Genesis 2:24 says: "Hence a man leaves his father and mother and clings to his wife, so that they become one flesh." In later Israel, Jews had to leave their land and spread through much of the world, living in many lands: the Middle East, North Africa, Europe, and eventually across the seas to the Americas. Marriage traditions were based on the Pentateuch and other fields of the Bible, such as the prophets of Israel, and they were later solidified by the many rabbis. Early traditions of marriage came from rabbinic leaders in areas such as Iran, Mesopotamia, Syria, Yemen, and North Africa, who accepted polygamy, whereas among the northern and Eastern European Jews, it became prohibited to have more than one wife. All Jews tended to marry early, and, although divorce could be obtained, it was not common, because the family had been established as the basis of Jewish life.

Traditionally, *kiddushin* was a sacred relationship in which the wife was consecrated to her husband and forbidden to all others throughout the duration of marriage. This was not merely a legal contract; although the husband acquired rights over her "wifehood," he undertook duties toward her: supplying her with food and clothing and denying himself to

witnesses everything. Only in later non-Qur'anic tradition does this word acquire the meaning of "one who bears witness for the faith," particularly by laying down his life. Extraneous—particularly Christian—influence may be suspected here, because this secondary meaning clearly overlaps with the signification of the Greek term *martys,* which is rendered as martyr in English. Scholars have pointed to the probable influence of the cognate Syriac word for martyr–witness, *sahedo,* on the Arabic *shahid* and the latter's subsequent acquisition of the secondary and derivative meaning of martyr.

Among the Qur'anic verses that have been construed to refer to the special status of the military martyr is 3:169, which states, "Do not think that those who were slain in the path of God are dead. They are alive and well provided for by their Lord." Some of the early hadith (tradition) works, however, make clear that the phrase "slain in the path of God" was not understood to be restricted only to those fallen in battle but could be glossed in several ways. For instance, the *Musannaf* of 'Abd al-Razzaq (d. 826 CE) contains a number of Companion reports that relate competing definitions of *shahid*. A few examples will suffice. One report attributed to the Companion Abu Hurayra states that the shahid is one who, were he to die in his bed, would enter heaven. The explanatory note that follows states that it refers to someone who dies in his bed and is without sin *(la dhanb lahu)*. Another report is related by Masruq b. al-Ajda', who states the following: "there are four types of *shahada* or martyrdom for Muslims: the plague, parturition or delivery of a child, drowning, and a stomach ailment." Significantly, there is no mention of martyrdom being earned as a result of dying on the battlefield in this early report. An expanded version of this report, however, originating with Abu Hurayra, quotes the Prophet as adding to this list of those who achieve martyrdom "one who is killed in the way of God *(man qutila fi sabil Allah)*." It is this expanded version containing the full, five definitions of a shahid that is recorded later in the *Sahih* of al-Bukhari (d. 870). The early eighth-century hadith work *al-Muwatta'* of Malik b. Anas (d. 795) states the following: "The martyrs are seven, apart from death in God's way. He who dies as a victim of an epidemic is a martyr; he who dies from drowning is a martyr; he who dies from pleurisy is a martyr; he who dies from diarrhoea is a martyr; he who dies by [being burned in] fire is a martyr; he who dies by being struck by a dilapidated wall falling is a martyr; and the woman who dies in childbed is a martyr."

By the ninth century, however, *shahid* predominantly came to mean a "military martyr," and most standard hadith works typically devote a section that lists the profuse heavenly rewards earned by pious combatants who fell on the battlefield. Frequently cited hadiths relate that all of the martyr's sins are forgiven, except for debts; if the martyr is free of debt, he wins instant admission into Paradise without any reckoning. The earlier, broader semantic range of the term *shahid* became effectively superseded over time, although it was not completely effaced.

According to certain hadiths, the courting of martyrdom is expressly prohibited. Al-Bukhari records reports in which the Prophet warns that it is forbidden for an individual to long for death and to wish for an encounter with the enemy. The willful seeking of martyrdom is regarded as a form of suicide or self-destruction, which is categorically proscribed in the Qur'an (2:195; 4:29) and in hadith.

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MAS'UDI, AL-

Al-Mas'udi was an Arab/Muslim historian, geographer, and belletrist who died in 956 CE. The available information about his life is limited to brief entries in later biographical dictionaries and comments on al-Masu'di's part in his two surviving works (see below). Born at the end of the ninth century to a respected Baghdadi family of Kufan origins, he probably died in al-Fustat. The range of his scholarly interests and his association with a number of prominent early tenth-century scholars point to a thorough education in Arabic, the Islamic sciences, and related disciplines. His writings evince a lifelong appetite for reading and extensive travel (to which al-Mas'udi makes frequent reference). There is no evidence, however, of the manner in which he sustained his career (C. Pellat, a modern biographer, has suggested a personal fortune). Imami (Twelver) authors to the present day identify him as one of their own. Sunni sources, most notably al-Dhahabi, refer to him only as a Mu'tazili.

A prolific author, al-Mas'udi contributed perhaps as many as thirty-six works about an impressive range of topics, including history, geography, theology,

heresiography, philosophy, and various fields of science. Much debated among modern scholars is the extent to which he is to be considered a historian given his extensive use of material generally defined as cultural and literary (i.e., as properly belonging to *adab* [belles-lettres]). Al-Mas'udi appears to have been largely avoided by later generations of Muslim scholars; Ibn Khaldun (d. 1406), who cites him frequently, was an important exception. This has been attributed to al-Mas'udi's eschewal of the traditionist style of history writing promoted by, most notably, al-Tabari (d. 923), the hallmark of which was contained in narratives supported by isnads (chains of transmission; see Hadith). Like al-Ya'qubi (d. 897), al-Mas'udi made no use of isnads. More to the point is that he defined history in far more expansive terms than did his contemporaries.

His principal surviving work is the ambitious *Muruj al-Dhahab (The Fields of Gold)*, which was written in Egypt around 943 and revised several times thereafter (the surviving version is early, dating to the mid-940s). Modern editions of the *Muruj* run to some half dozen fat volumes, and it is divided into two parts. The first part, whihc is encyclopedic, includes sections about the unfolding of monotheism (sacred history) during the pre-Islamic period; surveys of India and China; material about oceans, seas, and rivers; lists of the kings of Mesopotamia, Egypt, and other regions; and ethnographic data about Slavs, Africans, and the Franks. For this reason, the *Muruj* is often cited, alongside al-Ya'qubi's earlier *Ta'rikh (History),* as a notable example of Arab-Islamic world history. The second and longer part consists mainly of a detailed account of Islamic history. A section about the Prophet's life is followed by accounts of the reigns of the Rightly Guided Caliphs and those of the Umayyad and 'Abbasid houses. Introductory comments on al-Mas'udi's part indicate that these were excerpted from a far longer work, the *Akhbar al-Zaman*, of which no trace survives.

The second surviving work, *Kitab al-Tanbih Wa-l-ishraf*, brings together, in highly concise fashion, much of the information contained in the *Muruj* and, apparently, other works. It is, in this sense, a supplementary work. It appears to have been the last of al-Mas'udi's books, completed just before his death.

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See also Mu'tazilites

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MATHEMATICAL GEOGRAPHY

The Muslims inherited Ptolemy's lists of longitudes and latitudes of cities from one end of the known world to the other as well as his maps of the world and of various regions. Tables displaying the geographical coordinates of numerous localities are found in several Islamic works about mathematical geography as well as in the more numerous (approximately two hundred and twenty-five) astronomical handbooks known as *zîjes.* A minority of tables also display the qibla for each locality. Such tables are often engraved on astronomical instruments, especially those from Safavid Iran.

The maps prepared by Muslim scholars based on this geographical data and fitted with coordinate grids represent a tradition that is quite distinct from the better-known (and more colorful) tradition of maps without scales. Alas, most of them have not survived the vicissitudes of history.

The tables of al-Khwârizmî (Baghdad; ca. 825), with 545 pairs of entries, incorporated already a correction of the length of Ptolemy's Mediterranean. The Caliph al-Ma'mûn patronized the measurement of the diameter of the earth; his astronomers measured the number of miles corresponding to one degree of the meridian. The world map prepared for al-Ma'mûn, which had a square coordinate grid, has not survived.

Abu 'l-Rayhân al-Bîrûnî (ca. 1025) presented a new table of coordinates of some 604 localities. He also prepared maps based on these coordinates and discussed several cartographical projections known otherwise only from Renaissance European works. A late copy of a much-corrupted version of his world maps has recently been discovered. In his book *Tahdîd Nihâyât al-Amâkin (The Determination of the Locations of Cities)*, al-Bîrûnî set out to establish the geographical coordinates of Ghazna to compute the qibla there: the result was the most valuable work on mathematical geography from the medieval period.

Some anonymous Iranian scholar, probably during the eleventh century and possibly in Isfahan, prepared a monumental geographical work featuring more than 450 localities; the title of this work has been transmitted as *Kitâb al-Atwâl Wa-'l-'urûd li-'l-Furs (The Book of Longitudes and Latitudes of the Persians)*, and it originally included a map that has not survived. This underlies most of Islamic mathematical geography in Iran after the thirteenth century, because it was used by al-Tûsî in Maragha during the mid-thirteenth century, al-Kâshî, and Ulugh Beg in

pen a treatise establishing a philosophical proof for God's singularity as an eternal being and the process by which he brings the cosmos into being through ibda' (creating something from nothing) and takwin (engendering in the world of generation and corruption). The purpose of the text was to explain the nature of the incipience of the cosmos (huduth al-'alam). The work was divided into ten embers or chapters. The first set the "Avicennan scene" by describing the nature of the cosmos' logical posteriority to God (huduth dhati) and Avicenna's three modalities of time: (1) zaman (time), which describes the relationship between mutable entities; (2) dahr (perpetuity), which locates the relationship between mutable and immutable entities; and (3) sarmad (eternity), the sole ontological plane of the divine and the relationship of immutability. The remaining chapters demonstrated that all relationships of prior and posterior, between existents and essences, entail the priority of the divine. The central doctrine of the work was perpetual incipience (huduth dahri). The traditional debate between theologians and philosophers had pitted temporal incipience (huduth zamani; the idea that God had created the world in time) against the notion of essential incipience (huduth

His *Tibb al-Nufûs (Hygiene of the Souls)* quotes al-Junayd (d. 910) and Ibn Adham, referring to them by their Sufi epithets: Shaykh at-Tâ'ifah (''the elder of the community'') and al-RuÌânî al-Akmal (''the perfect spirit'').

The Jewish Pietist Movement in Egypt

Through Ayyubid and Mamluk protectors, Sufism prospered in Egypt, attracting a host of charismatic figures, such as Abû'l-Hasan al-Shâdhilî (d. 1258), Muhammad al-Badawî (d. 1276), Abû' l-Abbâs al-Mursî (d. 1287), and Ibn Atâ' Allâh (d. 1309). Progressively institutionalized in the form of brotherhoods and monasteries (khanqâhs) in the urban centers, its infectious religious fervor had repercussions on the local Jewish populations, whose mystical receptivity had been heightened by the contemporary social and intellectual unrest. By the time of the great scholar Moses Maimonides (1135–1204), many Jews, who were referred to in contemporary documents as *hasîdîm* (''pious ones''), had already begun to adopt the Sufi way of life. This attraction is reflected in the numerous Sufi writings discovered in the Cairo Genizah, which include pages from the principal masters copied into Hebrew letters. The same source also yielded Sufi-inspired Jewish ethical manuals, theological treatises, definitions of mystical states, and exegetical works that reinterpreted scriptural narrative in harmony with Sufi doctrine, often portraying biblical figures as masters of the Sufi path. They are not, however, simple Judaized adaptations of Muslim texts but rather original compositions that were dexterously transposed in the biblical and rabbinic texture.

This pietistic tendency gained momentum with the appointment in 1213 of Abraham (1186–1237), the son of Moses Maimonides, as the spiritual leader *(nagîd)* of Egyptian Jewry. An ardent protagonist of Judeo-Sufi pietism, in his commentary on the *Pentateuch,* Abraham Maimonides depicted the ancient biblical characters as pietists in the same way as Sufi literature portrays the Prophet and his companions as Sufis. His *Kifâyat al-Âbidîn (Compendium for the Servants of God)*, a monumental legal and ethical treatise, displays a strong propensity for mysticism of a non-Qabbalistic and manifestly Muslim type. He overtly expresses admiration for Sufis in whom he sees the heirs of ancient Israelite traditions. He wistfully acknowledges that the Sufi initiation ritual, which consists of the investiture of the master's cloak *(khirqah)* and the Sufi ascetic discipline as well as the necessity of spiritual guidance under an accomplished master, were originally practiced by the prophets of Israel. Like al-Ghazâlî, Abraham Maimonides emphasized the spiritual significance of the precepts and their ''mysteries,'' which were partly rediscovered in the traditions preserved by the Sufis. Calling themselves ''the disciples of the prophets,'' the pietists adopted manifestly Muslim customs, believing that they were an integral part of an original ''prophetic discipline,'' the restoration of which would hasten the promised return of prophecy. Clearly inspired by Muslim models, Abraham enacted several ritual ''reforms'' with the purpose of enhancing the decorum and purport of synagogue worship. Considered especially meritorious by Sufi authors, the ablution of hands and feet, although not strictly required by Jewish law, became a prerequisite to prayer.

Following Muslim custom, worshippers were arranged in rows and faced Jerusalem at all times duringfromlegalvally ''pro-

perfection is motivated by the quest for light, he derives the initial stage, *zehîrût,* originally signifying in Hebrew "precaution," from the root *zhr* ("to shine"), following the Illuminationist notion of ishrâq. Certain Judeo-Sufi personalities were associated with the Maimonidean dynasty. Rabbi Hanan'el ben Samuel al-Amshâtî, not only a member of Abraham Maimonides' rabbinical court but also his father-in-law, authored exegetical works that resound with philosophical and Sufi notions. A committed pietist (several Genizah documents refer to him as *he-Ìâsîd* [the pietist]), he actively defended the movement, although its novel practices and doctrines had come under attack. In his mystical commentary on the Song of Songs, Abraham Abû Rabî'a he-Îâsîd (d. 1223) interpreted the book as an allegorical dialogue between the mystic intoxicated with divine love and the object of his desire, the beatific vision. Despite Abraham Maimonides' political and religious prestige, the pietist movement, like many revivalist trends in religious history, met with virulent opposition.

The pietists were accused of introducing "false ideas," "unlawful changes," and "gentile (Sufi) customs," and they were even denounced to the Muslim authorities. Although Abraham excommunicated his opponents, opposition continued during the office as nâgîd of Abraham's son, David Maimonides (1222–1300), who, after the closure of his synagogue, was compelled to leave Egypt, seeking refuge in Akko. As a result of its elitist character, together with this opposition, the movement gradually disappeared with the general decline of Oriental Jewry.

Later Influences

Sufism continued sporadically to fascinate individual Jews. According to the biographer al-Kutubî, the thirteenth-century Sufi al-Hasan Ibn Hûd would study Maimonides' *Guide for the Perplexed* with the Jews of Damascus. The sixteenth-century Egyptian mystic al-Sha'arânî relates in his autobiography that Jews would attend his lectures and ask him to write amulets to protect their children. Qaraite Jews, perhaps through a kinship between Sufi asceticism and their own rather austere brand of ethics, showed an interest in Sufi writings, which they were still copying during the seventeenth century. Jews also maintained contact with Sufis in other localities. Fifteenth-century Yemenite Jews freely used Sufi concepts in their writings and quoted verses from the mystical poetry of the Sufi martyr al-Hallâj. Sufi concepts percolated into Jewish literature through Hebrew translations made in Spain and Provence, especially those of the works of al-Ghazâlî.

There were contacts between Sufis and Qabbalists in Morocco as related by the great Moroccan sixteenth-century Qabbalist David ha-Levi. Hebrew transcriptions of the poetry of Rûmî and Sa'dî contributed to the diffusion of Sufi ideas among Persian Jews, foreshadowing the exquisite rub'ayyât of Sarmad (d. 1661), a Persian Jew who became a wandering dervish in India.

The Early Kabbalists

Thirteenth-century disciples of the Qabbalist Abraham Abû'l-'Afiyah (d. ca. 1291) in the Holy Land show familiarity with Sufi practices that they directly observed. Isaac of Akko (ca. 1270–1340) in particular had knowledge of Sufi techniques, including solitary meditation (*khalwah;* Hebrew, *hitbôdedùt*) and the visualization of letters. He is an important link in the transmission of these methods to the later Qabbalists of Safed. Abû'l-'Afiyah may himself have encountered Sufis during his brief visit to Akko (Acre) around 1260 or elsewhere during the course of his wide travels. The focal point of his meditative discipline, which led to prophetic inspiration, is the practice of *hazkârâh,* a term that is itself strikingly reminiscent of the Arabic *dhikr.*

The Kabbalists of Safed

Evliya Chelebi testifies that sixteenth-century Safed was a vibrant Sufi center. Islamic influence has insufficiently been taken into account in the study of the Safed Qabbalistic school, which flourished under Rabbi Isaac Lurya (1534–1572), himself a native of Egypt. Among the most significant Sufi models that may lie behind some of the mystical rituals initiated by the Qabbalists are saint worship and the visitation of tombs, the formation of spiritual brotherhoods *(habûrôt)* around saints, and spiritual concerts *(baqashshôt)* consisting of the singing of paraliturgical poems (similar to the Sufi samâ' ceremony). Solitary meditation resurges in the *Sullam ha-'Aliyyâh* (*Ladder of Ascension*, a title that smacks of Sufism) by Judah al-Butînî (d. 1519) and the *Pardes Rimmônîm (Orchard of Pomegranates)* by Moses Cordovero (d. 1570). In his meditative method, which is practiced in dark places, the latter advocates Sufi-like techniques such as breathing control. Other techniques, which were subsequently transmitted to East European

Hasidim, include ritual purity, silence, fasting, restriction of sleep, and the ecstatic repetition of divine names.

The Shabbatians

Significant contact between mystics took place in Turkey and its provinces during the Ottoman era. These were intensified during the messianic turmoil roused by Shabbatay Zevi (d. 1675). During his confinement in Adrianople and after his outward conversion to Islam, Zevi would attend dhikr seances in the Bektashi convent at Hizirlik, and it seems that he established contact with the khalwatî mystic Muhammad al-Niyâzî (d. 1694). His apostate followers, known as the Doenme, continued to maintain close relations with the mystical brotherhoods in Turkey and in particular with the syncretistic Bektashis, from whom they borrowed certain rituals, Turkish liturgical poems, and melodies. As late as the nineteenth century, Doenme descendants such as the Mevlevi Ezzet Effendi were prominent in Sufi orders.

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See also Kabbala

Further Reading

dangerous waters surround the islands. Descriptions of Waqwaq range from a land inhabited by ingenious and treacherous inhabitants to the home of the Waqwaq tree, whose fruit is women. Waqwaq is not, however, to be found in the North, unlike Artha (or Arthaniya), a city described in the *Risala (Epistle)*, an account of a journey up the Volga by the diplomatic envoy Ibn Fadlan (c. early tenth century). In Artha, the sun never sets, and the inhabitants are said to eat strangers, a story that may have circulated to protect valuable trade routes.

Artha and Waqwaq, like so many of the mythical locations described in medieval Islamic sources, probably had their origin in real places but were then transformed into mythical ones with a hold on the imagination that has been both enduring and, from the perspective of medieval literature and art, also richly rewarding.

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See also Folklore and Ethnology; Heaven; Hell; Stories and Storytelling; Trade

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N

NAFS AL-ZAKIYYA

Muhammad b. Abdallah b. al-Hasan b. al-Hasan b. ʻAli b. Abi Kalib is believed to have been born in the year AH 92/710–711 CE. Shiʻi sources, however—as well as many Sunni sources—give the year as AH 100, which is dubious because of its messianic connotations.

Abdallah b. al-Hasan, his father, was the head of the Hasanid family and a figure who was respected by the entire Hashimid family. His mother was Hind bnt. Abi ʻUbayda b. Abdallah b. Zamʼa b. al-Aswad b. al-Muyyalib b. Asad b. ʻAbd al-ʼUzza b. Qusayy. Her father, Abu ʻUbayda, was one of the leading figures of Quraysh.

Muhammad had nine brothers and five sisters from three different mothers. Abdallah b. al-Hasan's family had a house in al-Madina, although evidently the family's main place of residence was a large estate near al-Madina called Suwayqa or Farsh Suwayqa. Muhammad had two wives and three concubines, who bore him seven sons and two daughters. The best known among his children was ʻAbdallah, called al-Ashtar.

Little is known about Muhammad's education. It seems that his father sought to give his sons Muhammad and Ibrahim a formal knowledge of *hadith* (tradition) and *fiqh*. However, Muhammad was not known for any kind of scholarship; in the books of *rijal* (transmitters) of Hadith he is mentioned as a minor transmitter.

Muhammad is described as having a large body, great strength, and a very dark complexion. On his face he had the scars of smallpox *(al-judari)*. In the middle of his shoulders, he had a black mole that was the size of an egg, and he stuttered when he talked. Some of the physical traits attributed to Muhammad b. ʻAbdallah were similar to those of the Prophet Muhammad, and the resemblance to Moses is also apparent (e.g., stuttering). Traditions depicting his physical as well as spiritual–religious traits were disseminated, circulated, and transmitted by pro-Shiʻi scholars, family members of the Hasanids (some of them belonging to the most inner and close circle of Muhammad b. Abdallah's supporters), and other sections of the ʻAlid family.

The accepted tradition is that Muhammad b. ʻAbdallah was already called al-Mahdi (''The Messiah'') and al-Nafs al-Zakiyya (''The Pure Soul'') during the Umayyad period. Clearly, at the time of his death, both names were in current use.

There is little information about Muhammad from the Umayyad period. What there is deals for the most part with one subject: the political aspirations that Abdallah b. al-Hasan had for his son, Muhammad (or Muhammad and his brother Ibrahim), which included fostering a recognition of Muhammad among Banu Hashim as the most deserving candidate for the caliphate.

It is highly plausible that these traditions were created and disseminated after the rebellion of Muhammad b. Abdallah against the ʻAbbasids in 145/762 and possibly already for a short period before the rebellion.

The ‘Abbasid Period

In several traditions, it is said that Muhammad never ceased promoting himself as a candidate for the caliphate, even during the rule of Abu ‘l-’Abbas al-Saffah (r. 132/750–136/754). He and his brother Ibrahim remained in hiding and did not appear before the caliph, despite the caliph’s request for them to do so and despite his most generous attitude toward their father, Abdallah b. al-Hasan, the Hasanid family, and the ‘Alids in general.

After the year 136/754, when allegiance was sworn to al-Mansour until the breaking of the revolt in Rajab in 145/762, Muhammad and his brother Ibrahim refrained from appearing before al-Mansour. They remained in hiding and did not swear allegiance to the caliph. At the end of the year 140/758, al-Mansour ordered that Muhammad’s father be put under house arrest in al-Madina, along with some of his family members. They remained under arrest in al-Madina until the end of 144/762. Between the years 140 and 144—and especially between 143/760–761 and 145/762, during the governorship of Riyah b. ‘Uthman—pursuit of the two brothers intensified. At the end of 144, Abdallah b. al-Hasan, his brothers, and their children were taken to al-Hashimiyya near al-Kufa and put in prison. This brought Muhammad out in open rebellion.

Muhammad strove to give the rebellion as broad a character as possible and to extend it to other regions beyond the borders of the Arab Peninsula. Actual attempts were made in Egypt, Syria (to a small extent), and apparently also in al-Basra and al-Kufa. However, other than those of several individuals, no missions of aid are known to have been sent to Muhammad from these cities.

Muhammad b. Abdallah entered al-Madina, openly proclaiming rebellion, on the twenty-eighth of Jumada II, 145 (23 September 762). His takeover of the city did not meet with any significant resistance. Immediately upon entering the city, he freed the prisoners from jail, arrested the ‘Abbasid governor and the mawali of the ‘Abbasid family, confiscated the properties of the ‘Abbasids in the city, and took over bayt al-mal. Another important source of finance for the rebellion was the money given to Muhammad by one of the dignitaries of al-Madina: the total sadaqa of the Óayyi’ and Asad tribes, which he had collected for the ‘Abbasids. Muhammad wanted to administer the city as the capital of the caliphate and, to that end, he established a series of administrative and judiciary posts. He sent his brother Ibrahim to al-Basra, where he raised the banner of rebellion on Ramadan 1, 145 (November 762). At the same time, Muhammad sent governors to all parts of the Arabian Peninsula.

Al-Mansour’s letter to Muhammad b. Abdallah, suggesting that he accept an aman, evoked a strong reply from Muhammad. These letters may very well be authentic, but even if they are not, they are very early and of great importance in that they reflect the early arguments of the ‘Abbasids and the Hasanids with regard to who had the legitimate right to rule.

Al-Mansour sent his nephew, ‘Isa b. Musa, to head a strong army that was composed mainly of Ahl Khurasan units against Muhammad. At the beginning of the rebellion, most of the inhabitants of al-Madina supported Muhammad. However, this support was not uniform; there were those who opposed the rebellion, even among his close family, among the rest of the ‘Alid families, and among the important families of Quraysh. In the Zubayrid and ‘Umari (the descendants of ‘Umar b. al-Khassab) families, however, there was general homogeneity with respect to supporting Muhammad, with just a small opposition. The Zubayrids constituted the main military and administrative backbone of the rebellion. Also noted among Muhammad’s supporters are families and individuals from Arab tribes: the Juhayna, Sulaym, Bakr, Aslam, Ghifar, Numayr *(mawali)*, and Bahila *(mawali)*.

Several of the important religious scholars *(‘ulama)* of this period from al-Madina as well as from other cities supported and joined the rebellion. Some of them had Shi‘i tendencies, although a large number were not pro-Shi‘i. Noted among them are Malik b. Anas, Sufyan al-Thawri, Abu Hanifa, Hisham b. ‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr, and others. When this list of scholars is examined, it becomes clear that, for at least some of them, their leanings toward the rebellion and their support of Muhammad is not at all unequivocal. It is noteworthy that Ja’far al-Sadiq did not support Muhammad and his rebellion, although despite this there are a number of people belonging to Ja’far’s immediate family who took an active part in the uprising. First and foremost, his sons Musa and Abdallah and his brother’s son Hamza b. Abdallah should be mentioned, but there were also other Husaynids, all uncles and cousins of Ja’far al-Sadiq, who participated in the rebellion.

After their rise to power, tense relations and hostility prevailed between the ‘Abbasids and Ja’far al-Sadiq. Their fear no doubt greatly increased seeing that the Husaynid family was neither united in their attitude toward the rebellion nor, evidently, in backing Ja’far al-Sadiq’s leadership. They were displeased with Ja’far’s quietism during the rebellion. His refraining to appear openly before ‘Isa b. Musa as a sign of loyalty to the ‘Abbasids led to the confiscation of

Ja'far's estate, 'Ayn Abi Ziyad, with the approval of al-Mansour, who also ordered his house in Medina to be burned down.

Muhammad b. Abdallah was considered the sixth or seventh imam of the Zaydis. During this period, there was a body in al-Kufa that was noted in the sources as Zaydiyya, the nucleus of which was made up of supporters of Zayd b. 'Ali b. al-Husayn b. 'Ali b. Abi Talib. This group constituted the important nucleus of Ibrahim b. Abdallah's army, although no mention is made of it in connection with Muhammad's rebellion. Evaluating the rebellion as a Zaydi–Hasani rebellion fully supported by the Mu'tazila is too general and inaccurate.

With the arrival of 'Isa b. Musa's army at the approaches of al-Madina, most of Muhammad's supporters abandoned him. At various stages of the battle, particularly at the end, several senior commanders and many soldiers ran away. The final battle took place at Ahjar al-Zayt, to the south of Thaniyyat al-Wada', on the fourteenth or fifteenth day of Ramadan 145 (sixth or seventh of December 762). Because of their numeric and qualitative inferiority, the battle quickly ended in the defeat of Muhammad's men. His head was sent to Caliph al-Mansour; his dead warriors were crucified in two rows in the city and left there for three days. Throughout his entire rule, al-Mansour never stopped persecuting members of the Hasanid family and Muhammad b. Abdallah's supporters. He ordered the confiscation of all of the estates of Banu Hasan and an estate of Ja'far al-Sadiq, who only had it returned to him by Caliph al-Mahdi.

Throughout the Umayyad Caliphate and particularly during the reign of Hisham b. 'Abd al-Malik (105/724–125/743), there was a slow decline in the economic and geopolitical status of Medina. With the 'Abbasids' rise to power, this process was accelerated by the deliberate policy of the first two 'Abbasid caliphs.

Despite the limited strategic importance of Medina for the 'Abbasids, they took the rebellion very seriously, because, to a certain extent, Muhammad b. Abdallah succeeded in extending it past the borders of the Arabian Peninsula and thus constituted a real danger to the 'Abbasid regime. Above all, the rebellion was a challenge to their right to rule. Participation of the Quraysh families in al-Madina (particularly the Zubayrids, who had a history of hostility towards the 'Alids), the 'Umaris, the Ansar, and some of the tribes in al-Madina and its environs in the rebellion—as well as the support of scholars who were not known to be pro-Shi'i—all speak against an exclusive Shi'i tinge to the rebellion.

Nevertheless, the fact that the rebellion was headed by Muhammad b. Abdallah was of great importance. His lineage and claim to the right to rule competed successfully with the arguments for the legitimacy of the 'Abbasids, which at that time were in a stage of transition from the legitimacy of the 'Alid-Hashimiyya to that of al-'Abbas, the Prophet's uncle. Muhammad b. Abdallah's rebellion accelerated the development of the 'Abbasid ideology of legitimacy relating to al-'Abbas and was an important turning point in the relationship between the 'Abbasids and the branches of the 'Alid family, particularly the Zaydis and the Hasanids. It is also very likely that it hastened the development of the qu'ud doctrine of the Husaynids.

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NAMES

The parts of a medieval Arabic name are best demonstrated by an example. The great mystical writer Ibn 'Arabi had the proper name *(ism 'alam)* Muhammad, the *kunya* Abu 'Abd Allah (''the father of 'Abd Allah''; ''paedonymic'' would be the normal English word for this, if one existed), the *nasab* ibn 'Ali ibn Muhammad (''the son of 'Ali the son of Muhammad''), the nickname *(laqab)* Muhyi 'l-Din (''the reviver of the faith''), and the *nisbas* al-Hatimi and al-Ta'i, since his family claimed descent from a man of pre-Islamic Arabia named Hatim of the Tayy tribe. Most biographical dictionaries arrange their subjemts

to establish a large religious institution in the city to rival the size of the one established by Rashid al-Din in the Rab•-i Rashidi. Uljaytu also completed work on his large and intricately decorated tomb prior to his death, and his magni“cent tomb is one of the greatest examples of Mongol architecture that still survives. The funerary complex built by Uljaytu includes several prayer halls, spaces for reciting the Qur•an, and residence halls. The largest copy of the Qur•an made in the period, an enormous (seventy-two by “fty centimeters) thirty-part manuscript transcribed in Baghdad between 706/1306 and 710/1313, was also endowed to Uljaytu•s funerary complex at Sultaniya. Although the other contemporary buildings surrounding the tomb did not survive, there was a large congregational mosque with a monumental portal leading to a large central courtyard with four iwans, a domed sanctuary, and an adjacent khanaqah.

In addition to the lavish building that Uljaytu engaged in at Sultaniyah and the endowment of formal institutions, he also served as patron for individual scholars. Uljaytu continued to support the renowned observatory and school for the study of philosophy and mathematics at Maragha, endowed “rst by Hulagu in 657/1258 under the direction of Nasir al-Din al-Tusi and completed during the reign of Hulagu•s successor, Abaqa (663…683/1265…1284).

Uljaytu died in his bed at Sultaniyah 17 December 1316/1 Shawwal 716. He was thirty-six years old. Quite extraordinary for a reigning Mongol ilkhan, he is believed to have died of natural causes, related to a protracted struggle with a stomach ailment.

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approximated the dowry a bridegroom would pay for a wife. The male's payment of a prostitute's fee, a dowry, or for that matter the purchase amount for a female slave constituted a right of ownership of the female, which allowed him to have sex at will.

The general attitude of tolerating prostitution as a necessary social evil can be seen throughout the centuries of Islamic history. As early as the caliphates, prostitution was occasionally taxed, a de facto acknowledgment that they had the right to exist. Al-Makrizi makes a similar assertion about Fatimid and Persian tolerance of the illicit sexual trade. Evliya Çelebi, the great Ottoman traveler of the seventeenth century, commented that prostitutes had long formed their own guilds and as such were an accepted part of Ottoman legal structure.

However, one needs also to remember that there were at least two other legal categories that at times approximated prostitution. First is the institution of *mutah*, or temporary marriage, which was contracted between a male who pdid a *mah8* to the female party

It has long been recognized that the manuscript on which an authoritative published version should be based is Munich cod. arab. 464. Dated 1280, it is the only dated manuscript to survive from Qazwīnī's lifetime. The appearance of his name and titles in the opening rosette indicate that it was his personal copy, and it is almost complete. The present author suggests that the missing passages should be "lled in by reference to a newly found manuscript dated 1322, Süleymaniye Yeni Cami 813, which is also almost complete (Berlekamp, Proceedings from the Arab Painting Conference, ed. Contadini, forthcoming). Folio-by-folio comparison of the texts in the two manuscripts shows that they contain the same version of the text.

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QUR'AN

The Qur'an is sacred scriptural text of all forms of Islam, a compilation of the revelations given to the Prophet Muhammad. The term *Qur'an* probably means "reading" or "recitation," and it is etymologically linked both to the Syriac *qeryana* (scripture reading) and the Hebrew *miqra'* (recitation, scripture).

The Qur'an is made up of 114 surahs (chapters), which range in length from three short verses to 286 or 287 relatively long verses (depending upon how those verses are counted). The chapters are arranged roughly in order of decreasing length. Because the length of Muhammad's revelations tended to increase with the passage of time, this means that the later chapters, in terms of the moment of their reception by the Prophet, occur toward the front of the standard editions of the book, whereas the earliest revelations are found toward the back.

The Historical Origins of the Qur'an

According to traditional accounts, the divine messenger of revelation (subsequently identified as the archangel Gabriel) first appeared to Muhammad when the Prophet was approximately forty years old (in or near 610 CE). It is generally agreed that this appearance constitutes Muhammad's call as a messenger of God, and that Qur'an verse 96: 1–5 represents the first portion of the Qur'an revealed to the Prophet. Thereafter, revelation came in various ways. The earliest chroniclers report that Muhammad would enter a trancelike state during which he would receive his divine communications. Sometimes he saw visions, but, overwhelmingly, his revelatory experiences were auditory. One well-known account, for instance, describes a sound like the ringing of bells, which conveyed to him the words that he would dictate and that would eventually be written down.

Establishing the precise chronology of Qur'anic revelations is a very difficult matter. The chapters of the Qur'an have traditionally been divided into those received at Mecca (i.e., prior to Muhammad's hijra in

RAZI, AL-, FAKHR AL-DIN

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indigent patients (as witnesses attest) and dedicated

medicine and its practitioners. In addition, al-Razi engaged authoritative texts of his discipline—especially Hippocrates and Galen—in commentaries, revisions, and emulations. Monographic treatments of (in the broad medieval sense) philosophical interest include discussions of allergic reactions to flowering roses; of the strictly physiological causation of pathicism (passive anal eroticism); of the public's frequent preference for quacks over qualified doctors; and of physicians' curative failures and, conversely, of the success of wise women and their ilk.

Al-Razi's epistemological open-mindedness led him to devote a treatise to the (occult) properties (khawass) of mineral, vegetable, and animal substances. Alternatively, his work in alchemy, betraying a similar attitude, dispenses with magic in the attempted transformation of bodies, such as base metals into gold. The implications of his work, calling into question the traditional doctrine of four elemental qualities (among others), were not to be lost on al-Ghazali and other later thinkers.

Al-Razi stands out among Islamic philosophers for his ethics and his metaphysical and physical doctrines, although he did not ignore logic (in Aristotelian terms, philosophy's indispensable implement). Conspicuously, he rejects one of Islam's basic dogmas—prophecy—and with it all revealed religion. Reason being the creator's equal gift to all humankind, there was no need for divine dispensations through the mouth of prophets; to the contrary, such (in reality) demonically induced self-delusions had invariably proven pernicious in leading to sanguinary strife. Human beings' apparent inequality in philosophical potential resulted from the wide variance of their interests and preoccupations.

Further religious and philosophical disagreements of al-Razi with his contemporaries concern creation as such and man's destiny in the hereafter. He posits the pre-eternal existence of five entities: (1) God; (2) universal soul; (3) absolute time; (4) absolute space; and (5) matter. By defining, in contradiction to Aristotle, time and space as absolute and infinite, he expressly relies on the uncanny certainty of inferences from straightforward sensory perception. Al-Razi's concept of matter is atomistic in a generally Democritean way, which is in contrast to the notion of dimensionless atoms that was prevalent in Muslim dialectic theology (kalam).

In al-Razi's cosmological myth, creation is occasioned by God's accession to Soul's desire of embodiment in matter; the resulting chaos is mitigated by God's further gift of intelligence—his own—to creation and to Soul. Intelligible order is thus imparted to the universe and, in humankind, self-awareness to Soul; conscious of her incorporeal origin, she strives after liberation from imprisonment in this life to return to her primal abode. Thus, al-Razi premises the afterlife on Soul's incorporeal substantiality alone, rejecting the Qur'anic resurrection of the flesh. Generally taking, like the Gnostics and Manicheans, a dim view of Soul's embroilment with matter, al-Razi yet insists on the creator's wisdom and mercy. Creation's ultimate end, however, is its dissolution after Soul's liberation from bondage to matter.

Central to al-Razi's ethical theory are his concepts of pleasure, which exists only as release from and in proportion with previous discomfort and of the fear of death as a motive force. The attempt to silence such fear—irrational, whether or not death terminates the soul's sentient existence—impels humans to indulge their natural appetites for power, food, or sex. In an effort to predicate his ethical theory on unfounded assumptions—given the impossibility of rationally demonstrating the reality of the beyond—he bases it on the finality of death. Because the appetites, feeding on gratification, ever forestall the achievement of the desired pleasure, they are to be reduced by judiciously denying them gratification to approximate a modicum of contentment: the maximum attainable in this life.

From among al-Razi's physical works, his treatise about vision deserves special mention for his rejection of Galen's extromission theory and excessive reliance on Euclid.

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be not only scandalous and improper but also insulting to the Turkish oligarchy. It is very likely that, by appointing Yaqut, Razia was attempting to cultivate a cadre of non-Turkish of“cers and courtiers to counter the power held by nobles of Turkish ancestry at the court.

Manichean, Buddhist, and Nestorian Christian traditions—that "liberated" Arab, Bedouin-dominated Islam from its parochial roots and brassbound worldview. The bulk of what was produced in New Persian for this period were translations of key Arabic texts (al-Tabari's history or translations of the Qur'an, for example), but within time we see the rise of an independent and vigorous Persian literary tradition. In its infancy, New Persian was established and cemented in the increasingly famous court of Bukhara by such legendary poets as Abu 'Abd Allah Ja'far b. Muhammad Rudaki (d. 940) and Abu Mansur Muhammad b. Ahmad Daqiqi (d. 977). Rudaki spent much of his professional career in Bukhara, under the auspices of the ruler Nasr b. Ahmad, and is widely recognized for developing the panegyric form of poetry *(qasida)*; indeed, Rudaki was the foundation for later great panegyrists of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries such as 'Unsuri, Mu'izzi, and Anvari. Likewise, Daqiqi's lyrical poetry is considered to be a forerunner of Ferdowsi's *Shahnama*, and historians of Persian literature agree that many of the great literary accomplishments of the Ghaznavid and Seljuk periods would not have been possible if not for the Samanid program of encouraging New Persian at both the elite and popular levels.

COLIN PAUL MITCHELL

See also 'Abbasids; Bukhara; Buyids; Epic Poetry; Epics, Persian; Ibn Sina; Khurasan; Libraries; Nizam al-Mulk; Paper Manufacture; Persian; Persians; Poetry, Persian; Samarqand; Transoxiana

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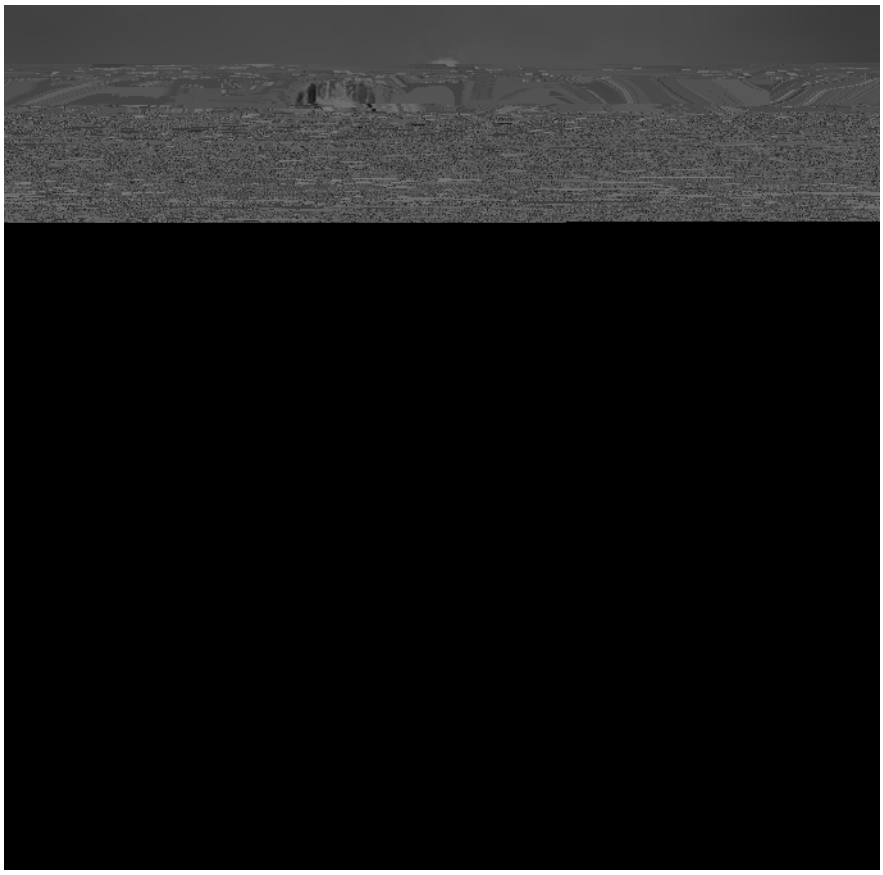
SAMARQAND

Samarqand has alway11287(been)-475(the)-8a9sReading

inhabitants. Hoping to take advantage of the crisis in the Umayyad administration, the people of Samarqand joined forces with the Turks (Targesh) and fought the Muslim armies. It was only during the term in office of Nasr b. Sayyar (738–748) that the authority of the Umayyad caliphate was firmly reinstalled.

With the emergence of the ‘Abbasid caliphate, Samarqand, like other settlements in the Zarafshan



Minaret of the mosque at Samarrah. Abbasid dynasty, 848–852 CE. Credit: SEF/Art Resource, NY. Great Mosque (Mosque of al-Mutawakkil), Samarra, Iraq.

Probably in 220/834–845, the caliph al-Mu'taṣim left Baghdad in search of a new site for the court and army, a move explained by the sources as due to conflict of the Turkish guard with the population of Baghdad. Although there are different versions of al-Mu'taṣim's journey, all agree that a start was made on a city near Rashīd's unfinished foundation, a site identified east of Ḥuṣn Qīdisiyya. Then he stopped work and moved on to Samarra.

The caliph's city was formally called *Surra Man Ra'ā* ("He who sees it is delighted"). Although Yāqūt *(Mu'jam sv Samarra)* suggests that the present name is a shortened form of *Surra Man Ra'ā*, it is clear that *Samarra* is in reality the Arabic version of the pre-Islamic toponym, *Sumere* in Latin, *Šumrā* in Syriac, and *Souma* in Greek.

Surra Man Ra'ā was founded by al-Mu'taṣim in 221/836, with the palace on the site of a monastery. The plan was composed of a caliphal palace complex, called in the sources variants on the theme of "House of the Caliphate": *Dār al-Khilāfa*, *Dār al-Khalīfa*, *Dār al-Sulṭān*, and *Dār Amīr al-Mu'minīn*. The interior was divided into two major units: the official palace, *Dār al-'Āmma*, where receptions and public business were conducted, and the residence, *al-Jawsaq al-Khāqānī*, intended for family life, where four of the caliphs are buried. The site was excavated by Viollet (1910), Herzfeld (1913), and most recently by the Iraq Directorate-General of Antiquities.

From the south gate of the palace, an avenue, later referred to by al-Ya'qūbī as Shāri' Abī Aḥmad, was laid out over seven kilometers parallel to the river, with a single bend, where the original mosque of al-Mu'taṣim and the markets were located. Otherwise, the plan was composed of subunits (Ar. *qaṭā'i'*) dedicated to the military leaders and their troops, and composed also of a palace, avenue, and a grid of houses. North of the bend, the cantonments of the Turks under Waṣīf were located on the east side, and possibly the Farāghina (from the Farghāna valley in Uzbekistan) on the west side. South of the markets were situated the cantonments of the Maghāriba from Egypt, the Iranian Arabs, and the Khurāsānī troops from Baghdad. On the north side of the palace, two

words, which became known as qira•at, or variant readings. The new grammatical science was used to justify, accept, or dismiss such readings. As such, grammar was starting to act as a judge on some of the traditional methods developed to safeguard the transmission of the Qur•an. The battle was being drawn now between the two camps, grammarians on one hand and the Qur•an specialists on the other. Eventually some sort of resolution to these issues would come about, but the threat that philology posed to traditional interpretation was always latent.

It is also important to draw attention to the fact that philology was not unaffected by religious dogma. The Arabic lexicon shows remarkable sensitivity to theological issues, and at certain points is willing

often arranged alphabetically as dictionaries, on the masters they had encountered during their studies and journeys for the research of science, meaning with that above all hadith, and including especially those masters from whom they had received a certi-“cate (ijaza) to transmit ••science•• to others. These books could have different tntles, such as

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SELIMIYE MOSQUE, EDIRNE

The Selimiye Mosque complex was built in AH 976–982/1569–1575 CE by the architect Sinan for Sultan Selim II in Edirne, the Ottoman empire's European gateway. The new architectural foundation celebrated the recent conquest of Cyprus and was financed by its rich spoils. Regarded by most modern historians as the culminating achievement of Sinan's distinguished fifty-year career as chief architect to the Ottoman court, Sinan himself (according to the "autobiography" that he wrote with Sa'i Mustafa Čelebi) undertook the Selimiye project in a competitive frame of mind. He stated, "Those who consider themselves architects among Christians say that in the realm of Islam no dome can equal that of the Hagia Sophia... [but] in this mosque, with the help of God and the support of Sultan Selim Khan, I erected a dome six cubits higher and four cubits wider than the dome of the Hagia Sophia" (Kuran). He was determined both to outdo the size and grandeur of that venerable Byzantine monument (finished in 537) and to continue a dialogue with his own Suleymaniye Mosque that was built twenty years earlier.

The Selimiye has a magnificent presence on the skyline of Edirne—its hilltop position and imposing profile were intended to overwhelm and to suggest, through architectural grandeur, the imperial majesty of the patron. It stands on a high platform and, unlike comparable Ottoman *külliyes* (religious complexes), has few dependent buildings. The complex consists of a large enclosure with a centrally placed mosque, and a *medrese* (theological college) and Qur'an school of equal size symmetrically filling the southeast and southwest corners of the greater enclosure. The complex was entirely symmetrical until a covered market was added on the west side of the enclosure in the 1580s to provide rental income.

The mosque consists of a rectangular prayer hall and rectangular courtyard of equal size (sixty by forty-four meters) with an ablution fountain in its center. A large, single central dome dominates the prayer hall; from the prayer hall's corners rise four exceedingly slender fluted minarets that at approximately seventy meters are taller than any others in the Ottoman realm. Their soaring verticality provides a marked contrast to the massive and imposing domical structure of the prayer hall and provides a spatial

without. Although from afar the building appears as a single mountainous dome surrounded by elegant spires, at middle distance the eight piers, capped by small cupolas and descending into mighty buttresses, have clear presence on the building's exterior, revealing a well-composed, symmetrical, and geometrically conceived figure of discrete geometrical units subordinated to a harmonious whole. The Selimiye is a tour de force of interior and exterior space.

D. Fairchild Ruggles

See also Istanbul; Suleymaniye Mosque

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SELJUKS

The Seljuk dynasty was a Turkish dynasty that ruled much of the Middle East from the late eleventh through the twelfth century CE. The eponymous Seljuk ibn Duqaq was the chief of a confederation of Oghuz Turkmen tribes that migrated in search of land, perhaps pressured by other tribes, from the area between the Caspian and Aral seas to Transoxiana in the mid-tenth century. Settling in Jand on the left bank of the Jaxartes (Syr Darya), Seljuk and the Oghuz became Muslims. In the early eleventh century, these Oghuz were caught between the expansionist ambitions of the Qarakhanids from the north and the Ghaznavids from the south. In 1040, Seljuk's grandsons, Chaghri Beg and Toghril Beg, defeated the Ghaznavids at Dandanqan near Merv. This victory opened the Middle East to large-scale Turkish immigration. Thus began the long-term movement, laden with enormous social, economic, and political consequences, of Turkish peoples from Central Asia to the Middle East, changing the linguistic and cultural zones of that region from Arabic and Persian to Arabic and Turko-Persian.

Having taken the title of sultan and proc.6805ng

'Abd al-Rahman I (756–788). He was succeeded in the throne by Hisham I (r. 788–796) and al-Hakam I (r. 796–822). Both reigns were periods of relative peace for Seville, according to the sources. In 844, under the Emir 'Abd al-Rahman II (r. 822–852), Seville was stormed by the Normans (named *Majus* in the Arabic chronicles). Normans pillaged the whole of Western Andalusia for almost a month and a half, until they were driven out by an army dispatched from the Andalusi capital of Cordoba.

The following years under the ruling of Emir 'Abd Allah I (844–912) saw a widespread outburst of rebellions all over Al-Andalus, including in Seville. A *de facto* autonomous state was established by the local powerful clan of the Banu Hajjaj from 889 to 913.

Seville was seiged and pacified by the first Andalusi caliph, 'Abd al-Rahman III, in 913. The period of the caliphate (929–1031) was one of certain prosperity for the city. Only an uprising instigated by the Banu Hajjaj family in 974 troubled to some extent the stability of the period.

With the downfall of the caliphal regime and the outburst of the *fitna* (civil war) in Al-Andalus from 1009 to 1031, Seville became the capital of one of the *taifa* (party) kingdoms into which Al-Andalus had split. The new dynasty of the Banu 'Abbad or 'Abbadids (1013–1090) seized power, leading the town into what is generally considered to be its cultural and economic peak. It was, objectively speaking, the moment when the greatest territory was ruled from Seville.

The most celebrated 'Abbadid ruler was Muhammad bin 'Abbad al-Mu'tamid (1069–1090), who is still widely regarded as one of the finest classical Arab poets. His verses about his concubine Rumaykiyya have never ceased to be a part of the common Arab poetic curriculum.

In the political sphere, the 'Abbadid rulers were forced to pay *parias* (levies) to the Castilian kings. This forced al-Mu'tamid and many other *taifa* sovereigns to seek the help of the Almoravid sultan, Yusuf bin Tashufin, whose territorial base was in the current territory of Morocco. In 1086 and 1088, Yusuf bin Tashufin disembarked in the Iberian Peninsula in assistance of his coreligionists. Sources tell us that he—motivated by Islamic religious scholars *(fuqaha)* and with popular spur—resolved to seize power of Iberian Muslim-ruled lands and depose the *taifa* rulers, including al-Mu'tamid. In 1090, Yusuf bin Tashufin conquered Seville and sent al-Mu'tamid to exile.

Seville remained under Almoravid rule for more than half a century. Aspects of daily life during this period can be deduced by reading Ibn 'Abdun's *hisba* (market policing) treatise. During the Almoravid period, Seville was transformed into a key port where troops were disembarked. Seville also became a gathering point for the army. Archaeological evidence implies that the last wall ring of Seville was built by the Almoravids as a compound crowned by eight fortified towers.

In 1132, the King of Castile, Alphonse VII, sacked the region of Seville and even killed the Almoravid governor. In 1147, Seville was incorporated into the Almohad caliphate, which had before replaced the Almoravids. An Almohad governor of Seville, Abu Ya'qub Yusuf, was proclaimed caliph and made his second (with Marrakesh, in Morocco) capital in the town since 1171/1172. He conducted a full public works program that included an improvement to the fortifications of the town, a new palace outside the walls, a new pontoon bridge over the Guadalquivir River that linked the town and the Triana quarter at the other side of the river, and a new Friday mosque. Construction of this new central mosque began in 1172. Its minaret is a twin of the famous Kutubia minaret in Marrakesh. After the Christian conquest, the whole site of the great mosque was dedicated to the new cathedral. The minaret is today the "Giralda" bell tower, which is recognized as the major symbol of the city throughout the world.

Frequent Castilian raids threatened the safety and stability of Seville during the Almoravid period. Additionally, the periodic floods of the Guadalquivir contributed to the unease of the population.

Since 1220, the Almohad power approached its final decline. Following a number of unsuccessful revolts, the people of Seville turned to the Ibn Hud family against the Almohads in 1229. In 1248, the Castilian King Ferdinand III conquered the city after seventeen months of siege. Soon after, the Moroccan Marinid dynasty attempted to seize control of the city, but they could only pillage the outskirts, and in 1275 made an unsuccessful siege on the city.

Islamic Heritage in Modern Seville

Although Seville was counted among the richest cities of al-Andalus, its extant Islamic built heritage is not abundant, since a myriad of new buildings in the Renaissance and Baroque styles were commissioned in the prosperous period—which lasted from the sixteenth to the seventeenth centuries—as a result of Seville's key role in economic exchange with the Spanish colonies in America.

The walls that defended the city against attacks both from the navigable Guadalquivir and from the surrounding plains are a major extant that remains.

Shadow play figures, translucent colored camel-leather figures from Istanbul. On the right Karakoz (30 cm × 8 cm), and on the left Hajibad (28 cm × 8.5 cm). Private collection of Shmuel Moreh, Jerusalem.

shadows appear upon the wall which is behind the curtain and upon the curtain itself'' (*Kitab al-manazir* 1983:408). Other descriptions of shadow plays state that figures made of colored, translucent camel leather were held against the screen with one stick, while the limbs of the figures were moved with another. The performer, accompanied by music and singing, recited the dialogue between the *dramatis personae*. The light of candles or lamps cast the shadow of the figures upon the screen *(sitara, izar)*, which was made of muslin *(shash)*.

Significance

The extant prose and verses composed by Sufi scholars such as al-Ghazali (d. 1111), Ibn al-'Arabi (d. 1240) and Ibn al-Farid (d. 1235), as well as introductions to shadow plays, describe the hidden philosophical and religious significance of this art. They argue that ''God has presented it as a parable'' to this world. The presenter represents God who is the *muharrik* (prime mover); the curtain represents the hidden and secret foreordained future. The first figure represents Adam, who describes the images that will follow him as depicting the generations of mankind, who behave according to God's will and predestination. The characters of the plot are arranged according to role, in a box on the right-hand side, which stands for the womb, while the box on the left, in which the figures are placed after ending their role, represents the tomb. It is this moral parable that induced poets to use the shadow play as a symbol of this world in Arabic literature and historiography. Even the three indecent shadow plays composed by the oculist Ibn Daniyal (Mosul, 1248; Cairo, 1311) at the request of a shadow puppeteer who complained that the art had became tedious and trivial emphasize moral admonition.

According to the Egyptian historian Ibn Iyas (d. 1524), who recorded the Ottoman occupation of Egypt in 1517, shadow players used to represent actual political and social events, such as the hanging of the defeated Mamluk sultan by Sultan Selim. The latter was pleased with the plot of the performer, rewarded him, and took him to Istanbul to entertain his son. On the other hand, E. W. Lane indicates that a reversed direction of influence occurred later on. In his *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (1836), he says that the shadow play ''Kara Gyooz,'' as he calls it, ''has been introduced into Egypt by the Turks, in whose language the puppets are made to speak... They are conducted in the manner of the 'Chinese shadows', and therefore exhibited only at night.''

Historians and scholars of the shadow play have criticized the pornographic and frivolous aspects of this popular art. Some plays, however, satirized the tyranny of rulers, administrators, and religious officials, and it seems that this is the main reason why some Mamluk sultans and scholars prohibited the shadow play and even burned the puppets and made the performers sign an undertaking not to practice it.

SHMUEL MOREH

See also Theater, Arabic

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SHAFI'I, AL-, ABU ABDALLAH MUHAMMAD IBN IDRIS

Al-Shafi'i (767–820 CE) ranks among the most influential jurists in the history of Islamic law by virtue of his contributions to substantive legal doctrine, elaboration of hermeneutic concepts and techniques, and his jurisprudential legacy as preserved in the Shafi'i School of Jurisprudence. Al-Shafi'i was probably born in Palestine and studied law first in Mecca and then in Medina, where he became a pupil of the celebrated jurist Malik ibn Anas. He also studied with at least one prominent student of the important Iraqi jurist Abu Hanifa.

Although al-Shafi'i taught and wrote for a period of years in Baghdad, only scattered references to his doctrines from this period survive. After relocating to Egypt (ca. 814), however, he authored (or his students compiled) a number of works that became authoritative. His massive *Kitab al-Umm (The Exemplar)* covers the standard topics found in a work of Islamic law. Traditionally published with the *Umm* are a number of shorter works, including some that preserve doctrines of earlier jurists with critical evaluations of these by al-Shafi'i.

What is new in al-Shafi'i's writings is the self-conscious concern with adherence to hermeneutical principles. Al-Shafi'i insists that laws be derived exclusively from revealed sources, namely the Qur'an and Hadith. In particular, al-Shafi'i emphasizes the special importance of Hadith from the Prophet, both as a supplement to the Qur'an and as an independent source of law. Thus, al-Shafi'i sought to ground law exclusively in revelation, making Islamic jurisprudence (for him, anyway) into a field more dependent on textual analysis than on the handing down of traditional authority. This feature of al-Shafi'i's thought entailed a further development in his hermeneutics, namely the elaboration of a series of techniques for sorting through and resolving apparent contradictions in the revealed sources of the Shari'a. Al-Shafi'i's most detailed discussion of his hermeneutical principles is contained in his *Risala (Epistle)*, but they also figure prominently in his *Ikhtilaf al-Hadith (Contradictory Hadith),* in several shorter works, and in the context of discrete problems dealt with in the *Umm*.

Recent scholarship, however, has cast doubt on the attribution of all works traditionally ascribed to al-Shafi'i. Scrutiny of the works bearing al-Shafi'i's name has led some to conclude that the *Umm* and the *Risala* were subject to a process of organic growth and redaction, and it has also been argued that hermeneutical approaches found in both works fit more easily into the intellectual world of the later ninth century. These studies raise important questions that are, for a variety of reasons, difficult to resolve definitively.

Al-Shafi'i's two Egyptian students, al-Rabi' ibn Sulayman al-Muradi (d. 883) and al-Muzani (d. 877), preserved, developed, and transmitted his doctrines. It is on the basis of their efforts to preserve al-Shafi'i's teachings that the Shafi'i School of Jurisprudence was founded and began to flourish, especially in Baghdad (c. 900). In time, the Shafi'i School spread to and remains important, in Arabia, Egypt, East Africa, and Malaysia.

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See also Ibn Hanbal; Imam; Knowledge; Madrasa; Scholarship; Theology

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SHAH ‘ABBAS I (1571–1629), FIFTH SHAH OF IRAN’S SAFAVID DYNASTY (1501–1722)

‘Abbas was the great-grandson of the first Safavid shah Isma’il I (r. 1501–1524), grandson of the second, Tahmasp (r. 1524–1576), and son of the fourth, Khudabandah (r. 1578–1587), and was enthroned by an alliance dominated by elements of the Ustajl, one of the preeminent tribes of the Qizilbash tribal confederation that had provided the military backbone of the dynasty to this period.

Tahmasp’s death had caused splits among different tribal factions, Tajik (native Persian), Georgian, and Circassian, at court around his sons Isma’il II (r. 1576–1577) and Khudabandah (1578–1587). These left the polity vulnerable to Ottoman and Uzbeg invasions and, accentuated by Isma’il II’s flirtation with Sunnism in an effort to bolster his own position, engendered considerable domestic spiritual unrest. The alliance that deposed Khudabandah and enthroned ‘Abbas in 1587 collapsed soon thereafter as key Turk and Tajik elements coalesced around other Safavid princes, including ‘Abbas’ two younger brothers. Further foreign invasions resulted, and certain Sufi (and especially Nuqtavi and other) elements openly challenged ‘Abbas’ spiritual legitimacy.

‘Abbas’ 1590 purchase of peace with the Ottomans by ceding them key territories allowed him to move successfully against internal rivals and, thereafter, commence a series of campaigns that by the end of his reign regained territories lost to the Ottomans and Uzbegs since Tahmasp’s death.

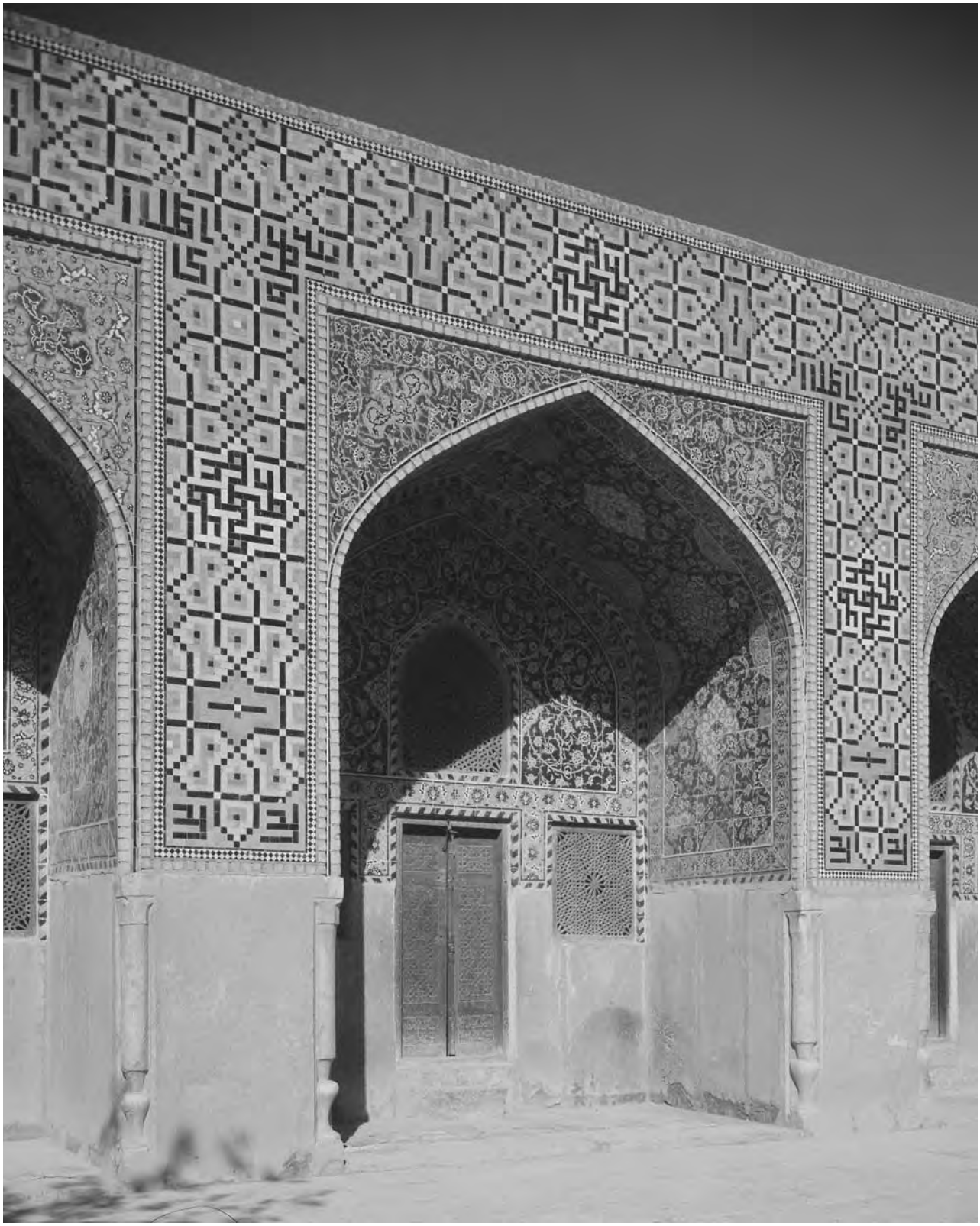
These military–political victories were achieved by forces composed of both tribal elements but also *ghulam* or *qullar* forces—non-Qizilbash Arab and Persian tribal volunteers and captured Georgian, Circassian, and Armenian youth converted to Islam whose presence in smaller numbers predated ‘Abbas—who were now incorporated at the central and provincial military and political levels, albeit in positions subordinate to existing Qizilbash and Tajik elites and, more importantly, elements of Kurdish, Lur, and Chagatay tribes whose presence attests to the widening of the Qizilbash confederation.

Like his predecessors, ‘Abbas further strengthened his personal position by using marriages to cement alliances with Qizilbash tribal elements, local political notables, and especially and more so than earlier shahs, prominent Tajik sayyids. The latter, including some of ‘Abbas’ relatives by marriage, were particularly prominent at the central and provincial administrative levels.

‘Abbas’ reign also witnessed a reinvigorated effort to identify the shah with the agendas and discourses of each of the realm’s key component constituencies and project himself as transcendent ruler over all. Isfahan, which ‘Abbas designated the capital soon after his accession, was home to many manifestations, including more secular projects such as Naqsh-i Jahan Square, whose construction created a new city center southwest of the traditional one. Isfahan’s more spectacular religious projects included the 1599 ‘Abdallaah Shushtari school and the Lutfallah Maysi (1602 to 1618–1619) and Shah mosques (1611 to 1630–1631), the latter two both on ‘Abbas’ new square, but the provincial cities of Mashshad, the former capital Qazvin, and Kashan received similar attention. ‘Abbas’ special identification with Twelver Shi‘ism was further attested to by his close association with such prominent philosopher–clerics as Mir Damad (d. 1630–1631), Mulla Sadra (d. 1640), and Shaykh Baha’i (d. 1621), the capital’s *shaykh al-Islam*, his patronage of the Shi‘i shrine cities of Najaf and Karbala after their 1624 capture, and his patronage of the Hijazi Shi‘a. ‘Abbas also carefully cultivated his image as head of the Safavid Sufi order and associated himself with such manifestations of ‘‘popular’’ religious feeling as the Muharram ceremonies, commemorating the martyrdom in 680 of the third Shi‘i Imam Husayn, and the commemoration of the 661 martyrdom of Imam ‘Ali. He also sponsored public, displayed clashes between the Ni‘mati and Haydari factions, which were Iran’s traditional urban factions. The commission of a never-completed, illustrated *Shahnama* attests to the center’s atttentiveness to traditional Tajik Persian cultural discourse.

The development of Isfahan and the realm, aided by the center’s restoration of road security, facilitated marked economic expansion, the more so in the aftermath of the forced importation to Isfahan of Armenians from war-torn eastern Anatolia beginning circa 1604, including many long-distance merchants who dominated the east–west trade routes through Iran, and the appearance in the Gulf of the Western commercial interests interested in expanding trade with the East, particularly in Iranian silk. These, with Western missionaries and political envoys, were welcomed by ‘Abbas in his effort to construct an anti-Ottoman alliance.

ANDREW J. NEWMAN



Entrance to room of Qur’an students to the east madrasah (religious school). Built by Shah Abbas I, Sufavid dynasty. 1611–1638. Credit: SEF/Art Resource, NY. Masjid-I Shah, Isfahan, Iran.

See also Safavids

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SHAHNAMA

Sometimes referred to as the Iranian National Epic, the *Shahnama (Book of Kings)* is the life's work of the Persian poet Abu 'l-Qasem Ferdowsi, from Tus in Khorasan, northeastern Iran. It is a work of heroic scale and heroic character, consisting of between fifty and sixty thousand lines *(beyt)*, each containing two rhyming couplets *(mesra')* in the same meter: u - -/u - -/u - -/u -, known as the *bahr-e motaqareb*.

Ferdowsi was born around 935 CE and died around 1020 CE. He was thus writing approximately four centuries after the fall of the ancient Persian empire and the coming of Islam. The final version was completed in 1010, dedicated to the most powerful ruler of the time, Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna (modern Afghanistan, r. 999–1020). Ferdowsi conceived his work as a memorial to Iran's glorious past at a time when its memory was in danger of disappearing for good under the twin assaults of Arabic and Islamic culture and the political dominion of the Turks. His literary masterpiece has since been used by many subsequent regimes, both imperial and provincial, to assert their rightful place in the political traditions of the country, and to legitimize their dynasty. As a result, the text survives in countless manuscript copies, often lavishly illustrated in princely court ateliers. The earliest, however, was copied two hundred years after the poet's death, making it impossible to establish with certainty exactly what he wrote.

The *Shahnama* narrates the history of Iran (Persia) from the creation of the world and the first king, Kayumars, who established his rule at the dawn of time, to the conquest of Persia by the Muslim Arabs in the early seventh century CE. The poem follows the structure of a king-list, with altogether fifty reigns described in sequence, though at greatly differing length. Therefore it has the appearance, at least, of a chronicle and is often cited as such by later medieval Persian historians as a source of information about the pre-Islamic past. This formal structure also emphasizes the centrality and importance of the role of the king (Shah) in Persian political culture, a characteristic also noted by Herodotus. Many of its early figures are mentioned in the *Avesta*, especially the *Zamyad Yasht* (on the *khwarnah*, or Divine splendor), dealing with those who held and those who sought it.

Nevertheless, the *Shahnama* is more than a straightforward celebration of the monarchical and imperial tradition in Persian history. In the first place, much of its material is ahistorical. The reigns are grouped according to four major dynasties, the Pishdadians, Kayanians, Ashkanians, and Sasanians, an ancient division that became entrenched in Persian historiography. In parallel with these divisions, the poem is generally divided into mythical, legendary, and historical sections. The first includes the formation of human society, the discovery of fire, the domestication of animals, the struggle with the forces of evil (represented by *divs*, or devils), and the definition of Iranian territory. The distinction between the mythical passages and the following legendary sections is rather fluid; the collapse of time, the pervasive presence of the supernatural, of the fantastic, magic, dragons, and heroic endeavors give a strong continuity across these prehistorical chapters.

Secondly, a significant proportion of the narrative is taken up with a discrete cycle of stories concerning the local rulers of Sistan (southeast Iran), which is grafted onto the main structure of the poem. Olga Davidson has challenged the opinion that the "Sistan cycle" represents a separate textual tradition, suggesting that both these stories and those of the royal Kayanian line entered the National Epic together, as a conflation of a "book of kings" with an "epic of heroes," both drawn from oral sources. The chief subject of these stories is the heroic exploits of Rostam, son of Zal, who was the champion of successive Iranian monarchs. Indeed, Rostam is the Iranian epic hero *par excellence,* and his adventures encapsulate more than anything else the spirit and the popular appeal of the *Shahnama*. As discussed by Davidson and by Dick Davis, the role of the hero is intrinsic to the epic, and the bravery, reliability, and loyalty of the hero form a counterpoint to the behavior of the Shahs. Davis even regards the poem as a denunciation of kingship, as increasingly unjust rulers provoke even their loyal commanders to revolt against them. Throughout the poem, however, despite his frank depiction of the shortcomings of various Shahs, Ferdowsi's didactic intentions are clear from his comments on the consequences of poor judgment, tyranny, or rashness. The misfortunes of rulers are shown to be the result of their failings, and in contrast, success and prosperity come from wisdom and justice. Many later Persian historians claimed the same exemplary purpose in their works, but few showed Ferdowsi's integrity and rigor in denouncing the bad. Rather, as noted by Shahrokh Meskoob, flattery and praise of rulers became standard.

Sohrab looking again for the tent of Roustem. Ferdowsi, Shahnama (Book of Kings). Ms. 607–1144, fol. 11v. Moghul dynasty, sixteenth century CE. Credit: Bridgeman-Giraudon/Art Resource, NY. Musée Condé, Chantilly, France.

Rostam and the Shahs he served take part primarily in the endless cycles of wars with Turan (approximately Turkestan or modern Central Asia), Iran's traditional foe throughout the first sections of the poem. The episodes that have attracted most attention are the stories of Rostam and Sohrab and of Seyavosh, both ending in the tragic death of sons due to their domineering and intransigent fathers. Both of these, and the equally powerful confrontation between Rostam and Esfandiyar, son of the tyrannical Shah Goshtasp, are available in modern verse translations. These episodes reveal the strength of Ferdowsi's poetry and his stark exposure of the human condition. Caught up in their own preoccupations and trapped by their sense of honor, obedience, pride, and ambition, the protagonists are unable to extricate themselves from the net that circumstances have made for them. Despite the importance and, indeed, his convincing portrayal of human motivations, Ferdowsi always implicates blind, remorseless Fate for the actual outcome. When one's time is up, no human action can alter events. Shortly after killing Esfandiyar, Rostam too is killed, the price to be paid for accepting the help of the mythical Simorgh to overcome his foe. Rostam's death marks the end of an era, and with it the impetus goes out of the epic narrative of the Kayanians.

The historical section, that is, when known historical events can be identified, starts only with the story of Alexander the Great, also treated as legend. It is remarkable, for example, that there is no reference to the reigns of Cyrus the Great, Darius, or the Achaemenid dynasty that preceded the appearance of Philip of Macedon on the scene. The reasons for this silence lie in the sources available to the poet. Ferdowsi followed an eastern Iranian narrative tradition, which evidently knew nothing of the separate traditions of southwest Iran and the Tigris–Euphrates valley. It is only with the coming of the Parthians (Ashkanians, Arsacids), whose long history (247 BCE to 224 CE) is treated in barely twenty verses, and during which time memory of earlier events in the southwest must have been lost, followed by the Sasanian dynasty (224–651), that Fars becomes the focus of events.

Ferdowsi provides a long account of the Sasanians, based on written sources that were also used by early Islamic historians in Arabic translations from Pahlavi (Middle Persian). The main conflicts are now with Iran's western neighbor, the Byzantine empire. Some passages, particularly in the reign of Anushirvan (''the Just'') and the exchanges with his vizier, Bozorjmehr (''Great light''), are the vehicle for much moral and political wisdom. The stories of Bahram Gur and Bahram Chubina (Bahram V and VI) to some extent maintain the epic aspect of the *Shahnama*, with their heroic hunts, romantic adventures, dragon-slayings, and martial prowess. The final episode is the murder of the last Sasanian ruler, Yazdagird III (r. 632–652). Its ending echoes with the gloomy predictions of the Persian general, Rostam—killed at the battle of Qadisiyya by the Arab commander Sa 'd b. Waqqas—of the disasters about to befall Iran.

The *Shahnama* is ultimately a story of defeat, yet Ferdowsi has contrived to turn this disaster into a triumph for Persian civilization. It encapsulates and expresses, as no other work of Persian literature has been able to, the Iranians' view of themselves and their rightful place in the world.

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SHAJAR AL-DURR

Shajar al-Durr, a Turkish slave and concubine of the Ayyubid sultan of Egypt, al-Salih Ayyub (d. 1249), became his wife after bearing him a son. The son,

Khalil, soon died, but Shajar al-Durr retained the sobriquet Umm Khalil (Mother of Khalil) for the remainder of her life. Her name can be rendered in English as "Spray of Pearls."

Shortly before al-Salih Ayyub's death in 1249, during the Fifth Crusade's invasion of Egypt, he appointed his wife and two others to safeguard the transition to the sultanate of al-Mu'azzam Turanshah, his son by another woman. Shortly after his arrival in Egypt and assumption of rule, Turanshah was murdered by his father's Bahri mamluks (military slaves), whom he had alienated. This murder took place on May 2, 1250, and two days later, Shajar al-Durr was proclaimed sultana (the feminine form of sultan) of the Ayyubid dominions, although this was not recognized by the Syrian Ayyubid princes. Shajar al-Durr subsequently ruled Ayyubid Egypt in her own name for a period of three months. The legends on coins minted in her name bore the legend *malikat al-muslimin* ("Queen of the Muslims"). Her claim to royal authority was buttressed by her status as widow of al-Salih and as mother of his son. Shajar al-Durr's assumption of rule was a rare occurrence within the medieval Dar al-Islam. Although women had exercised positions of power, usually as wives of rulers or as regents (such as the Ayyubid Dayfa Khatun, regent for her grandson al-Nasir Yusuf—see later in this entry—during his minority in Aleppo), only Radiyya, the sultana of Dehli (r. 1236–1240), preceded Shajar al-Durr as an autonomous head of a state.

Her short reign came to an official close by the end of July 1250, when she abdicated in favor of a leader of her husband's Mamluks, the amir Aybak al-Turkumani. This move was likely taken in the face of increasing Syrian Ayyubid pressure, most notably from al-Nasir Yusuf, ruler of Damascus and Aleppo. Aybak himself abdicated shortly thereafter in favor of a young Ayyubid prince named al-Ashraf Musa. Both Shajar al-Durr and Aybak, who had married at some point after al-Ashraf Musa came to the throne, were the true powers behind the child. By 1254, Aybak deposed al-Ashraf Musa and assumed the sultanate in his own name. When Aybak took steps to strengthen his position by marrying a daughter of Badr al-Din Lu'lu, the ruler of Mosul, this exacerbated his already estranged marriage with Shajar al-Durr. She arranged Aybak's murder on April 10, 1257. In the power struggle that ensued, the forces loyal to al-Mansur 'Ali, Aybak's son by another wife, emerged victorious. Shajar al-Durr was arrested, and her corpse was subsequently found lying outside the Cairo citadel on April 28, 1257. Tales of her life and death were later embellished with myriad details not found in the earliest accounts.

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See also Ayyubid, Mamluks, Sultan

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SHAWKANI, AL-, MUHAMMAD IBN 'ALI

A Yemeni scholar, judge, and reformer, Muhammad Ibn 'Ali al-Shawkani was born in the village of Hijrat Shawkan in 1760 and died in Sanaa in 1834 CE. Shawkani saw himself as the heir of the Sunni- and hadith-oriented school that arose in Yemen with Muhammad ibn Ibrahim al-Wazir (d. 1436 CE) and came to full prominence with Shawkani himself in the late eighteenth century. Drawing heavily on the teachings of the Sunni Traditionists *(ahl al-hadith)*, Shawkani was a prolific author (more than two hundred words are attributed to him) in virtually every field of the Islamic sciences. The thrust of his reformist message was to inveigh against the evils of strict adherence to the teachings of the established schools of law (sing. *madhhab*)—a practice he labeled *taqlid*. Instead, Shawkani argued that Muslims had to reform themselves by reverting to an unmediated interpretation of the sources of revelation, namely the Qur'an and the Sunna (the latter being encapsulated in the canonical Sunni hadith collections). His interpretive approach stresses the practice of independent judgment *(ijtihad)* and focuses on the explicit meaning of the texts (strict constructionism). He rejected most forms of analogical reasoning, as well as the principle of juristic consensus *(ijma')*. This amounted to a radical revamping of the traditional system of law with the claim of obtaining greater certainty of God's will. Shawkani's most influential book is his multivolume *Nayl al-awtar fi sharh muntaqa al-akhbar (Attaining the Aims in Commenting on the Choicest Traditions)*. This consists of a legal manual based on the Prophet Muhammad's traditions *(hadith)* and is the principal source for Sayyid Sabiq's *Fiqh al-sunna*, perhaps the most widely used legal text among modern Sunnis. Other works by al-Shawkani that have attained prominence include his commentary on the Qur'an, entitled *al-Fath al-qadir (Victory of the Almighty)*; his work on the principles of jurisprudence,

entitled *Irshad al-fuhul (Guidance to the Luminaries)*; a legal work entitled *al-Sayl al-jarrar (The Raging Torrent)*; and a biographical dictionary entitled *al-Badr al-tali' (The Rising Moon)*. His works, especially on the Qur'an and on hadith-based law, are taught widely throughout the Islamic world today. For modern Muslim reformers, al-Shawkani is a towering figure, not only because of his clear and synthesized writing style but also because he was successful with his reformist project in Yemen. The dominant sect and school of law in eighteenth-century highland Yemen was Zaydism, one of the branches of Shi'ism. Al-Shawkani attacked the Zaydis in his writings, arguing that many of their theological and legal teachings had no basis in revelation and therefore had to be rejected. The aforementioned work, *The Raging Torrent*, is a point-by-point critique of the Zaydis' principal legal text, the *Kitab al-azhar (The Book of Flowers)* by the fifteenth-century imam al-Mahdi Ahmad ibn Yahya al-Murtada (d. 1436 CE). The Qasimi imams, who ruled Yemen from 1635 until the 1850s CE, had by the mid-eighteenth century established a dynastic state and began patronizing scholars like Shawkani. The Qasimis saw in Shawkani a jurist who would both legitimize their rule and lead a centralized judicial system. This is because Shawkani advocated a quietist political view that rejected the Zaydi teachings that rulers had to be exemplary men who satisfied rigorous qualifications for the position of imam and that unjust rulers had to be removed, by force if necessary. Shawkani was appointed to the position of chief judge of the state, a post he held from 1795 until his death in 1834 CE. As chief judge, he was able to push through his reformist agenda and teach several generations of like-minded scholars and jurists, many of whom were given posts in the state's bureaucracy. Shawkani's success was such that the Zaydis were never able to recover, intellectually or politically, from the onslaught waged against them by these Sunni-oriented reformers. The Zaydis claimed that Shawkani's efforts amounted to nothing more than the founding of a new school of law, with him as the ultimate authority, and that they preferred to follow their own imams, who as members of the Prophet's family *(ahl al-bayt)* were more worthy of emulation. The most forceful exponent of this position was Muhammad ibn Salih al-Samawi (d. 1825), who was executed by the Qasimi state for his criticism of the conjuncture of knowledge and power that was represented in the alliance between Shawkani and Qasimi imams. Shawkani's life and work are perhaps best appreciated if they are understood as forming a key link between premodern and modern Islamic reformist thought and action.

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SHI'I LAW

The juristic traditions of the three Shi'i groups (the Zaydis, the Imamis, and the Ismailis) are best treated separately; although their traditions did influence one another, the jurists of each tradition perceived themselves as quite different from their fellow Shi'is. In general terms, however, the Zaydis and the Imamis concentrated more of their intellectual effort on the elaboration of the Shari'a, and consequently, their legal structures were more sophisticated than those of the Ismailis. All Shi'is trace the beginnings of their juristic heritage to the sayings of 'Ali, the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet Muhammad. For Shi'is, 'Ali was not merely the rightful leader of the Muslims, he was also the supreme interpreter of Islam. His decrees hold the same authority as those of the Prophet. Indeed, except for a section of the Zaydis, Ali's decrees have a quasi-revelatory status, not being a book (like the Qur'an) but equal to the *sunna* of the Prophet.

Imami and Ismaili jurists have also reserved a pioneering role for Imam Ja'far al-Sadiq (d. AH 148/785 CE), a fifth-generation descendant of 'Ali and a widely respected scholar. Ja'far supposedly "founded" the Shi'i legal school, and his legal statements are taken by Imamis, Ismailis, and even some Zaydis as indicators of the Shari'a. For example, most of the legal positions in Qadi al-Nu'man's (d. 363/974) *Da'a'im al-Islam* concur with the reported positions of Imam Ja'far. This work, together with the same author's *Ikhtilaf usul al-madhahib* (a work of legal theory) represent the major Ismaili legal sources. For two reasons, there is little Ismaili legal scholarship after this date. First, the Ismaili Fatimid dynasty collapsed in 567/1171 and the Ismailis had already become less interested in the implementation of the law, and more interested in philosophical and mystical enquiry. Second, the Fatimid descendants led the Ismailis as present Imams, who could answer all legal questions due to their perfect legal knowledge. There was no need for jurisprudence because theoretically all legal issues could be answered by the Imam.

Imamis, on the other hand, believed their Imam to be in occultation since 329/941, and hence there was plenty of scope for scholars to study and develop legal arguments in defense of their own opinions. In

the tenth century, Muhammad al-Kulayni (d. 328 or 329/940 or 941) collected *al-Kafi*, the first significant compendium of Imami Shi'i hadith. This was supplemented soon after by Ibn Babuya's (d. 381/992) *Man la yahduruhu al-faqih* and then by al-Shaykh al-Tusi's (d. 460/1067) two works, *al-Istibsar* and *al-Tahdhib*. Together these became known as "the four books" and were used as the sources for the legal manuals *(fiqh)* written by subsequent Imami jurists. Ibn Babuyah himself wrote a legal manual (entitled *al-Muqni'*), and was followed in this by a succession of Imami scholars in the eleventh century. Around this time, there emerged Imami works of legal theory *(usul al-fiqh)*, the earliest extant being al-Sharif al-Murtada's (d. 436/1044) *al-Dhari'a*.

The centers of Imami learning were Baghdad and Qum. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the town of Hilla in southern Iraq also became an important center of Imami scholarship. Two jurists in particular further developed a distinctive Shi'i *usul al-fiqh*. In Shi'i *usul*, as in Sunni legal theory, there were four sources. The first was *al-Kitab* (*The Book,* that is, the Qur'an), though it was best understood when interpreted by the Imams. The second was *Sunna* (the example of the Prophet), though this included the example of the Imams, since they were the embodiment of the Prophet's will. The third was *ijma'* (consensus), though this was only valid if the Imam's opinion was included. The final source was *al-'aql* (reason), the natural human faculty that recognizes good and evil. The Imamis rejected the Sunni principle of *qiyas* (analogy), labeling it a "tool of Satan." Early Imamis also rejected *ijtihad*, the exegetical effort of the individual jurist to find an answer to a legal problem. There was no need to perform *ijtihad,* because there were sufficient statements of the Imams *(akhbar)* to guide the community. As time passed, Imami jurists realized that the *akhbar* were not really sufficient for developing the law, and so they introduced *al-'aql* as the fourth source of law and legitimized *ijtihad*. The jurists could not do without these tools in their search for the law. Imami law manuals (*mukhtasars* and more expansive works of *fiqh*) outlined the law in a manner very similar to that found in Sunni works. There are some significant differences though. The fact that Fatima, the Prophet's daughter, was the line through which the Prophet's descent was traced meant that the agnate and cognate relatives were considered equal in Imami inheritance law. The Imamis permitted a form of temporary marriage (*mut'a*, the "marriage of pleasure") disallowed by the Sunnis. There was to be no *jihad* during the occultation, as there was no Imam to lead it. The validity of Friday prayers, the collection of taxes, and the implementation of legal punishments were matters of dispute among Imamis well into the modern period. In the fourteenth century, al-Shahid al-Awwal ("the First Martyr," d. 786/1384) wrote his *al-Lum'a*, an extremely brief summary of Imami law. His advocacy of juristic authority and the right of scholars to interpret the revelatory texts was challenged by Imamis in the seventeenth century, but his approach continues to dominate Imami legal curricula today.

The Zaydis also developed a sophisticated tradition of legal literature. In particular, the Yemeni Zaydi state, formed by al-Hadi ila al-Haqq in the late ninth century, served as a center for Zaydi legal development. Al-Hadi was the grandson of the great Zaydi scholar al-Qasim b. Ibrahim (d. 246/860), and he developed his grandfather's teachings into a school of law, himself writing works of *fiqh*. The "Hadawi" school, as it became known, remains authoritative for Yemeni Zaydis today, and central to its teaching is the work of *fiqh Kitab al-Azhar* by Ibn al-Murtada (d. 840/1437). This latter work and its commentary serve as reference points for Yemeni law, even after the end of the Imamate in 1962. For Zaydis, any member of the *ahl al-bayt* who is a scholar can rise up and become Imam. The Imam is a legal authority because he has had political success. This is in contrast to the Ismaili and Imami views, for whom the Imam is a legal authority whether or not he holds political power.

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See also al-Allama al-Hilli; al-Tusi; Ja'far al-Sadiq; Muhammad b. al-Hasan; Qadi Nu'man; Shi'i Thought; Shi'ism

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SHI'I THOUGHT

It is commonly said that Twelver Shi'ism is based on five principles. The first three, called "principles of the religion," are fully shared with the Sunnis: to believe in the uniqueness of God; to believe in the mission of the prophets and, in particular, in the mission of Muhammad; and to believe in the existence of reward and punishment in the afterlife. The two remaining principles, the so-called principles of the school (that is, of Twelver Shi'ism), are to believe in Divine Justice and to believe in the principle of the imamate. This

list, however, comes not only from a later date (seventeenth or eighteenth century) but is also extremely reductive. A look at ancient texts and at the founding sources of Shi'ism shows that things are far more complex.

Scriptural Sources

Like the Sunnis, Shi'is recognize two scriptural sources: the Qur'an and the Hadith, but definitions differ greatly in both trends. In Sunnism, the Hadith is what is called "the prophetic tradition" (that is, the sayings, sentences, and, at times, behaviors attributed to Muhammad), conveyed through texts of varying lengths and transmitted via a chain of transmitters made up essentially by the Companions of the Prophet. These traditions are collected in a number of compilations, which the Sunnis concluded to be "authentic."

For Shi'is, the Hadith is not limited to the Prophet. It is made up of the sayings and attitudes attributed to the "Fourteen Impeccables," that is, Muhammad, his daughter Fatima, and the Twelve Imams. Thus the Shi'i Hadith is broader than the Sunni Hadith. Further, when it comes to transmitting the hadith, Shi'is heed no one but the Impeccables. They therefore reject the testimony of the Companions and the authenticity of the Sunni compilations. The hadith can be transmitted only by an Impeccable, particularly an Imam. Moreover, the Shi'is began to create their own compilations of hadith; the oldest to reach us were written between AH 250 and 350/864 and 961 CE. The corpus thus created is enormous, with thousands of pages and hundreds of thousands of traditions. Obviously, the hadith collections played a key role in the creation, consolidation, and development of the doctrines. Their authors are regarded as champions of the faith and are highly respected. It is, for the most part, thanks to them that Shi'ism was able to become one of the most powerful religious trends of Islam. It is worth noting that the majority of these ancient compilers came from the two great Iranian cities of Qumm and Rayy: al-Barqi, Saffar al-Qummi, 'Ali ibn Ibrahim al-Qummi, al-Kulayni al-Razi, al-Nu'mani, and Ibn Babawayh al-Razi.

As for the Qur'an, Sunnis recognize as official vulgate the Qur'an we know today, the one that Muslim tradition eventually introduced as having been written under the reign of the third caliph 'Uthman (r. 24–35/644–656).

For the Sunni "orthodoxy," this "'Uthman Collection" represents (chronology of the revelations aside) the faithful and complete reproduction of the divine Word "descended" upon Muhammad. For Shi'is, however, as shown through texts as sacred as the hadith of the Imams, the 'Uthmanian vulgate is but a falsified, altered, and censored version of the Revelation made to Muhammad. The original, complete version, which was three times bigger than the known vulgate, included explicit passages on the holiness of 'Ali's rank and the Imams who descended from him. Those who pushed him away from power, in this case the first three caliphs and their followers, could not tolerate this original version, which they rejected because they denied 'Ali to be the only legitimate successor of the Prophet. The "integral Qur'an" thus stayed with 'Ali and was secretly transmitted from Imam to Imam, up to the last one who took it with him in his Occultation. Therefore it will only be revealed to all, as will the original version of the other Holy Scriptures, with the coming of the Mahdi at the End of Times.

Following the definitive introduction of Islamic orthodoxy and orthopraxy by the end of the third/ninth century, and the fact that from rite to institutions, including basic dogma, the foundations of the religion were from then on justified by the 'Uthmanian vulgate, the belief in its falsification was becoming truly dangerous. Indeed, from the mid-fourth/eleventh century, Shi'is would start abandoning the falsification doctrine *(tahrif)* by questioning the authenticity of the traditions that supported it and by adopting a stance similar to that of the Sunnis with regard to the official Qur'an. Ibn Babawayh (d. 381/991) seemed to have been the first great author to have adopted this stance, which would become the prevailing one in Shi'ism. Yet there still were some important but isolated authors who supported the veracity of the hadith about the falsified nature of the vulgate, from Ibn Shahrashub and Tabrisi in the sixth/twelfth century, Majlisi and Sharif 'Amili in the eleventh to twelfth/seventeenth to eighteenth centuries, up to the great religious authority of modern times, Mirza Husayn Nuri (d. 1902).

Doctrinal Specificity of Shi'ism

What is the doctrinal specificity of Shi'ism, as it appears through the teachings going back to the Imams or through the citations of the "complete Qur'an," which is found in the enormous corpus of the hadith? What makes Shi'ism stand out within the many religious trends of Islam? Its characteristic lies in the notion of the person of the "guide" represented by the Imam. The person of the Imam is the true hub around which revolves the entire Shi'i doctrine. From

theology to ethics, from law to Qur'anic exegesis, and from cosmology to rites and eschatology, all the articles of faith are determined and given meaning only by the Imam. Shi'ism specifically developed around a double vision of the world. The person of the Imam, in its many meanings, is ubiquitous.

Dual Vision

Any reality, from the highest to the most trivial, has two levels: a manifest, exoteric level *(zahir)* and a secret, esoteric level *(batin),* which is hidden under the manifest level. This fundamental creed operates within the different religious disciplines. First, in theology: God Himself has two levels of being. First is the level of the Essence, forever elusive. This is the absolute Unknowable, the forever hidden face of God. If things were to remain on that level, no relation would ever be possible between the Creator and the created. So God, in his Goodness, hatched another level within His own Being: that of the Names and Attributes through which He reveals Himself. This is the exoteric level of God, of the Unknown that yearns to be known. The Divine Names act in creation through "vehicles," "divine Organs" that are as many places of God's manifestations, as many theophanies.

The theophany par excellence, the highest point of the revelation of the Names of God, is a metaphysical being that Shi'i literature (depending on authors and eras) has called Imam in heaven, 'Ali in heaven, Imam of Light, Cosmic Man, among others. It is the Imam (with a capital letter) in its full and universal ontological meaning. Knowing its reality is thus equivalent to knowing what can be known in God, since the true revealed God, that which manifests all that can be manifested in God, is the cosmic Imam. In turn, he too has a hidden dimension and a manifest level. His esoteric level is precisely his metaphysical, cosmic aspect. His exoteric, or apparent level, his point of manifestation, is the historical imams (with a lower case letter) from the different cycles of the Sacred History. Here we are getting into prophetology.

For Shi'is, each great prophet is accompanied in his mission by one or more Imams. They all make up the long chain of the Friends of God *(wali, pl. awliya')*, who carry and transmit the divine Covenant *(walaya)*, a key word in Shi'ism that refers among other things to the nature and function of the Imamate. They are the points of manifestation of the cosmic Imam, his revealed face. Knowledge of God thus begins with knowledge of the man of God or, more precisely, of the Man–God because theophanic man, the ultimate mystery of the Shi'i doctrine.

The Word of God, the Revelation, also has a double dimension. Its exoteric dimension, its letter *(tanzil),* is brought by the Prophet to the faithful. Its hidden, esoteric dimension, its spirit, or, more exactly, its spiritual hermeneutics *(ta'wil)*, is taught by each prophet's Imam to a minority of initiates. Those initiates of the Imam's teachings thus make up the "Shi'is" of each religion. The historical Shi'is, in Islam, are therefore presented as the last link of a long initiatory chain that goes back to Adam, first man and first prophet.

Dualistic Vision

Next to this dual vision of the world also lies a dualistic vision of History. The history of creation is that of a cosmic battle between the forces of knowledge and the forces of ignorance. Since the primeval battle between the cosmic Intelligence and the cosmic Ignorance described in the cosmogonic traditions, this war has been waged from age to age, opposing the imams and their initiates on one side to the "enemies of the imams" and their followers on the other. This universal fight will end only with the coming of the Mahdi at the End of Times and his definitive victory over the powers of Evil. Indeed, according to the Shi'i Hadith, because of the usurpation of power by the "imams of injustice," the birth of each religion is accompanied by the formation in each community of a "majority" that, while being subjected to the letter of this religion, refuses even to believe in a spirit hidden behind the letter. This majority, ruled by ignorant people, thus amputates the religion from its most profound element. The enemy is then not necessarily the pagan or the nonbeliever, but the pseudo-faithfuls who reject the esoteric of the religion, the People of the exoteric *(ahl al-zahir)* who reject the initiatory teachings of the Imam. Complex cyclical reasons mean that contemporary humanity is still ruled by the forces of ignorance and that the initiates are but a threatened minority. This explains the need for discretion, for "keeping the secret" *(taqiyya)*, canonical duty for the Shi'i initiate, to protect the mysteries of the teachings from those who are not worthy.

These two visions of the world determine the two constants of Shi'i thought: the permanent initiation, provided by the Imams of each era to their faithful, and the perpetual fight between the Imams and their initiates on one hand and the forces of ignorance on the other. The first constant shows the spirituality of humanity; the second characterizes its history. The role of the Imam proves to be fundamental everywhere.

These doctrines are ubiquitous in the ancient corpus of the hadith and the different doctrinal chapters. They are inevitably tinged with esotericism, initiatory and mystical teachings, and even magical themes. They characterize what could be called the "nonrational original esoteric tradition," the prevailing tradition in Shi'ism up to the fourth/tenth century, which marked a great turning point in the historical evolution of Twelver Shi'ism. This century was indeed a crossroads for Islam in general and for Shi'ism in particular, because of two great events. The first great event is that it became the "Shi'i century" of Islam. With the Buyids in Baghdad (then the center of the 'Abbasid empire), the Fatimids in Egypt and in North Africa, the Hamdanids in Iraq and Syria, and the Qarmatians in Arabia and in the South of Iran, the most important regions of the Islamic empire were under Shi'i rule. To keep the then largely Sunni public opinion on their side, Shi'is (particularly the Buyids, who kept the 'Abbasid caliphs in place) attempted to move closer to Sunni orthodoxy, expunging or at least redefining the Shi'i doctrines deemed "heretic" or "heterodox." The second great event is that the fourth/tenth century was the century of the "rationalization" of Islam. Greek and Alexandrine works translated in Arabic during the third/ninth century were now assimilated by Muslim intellectuals seduced mostly by the logic and dialectical reason of Aristotelian tradition. Theologians and lawmakers found in it the best "weapon" for their endless arguments. The Shi'is, left without an Imam since the Occultation of the twelfth and last imam in 329/941, and with their sacred texts having many doctrines now deemed "irrational," were in an embarrassing position. Consequently, Shi'i theologian–jurists of the Buyid era, such as Shaykh al-Mufid and his followers al-Radi, al-Murtada, and Shaykh al-Tusi (fourth to fifth/tenth to eleventh century), who were inspired by the Mu'tazili (see Mu'tazilites) thought and collaborated more or less closely with the power in place, slowly took their distance from the original esoteric tradition up to its marginalization and the creation of the "rational, theologico-judicial tradition." It is within this tradition that the theologian–jurist, the Doctor of the Law, would gradually fill the empty space left by the imam, acquiring the privileges that were until then exclusive to the imam or his named delegate (that is, to lead collective prayers, apply legal sanctions, collect some religious taxes, and also declare holy war). This increasing power of the theologian–jurist on the political, social, and economic levels was done through the elaboration of three basic doctrines: the criteriological science of the hadith (which allowed them to do away with the ideologically embarrassing traditions by accusing them of inauthenticity), the practice of *ijtihad* (personal interpretation of matters of faith by the jurist, a concept explicitly forbidden by the Imams but rehabilitated by the scholars from the school of al-Mufid), and the concept of "collaboration with authority" (*al-'amal ma'a l-sultan,* theological definitions and justifications that allowed political activity also forbidden by the imams). This rationalist trend would be further developed by the scholars from the School of Hilla in Iraq, before and after the Mongol invasion of the seventh and eighth/thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It would reach its peak with the Shi'i "clergy" set up in Iran during the Safavid era (tenth/sixteenth century) and the proclamation of imamate Shi'ism as state religion. The doctrine of the "charismatic power of the jurist" *(walayat al-faqih)*, the central thesis of Khomeynism and the Iranian Islamic revolution, can thus be considered as the issue of a millennial process going from the rationalization of the Buyid era to the ideologizing of the modern era.

The original esoteric tradition was marginalized but did not disappear. Many of its doctrinal elements can be found in Ismailism, as well as in other Shi'i esoteric trends or even in Sufism. In Twelver Shi'ism, it had isolated important representatives during the Middle Ages: Ibn Shahrashub, Ibn Tawus, Irbili, Rajab al-Bursi, the philosophers from the school of Bahrayn, and the jurists from the traditionalist School (Akhbariyya). The Safavid era also saw the emergence of several trends of thought that proclaimed themselves to be faithful to the ancient tradition: some great names from the philosophical School of Isfahan and Shiraz (Mir Fendereski, Mulla Sadra, Muhsin Fayd Kashanî), from the traditionalist theologians (al-Jaza'iri, al-Bahrani), and from the masters of the great mystical Shi'i brotherhoods, which are still alive and active (Ni'matullahiyya, Dhahabiyya, Khaksr, Shaykhiyya).

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See also Imam; Shi'ism

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SHI‘ISM

Shi‘ism is the oldest religious trend of Islam, given that what can be considered its early core goes back to the time when the problem of Prophet Muhammad’s succession arose. The main minority of Islam, it is considered by the Sunni majority—also called ‘‘orthodox’’—as the main ‘‘heterodoxy,’’ if not ‘‘heresy,’’ of the religion. Shi‘is, on the other hand, regard their doctrine as the ‘‘orthodoxy’’ par excellence.

The Arabic term *shî‘a* (party, members, faithfuls) got increasingly applied by antonomasia to what would have been the first of the religious-political parties of Islam, a party that was made up of those who claimed for ‘Alî b. Abî Tâlib, cousin and son-in-law of Muhammad, and for ‘Alî’s descendants, the exclusive right to guide the community, on the spiritual level, as well as on the secular level. Indeed, after the death of the Prophet in AH 11/632 CE, two conflicting views of the crucial question of his succession clashed. A majority of Muslims, claiming that Muhammad never clearly named anyone to succeed him, resorted to the ancestral tribal tradition of electing a chief by which a counsel, made up of a few Companions of Muhammad plus the influential members of the most powerful Meccan tribes, chooses a wise man of respectable age. The choice fell on Abû Bakr, old Companion and one of the Prophet’s fathers-in-law, who thus became the first caliph of the new community. His followers became the ancestors of those who would later be called Sunnis.

Opposite the Sunnis were the Alids, followers of ‘Alî *(Shî‘at ‘Alî)*, who claimed that Muhammad had clearly and often named him as his successor, both by alluding to it and explicitly. They believed it could not be otherwise: How could the Prophet have left the question of his succession unsolved? Is it conceivable that he would have been so indifferent to the direction of his community to the point of leaving it in a state of hazy confusion? It would be contrary even to the spirit of the Qur’an, in which the great prophets of the past had their successors elected among the closest of their kins, those with the most privileged blood ties and who were initiated to the mysteries of their religion. It is true that the Qur’an calls for consultation in some cases, but never when it comes to the succession of the prophets, which remains an election of divine order. For those who would later be called Shi‘is, ‘Alî was the chosen heir, named by Muhammad and supported by the Qur’an. In this case, his youth, which was a dissuasive handicap for the beholders of the ancestral tribal customs, was of no importance. ‘Alî is thus seen by the Shi‘is as their first *imam* (leader, commander, chief). Referring to the true leader of the community, even if he does not hold the power, the person of the imam would become the key concept of the Shi‘i religion, which never used the word ‘‘caliph’’ to refer to their Guide.

Shi‘ism is thus as old as the dispute about the succession of the Prophet. Still, it cannot be reduced to it. Alid legitimism can only be seen as the beginning of vast doctrinal developments during which the key concept of the imamate as ‘‘prophetic legacy’’ would find multiple, complex meanings and would lead to the creation of varied branches within Shi‘ism. These branches are characterized mostly by the line of historical imams, descendants of ‘Alî, whom they regard as legitimate. New schisms and divisions would appear almost every time an imam died, and more than one hundred Shi‘i sects and trends appeared during the first centuries of Islam. Three of them, still active today, can be thought of as the main spiritual families of Shi‘ism: Zaydiyya, Isma’iliyah, and Twelver Shi‘ism, which is by far the main branch.

Twelver Shi‘ism (with twelve imams) is first of all based on the doctrine of the holiness of the Fourteen Impeccables (*ma‘sûm*, as in ‘‘pure of sin,’’ ‘‘infallible’’): Muhammad, his daughter Fâtima, and the twelve imams. This group is where the Cosmic Imam manifests, as he himself manifests the Names and Attributes of God. The line of imams of the Twelver Shi‘is is as follows. (The presumed sites of their grave are mentioned only to present the main holy places of Shi‘ism.)

1. ‘Alî b. Abî Tâlib (d. 40/661; mausoleum in Najaf, Iraq)
2. Al-Hasan b. ‘Alî (d. 49/669; mausoleum in Medina, destroyed by the Wahhabites)
3. Al-Husayn b. ‘Alî (d. 61/680; emblematic martyr of Shi‘ism; killed and buried in Karbalâ, Iraq)

4. ‘Alî Zayn al-‘Âbidîn b. al-Husayn (c. 95/174; mausoleum in Medina, destroyed by the Wahhabites. Zayd, eponym of the Zaydiyya, was the son of the fourth imam)
5. Muhammad al-Bâqir (c. 115/732; mausoleum in Medina, destroyed by the Wahhabites)
6. Ja’far al-Sâdiq (d. 146/765; mausoleum in Medina, also destroyed. The fifth and sixth imams played a key role in the creation and development of Shi‘ism. Ja‘far is the father of Ismâ’il, eponym of the Isma’iliyya)
7. Mûsâ al-Kâzim (d. 183/799; mausoleum in Baghdad)
8. ‘Alî al-Ridâ (d. 203/818; mausoleum in Mashhad, Iran)
9. Muhammad al-Jawâd (d. 220/835; mausoleum in Baghdad)
10. ‘Alî al-Hâdî (d. 254/868; mausoleum in Sâmarrâ, Iraq)
11. Al-Hasan al-‘Askarî (d. 260/874; mausoleum in Sâmarrâ)
12. Muhammad al-Mahdî, the hidden imam and expected Savior of the End of Times. (According to the tradition, he occulted a first time after his father’s death in 260/874. During this ‘‘Minor Occultation,’’ which lasted until 329/941, he communicated with his faithfuls via four ‘‘representatives.’’ At this latter date, he declared in a letter that he would never again have a representative and that the time of the ‘‘Major Occultation’’ had begun. For the Twelvers, this Occultation is still going on and will last until the eschatological coming of the hidden imam, the living imam of our time.)

There are four great eras in the history of Shi‘ism, as follows:

1. The first era, from the first to fourth/seventh to tenth centuries, is that of the historical imams, who succeeded each other from father to son, and of their disciples—some of whom were the first Shi‘i thinkers. It ends with the beginning of the major Occultation. The end of this era is marked by the beginning of the systematic compilations of the hadîth in the main ‘‘hadîth schools’’ *(dâr al-hadîth)* of Qumm, Rayy (Iran), Kûfa, and Baghdad (Iraq), and especially by the compilers from the two Iranian cities.
2. A second era extends from 329/941 (end of the historical imams’ era) to the Mongol invasion in the mid-seventh/thirteenth century. The beginning of this era sees the continuation of the production of the great compilations and the development of the School of Baghdad, that of the rationalist jurist–theologians of the Buyid era: al Shaykh al-Mufîd and his disciples (Sharîf al-Radî and al-Murtadâ, al-Shaykh al-Tûsî). It is also the era of the great scholars of the sixth and seventh/twelfth and thirteenth centuries, such as Ibn Shahrâshûb, Fadl al-Tabrisî, and Ibn Tâwûs. It ends by the time of the great Iranian philosopher Nasîr al-Dîn al-Tûsî (672/1273) and his disciple, al-‘Allâma al-Hillî (726/1326), key figure of the theologico-judicial school of Hilla in Iraq.
3. The third era begins with Nasîr al-Dîn al-Tûsî, during the Safavid era, and the proclamation of Shi‘ism as state religion in Iran, and ends at the very beginning of the tenth/sixteenth century. The development of many schools of thought during this era heralded what would be called the Safavid Renaissance: the continuators of the school of Hilla, the philosophers from the School of Bahrayn, and also the great mystic thinkers, nourished by a Shi‘ism enriched with classic Sufism and the mysticism of Ibn ‘Arabî (Sa‘d al-Dîn Hamûnyî, Haydar Âmulî, Rajab al-Bursî, and Ibn Abî Jumhûr al-Ahsâ‘î).
4. The fourth and last era extends from the accession of the Safavids to today. This era saw the creation of a Shi‘i theocracy, gradually organized into a true ‘‘clergy,’’ initially set up by the Doctors of the Law invited from Syria or Bahrayn to legally justify Safavid power. Members of this clergy came from the ancient rationalist school of jurists *(mujtahid usûlî)*. They slowly gained great social, political, and economic powers through the gradual exercise of privileges traditionally reserved exclusively for the imams and their delegates namely designated (religious justice and enforcement of legal sanctions, leading of collective prayers, declaration of holy war, and collection of some religious taxes such as *kharâj* and *khums*). The 1978 victory of Khomeynism in Iran and the effective rise to power of the jurist–theologian is the direct consequence of this evolution.

In parallel, the Safavid Renaissance led to the emergence of powerful philosophy schools in the main Iranian cities (Isfahan, Shiraz, Sabzewar, Tehran) represented by eminent thinkers, such as Mîr Dâmâd (1041/1631) or Mullâ Sadrâ, and continuing until the thirteenth/nineteenth century. The traditional

philosophy still has a few notable representatives today: Hâ'irî Yazdî, Mutahharî, Abdol Karîm Sorûsh, and Mujtahid Shabistarî.

This is also the time of the compilation of the famous and enormous encyclopedia of Shi'i hadîth, *Bihâr al-anwâr*, by Majlisî the Second (d. 1111/1699) and of the emergence of the traditionalist judicial school of the Akhbâriyya in the twelth/eighteenth century. Lastly, mystic Shi'i societies began to develop in the eleventh/seventeenth century. First came the Ni'matullâhiyya and the Dhahabiyya, followed by the Khâksâr and the Shaykhiyya in the thirteenth/nineteenth century. Out of the schisms of the latter school came Babism, which in turn, after some division, led to the Baha'i faith. Despite the repression they endured during the first years of the Islamic revolution of 1978 in Iran, these societies still remain popular and active.

Today, Twelver Shi'is amount to about 120 or 150 million people, an uncertain number due to the unreliability of statistics in Sunni countries. Still, an estimate is not too difficult to assess: There are more than sixty million in Iran and almost as many, if not more, on the Indian subcontinent across India and Pakistan, who at times hide their doctrinal allegiance and are almost absent from official statistics. They also form a majority in Azerbaijan, Iraq, and Bahrayn. Communities of varied sizes can be found in almost all Sunni countries, especially in the Near and Middle East, Central Asia, and Afghanistan. Thus one can see that the number of 100 million touted by the media as being the total number of Shi'is, all faiths included, does not rest on solid ground. To obtain the total number of Shi'is, one would have to add to the Twelvers not only the Isma'iliyah and the Zaydiyya but also all other Shi'i groups that do not always reveal their names: Nusayris–Alaouites from Syria, Bektashis and Alevis from Turkey, and Kurdish Ahl-i Haqq. The correct number would seem to approximate 200 million.

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See also Imam; Shi'i Thought

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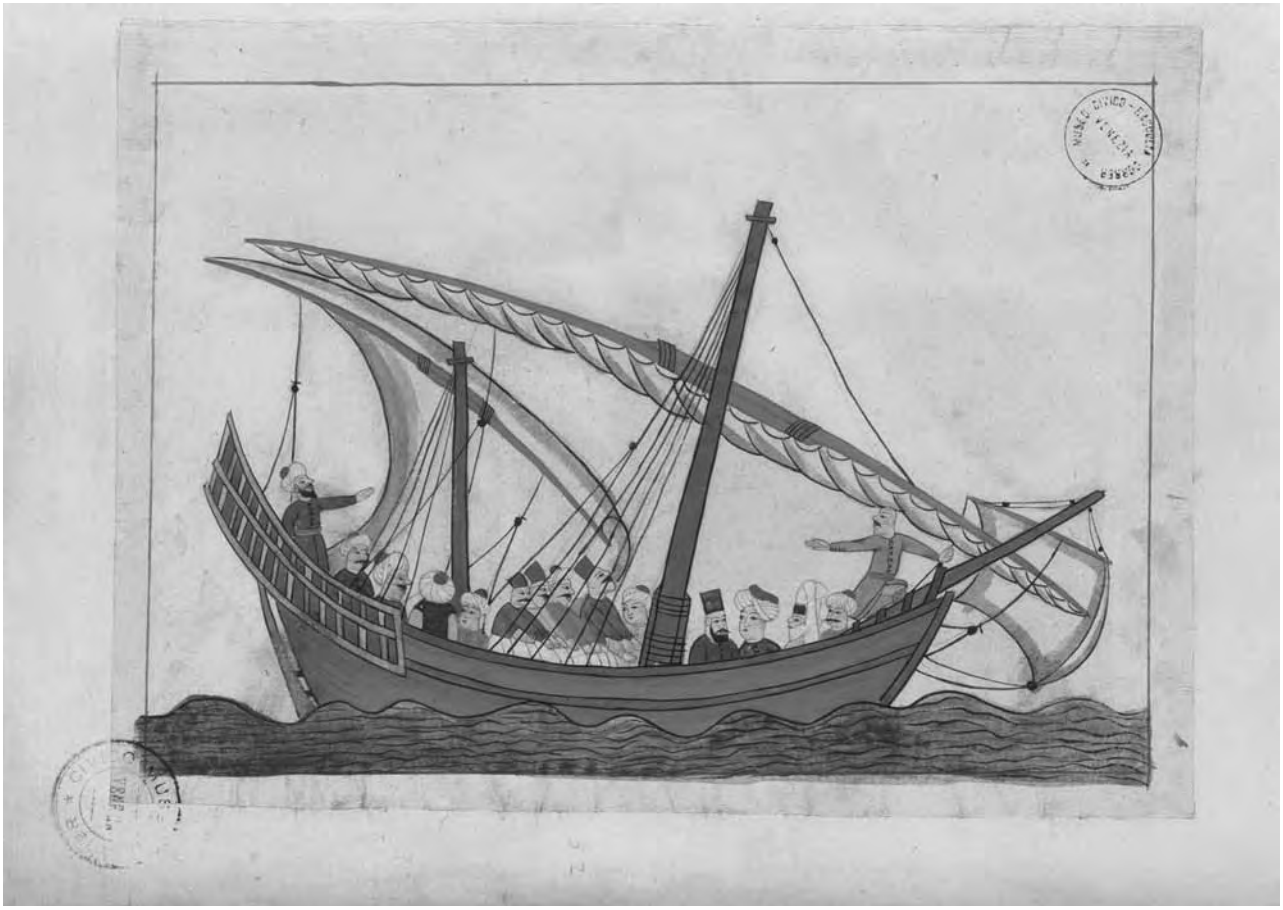
SHIPS AND SHIPBUILDING

The ship occupies a unique position in the Islamic tradition. The *Qur'an* counts it among the *ayat* (miracles) of God and devotes twenty-eight verses enumerating its benefits to mankind. The generic Arabic words for "ship" that appear invariably in the classical Arabic sources are *markab* (lit., a conveyance or riding vessel), *safina*, and *law* (lit., a board or plank of wood); *fulk* (Ark), which is another term to denote a ship, is Qur'anic. It may be surmised that some of the variations are more linguistic than physical and that professional sailors and experienced sea travelers could appreciate the actual sailing characteristics of each type of vessel. A typical seagoing merchant vessel had to carry on board many anchors, appropriate hawsers and ropes, canvas and/or cotton sails, masts, oars, rudders, and draw bridges (for greater ease in embarking and debarking), in addition to nautical instruments, pilot books, and charts. Oversized vessels had to have service boats on board for the transport of goods to the quayside. Identical rules applied to ship sales and purchase contracts. Both parties to the contract had to specify the vessel's tackle and navigational instruments in the bill of sale. When signing a contract to lease a specific vessel for the conveyance of cargo, shippers were most concerned with the seaworthiness of the ship, besides other considerations such as the freight tariff. Seaworthiness of a ship was associated with the equipment and amount and proficiency of the crew it was required to carry. The design, structure, condition, and equipment of the ship had to be suitable for carrying goods of a particular kind and bringing them safely to their destination. Meaning, it had to be technically able to encounter the ordinary perils of the voyage. Concerning the crew, bringing the carriage into completion required a lessor to recruit a competent master and professional complement to navigate the vessel under various circumstances; a ship that was powered by unskilled mariners could certainly be regarded as unseaworthy.

The office of Islamic *muhtasib* (market superintendent) supervised, among other duties, the construction of ships at the shipyard and carriage by sea. The *muhtasib* was helped by assistants called *'urafa' al-sina'a* (arsenals' inspectors), whose main task was to insure the shipwrights' observance of technical standards and prevent them from using inferior and



Anonymous. Turkish ship with passengers. Codex Cicogna. Credit: Cameraphoto Arte, Venice/Art Resource, NY.

inadequate raw materials. Exacting and thorough inspections were carried out to avoid human and financial losses. Whoever violated these regulations was punished. While the ship was still in the yard, a comprehensive technical inspection had to be carried out by the *muhtasib* (*see* Markets), the captain, and the ship's scribe. Islamic law entitled sailors and lessees to not honor a leasing contract if a technical defect was discovered in the ship. The working hours of carpenters, including shipwrights, began late in the morning and ended before evening. Thus the inspection of commercial ships took place between sunrise and sunset, but not in the evening and prior to the loading processes. The amount of cargo the ship could properly carry was determined by the *muhtasib*. When the cargo was stowed and placed appropriately and the ship was ready to depart, an official examination to prevent overloading was requested by the *muhtasib*, or his representative, and the captain. The *hisba* manuals plainly state that ''a ship can be freighted with cargo as long as the waterline (plimsoll) alongside the outer hull is visible.'' Islamic law requires that each ship be marked with a load line to indicate how deeply the ship could legally be submerged. The waterline mark along the outer hull could not lie more than a certain depth below the surface of the water. The provision against overloading was intended to prevent not only sinking but also the overexertion of the rowers.

Types, dimensions, and technical constructions of ships varied in accordance with their purposes and bodies of waters they plied. Nukhayli counts more than 150 nautical crafts, including river crafts, coasters, and oceangoing and seagoing vessels that differed in their structures. Recent underwater archaeological excavations off the Palestinian, Turkish, and French coasts have shed further light on the Islamic technology of shipbuilding from the seventh century CE onward. Material and written evidence show that the length-to-beam ratios of a typical size of commercial

vessel were usually 3:1 or 4:1, with a shallow keel and rounded hull; the wide beam relative to the length aimed to provide maximum storage for cargo. Shipwrights in the Islamic Mediterranean employed the skeletal-building method in all stages of the hull's construction. All the frames were in place before the wales and upper side planks were added. At some point after side planking began, the open area between the bottom and sides was covered with an odd configuration of strakes, at least three of which did not run the full length of the hull. When planking was completed, they were caulked with a mixture of pitch or tar. After all the floor timbers were in place, the keelson was bolted between the frames and through the keel at irregular intervals with two-centimeter-diameter forelock bolts. Then stringers were added to the floor of the hold, on which a removable transverse ceiling was placed. Next came the side ceiling, clamps, and deck beams. The major difference in the construction techniques and methods between the Islamic Mediterranean and the eastern part of the empire is in reference to planking. The ship's planks in the Red Sea and Indian Ocean were sewn together with ropes, while in the Mediterranean, iron nails were used. The lateen sail was a distinctive feature of the rig of Islamic ships in the Mediterranean.

The materials needed for shipbuilding were found within the Islamic domain. For instance, Egyptian shipwrights used different types of timber—lebek, acacia, fig, palm, and lotus, which were abundantly found in Egypt—in their arsenals. Later. and due to deforestation processes, cedar, pine, and other timbers were imported from Palestine, Lebanon, Asia Minor, and Europe. Furthermore, a closer look at the arsenals' locations prove that beyond strategic considerations, they were situated near forests and areas rich in mining.

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SIBAWAYHI

Abu Bishr 'Amr ibn 'Uthman ibn Qanbar, known as Sibawayhi, is the founder of Arabic grammatical science. Of Persian origin, he attached himself in the middle of the second/eighth century to a number of early authorities on the Arabic language in Basra, notably al-Khalil ibn Ahmad and Yunus ibn Habib. The dates of his birth and death are not known: He died perhaps in his early forties in around AH 180/796 CE, before Yunus (d. 182/798) but after al-Khalil, who died between 160 and 175/776 and 791.

His untitled treatise on Arabic grammar, known only as *Kitab Sibawayhi (Sibawayhi's Book),* or simply "the Book", is the first systematic description of the language, and retains its unsurpassed authority to this day. It probably owes its survival to one of Sibawayhi's few students, al-Akhfash al-Awsat (d. between 210 and 221/825 and 835), who had his own copy of the work, which would become the basis of all subsequent versions, with one possible exception.

The *Kitab* falls into four sections, a group of seven introductory chapters setting out the main theoretical assumptions, then a long treatment of syntax (Chapters 8–284, completing the first volume as it is conventionally divided), with morphology occupying the bulk of volume two (Chapters 285–564), and concluding with seven chapters on phonetics (Chapter 565–571). The borderline between the last two is not as precise as it might be in modern linguistics and, in fact, many earlier chapters deal with what would now be called morphophonology.

The arrangement of the material, proceeding from syntax to phonology, is itself a statement of position, namely that language must first be described in its surface realization, as connected speech, *kalam*, before it can be further decomposed into its constituents in successively smaller units. Speech is therefore analyzed pragmatically as a social activity (the word *nahw,* "way [of speaking]", used frequently in the *Kitab*, later became the name of the science of grammar, but is ultimately only a synonym of *Sunna,* or "the [Islamic] way of behaving"). Hence the criteria for correctness are ethical in origin: an utterance is acceptable when it is both well-formed (*hasan*, lit. "morally good") and successfully conveys the intended meaning (*mustaqim*, lit. "morally right"). Only three parts of speech are formally identified: noun *ism*, verb *fi'l,* and meaningful particle *harf ja'a li-ma'na*, and their syntactical relationship is referred to as "operation" *('amal)*, in binary units consisting (mostly) of an active element (*'amil,* "operator") that assigns case to a passive element (*ma'mul fihi,* "operated on"). Sibawayhi names more than seventy such speech operations, and the concept is entirely unconnected with the Western notion of "governing." His morphological chapters cover the range of word patterns so thoroughly that scarcely anything has had to be added since, and his treatment of the articulation of Arabic sounds remains an invaluable source for the pronunciation of early Arabic.

Although Sibawayhi's debt to his masters is clear on almost every page, his originality is beyond question; as the first of its kind the *Kitab* is literally unprecedented, and we depend on it for our knowledge of grammar before Sibawayhi. After his death it took a couple of generations for the importance of the work to be recognized, but then its descriptive contents were quickly adapted for the prescriptive grammars needed to sustain Arab culture in its Islamic manifestation.

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See also Grammar and Grammarians

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SIBT IBN AL-JAWZI, SHAMS AL-DIN ABU’L-MUZAFFAR YUSUF B. QIZUGHLI

Sibt was a celebrated preacher and voluminous historian. He was born in Baghdad in AH 581 or 582/1185 or 1186 CE. His Turkish father was a freedman of ‘Awn al-Din Ibn Hubayra, the long-serving vizier of the ‘Abbasid caliphs al-Muqtafi and al-Mustanjid. His mother was a daughter of the famous Iraqi preacher and writer Ibn al-Jawzi, for whom Sibt (grandson) was named Sibt Ibn al-Jawzi (grandson of Ibn al-Jawzi).

Sibt is predominantly associated with Ayyubid Damascus, where he moved from Baghdad in AH 600/1203 CE, although circumstances sometimes forced him to leave Damascus for lengthy periods. In AH 603/1206 CE, he moved to Aleppo, apparently drawn by the patronage that the Ayyubid ruler al-Malik al-Zahir extended to religious and literary scholars. Sibt remained in Aleppo for two years, breaking his stay in AH 604/1208 CE to make his first pilgrimage to Mecca via Mosul and Baghdad.

Two years after his return to Damascus, Sibt began his lengthy and significant association with al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam ‘Isa, then nominal ruler of the city for his father, al-Malik al-‘Adil. Sibt’s first meeting with al-Mu‘azzam took place in the wake of his celebrated *da‘wa li’l-jihad* (call to holy war), which he delivered in the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus on AH Rabi‘ II 5, 607/September 26, 1210 CE. Producing a quantity of horses’ hobbles made from human hair, he roused a number of the men present to cut their own hair, in a conventional gesture of ardent religious commitment. A military force was raised, with Sibt in the vanguard. After being met by al-Mu‘azzam outside Nabulus in Palestine, the Muslims went on to the coast, where they pillaged some Frankish villages. Sibt remained in al-Mu‘azzam’s retinue for the next four years, accompanying him to Egypt in AH 609/1212 CE.

Sibt was not uncritical of his patron. In AH 615/1218 CE, after al-Mu‘azzam had become ruler of Damascus, Central Syria, Transjordan, and Palestine on the death of al-‘Adil, Sibt had occasion to rebuke al-Mu‘azzam for his treatment of another scholar and friend of Sibt’s. Nevertheless, Sibt left the Hanbali *madhhab* (Islamic legal school) for the Hanafi *madhhab*, which was the *madhhab* that al-Mu‘azzam himself promoted. In AH 623/1226 CE, a year before his death, al-Mu‘azzam appointed Sibt *mudarris* (professor) in the (Hanafi) Madrasa Shibliyya al-Barraniyya in Damascus.

Al-Mu‘azzam was not the only Ayyubid ruler whose confidence Sibt gained. In AH 612/1215 CE,

he went to Akhlat in Armenia, at the request of al-Mu'azzam's brother al-Malik al-Ashraf, who deputized for their father east of the Euphrates River. Al-Ashraf wanted Sibt to look at a work written by the 'Abbasid caliph, al-Nasir. He then sent Sibt on a mission to al-Zahir in Aleppo. In AH 614–615/1217–1218 CE, he traveled extensively on behalf of al-Ashraf, who had tasked him with the supervision of the *khanqah*s (Sufi hospices) in his territory.

Sibt did not escape becoming embroiled in the disputes and rivalries that beset the Ayyubids after the death of Saladin. In AH 626/1229 CE, the new ruler of Damascus, al-Mu'azzam's son al-Malik al-Nasir Da'ud, asked Sibt to preach in the Umayyad Mosque against al-Malik al-Kamil, the ruler of Egypt, for treatising with the Holy Roman Emperor, Frederick II, and against al-Ashraf for acquiescing in al-Kamil's policy. Sibt delivered a stirring oration and issued a *fatwa* (religious ordinance) commanding the Damascenes to take up arms against the two Ayyubids. As a result, when al-Ashraf laid siege to Damascus and ousted al-Nasir from the city, Sibt followed al-Nasir to al-Karak, which the defeated prince had been given under the terms of surrender. He remained there until AH 633/1235 CE, when relations with al-Ashraf improved, and he was able to return to Damascus.

More trouble befell Sibt after the death of al-Ashraf in AH 635/1237 CE, and the accession to rule in Damascus of his immediate successor, al-Malik al-Salih Isma'il. The latter saw Sibt as belonging to the Egyptian camp, which was opposed to Damascus. For al-Salih Isma'il believed (erroneously) that, while in al-Karak, Sibt had persuaded al-Nasir to release from custody al-Kamil's son al-Malik al-Salih Ayyub. Al-Salih Isma'il was encouraged in this belief by his vizier, al-Samiri. Sibt left Damascus, apparently returning to al-Karak, where he remained for the next four years, with periods in Jerusalem and Nabulus.

In AH 639/1241 CE, he moved to Egypt, where he enjoyed good relations with the ruler al-Salih Ayyub, whom he had met in Jerusalem after al-Salih Ayyub's release from prison in al-Karak. Sibt returned to Damascus two years later, and resided in his adopted city until his death in AH 654/1256 CE.

While Sibt was soundly schooled in *hadith* (Prophetic Tradition), Qur'anic reading, and Arabic grammar, he was particularly esteemed as a *wa'iz* (preacher), and it is here that his career sheds revealing light on the intellectual procedures of the age, as well as on the man himself. A preacher would hold a *majlis al-wa'z* (preaching session) in the towns through which he passed, attracting and keeping audiences by means of a variety of skills: familiarity with the stories of ascetics and pietists; declamatory skill; ability to speak in *saj'* (rhymed prose); knowledge of *hadith*; knowledge of metonymy; repartee; and above all, a stirring voice. By all accounts, Sibt was well versed in each of these. The Damascenes would spend Friday night in the mosque, so that they might be assured of a place at the discourse, which Sibt used to deliver a session early on Saturday morning. His audiences would frequently be moved to tears by his words.

Sibt's most important written work is the *Mir'at al-zaman fi ta'rikh al-a'yan (The Mirror of Time in the Matter of the History of Notables)*. It is a lengthy, universal chronicle in eight parts. Where possible, the account of the events of each year concludes with the obituaries of people who died in that year. In this, Sibt followed the format of a chronicle written by his famous grandfather. The *Mir'at* is most valuable for its coverage of the events of the tenth and eleventh centuries, for which the sources include works that have been lost; and for the period of Sibt's own lifetime, where it offers an eyewitness view, especially of events in Ayyubid Syria, in which the author was often personally involved. The *Mir'at* was much drawn on as a source for subsequent histories.

The text of the *Mir'at* has survived in two ways: in manuscripts containing or based on parts of Sibt's own working draft; and in the manuscript of an abridgement of the work made by a Syrian historian of the next generation, al-Yunini. Printed editions have been published of that part of the *Mir'at* covering the years AH 448–480/1056–1087 CE, and of the period between AH 495/1101 CE and Sibt's death. Part of the latter has been translated into French.

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See also Ayyubids; Damascus; Historical Writing; Madrasa

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SICILY

The history of Muslim Sicily begins at the court of Ziyadatallah in 827, the autonomous Aghlabid ruler of Ifriqiyya. Faced with a restless and rebellion-prone army, opposition from Kharijite Berber tribes, a disenfranchised urban poor, and a hostile and critical ulema, Ziyadatallah found a solution to his problems, in the form of an external enemy. Using information from a renegade Sicilian Byzantine general (Euphemius) concerning Muslim soldiers being illegally held captive in Sicily, and galvanized by his chief judge, Asad Ibn al-Furat, eminent jurist and politically astute advisor, Ziyadatallah invaded Sicily with all the legal justification and military pageantry of jihad he could muster.

The Muslim era of Sicilian history, until the Norman Conquest was completed in 1091, was dominated by jihad. The first hundred years witnessed offensive jihad against the Byzantine forces supported by the emperors in Constantinople and the local Christian population. The latter years were marked by a defensive jihad as the Sicilian Muslims resisted the armies of the North. Jihad also had a major impact on the economy. The massive flow of booty, gold, silver, slaves, horses, and land made Muslim Sicily a powerful and wealthy state where trade and local industries, shipbuilding, arms manufacturing, textiles, and agriculture flourished. Politically, jihad was the dominant issue in acquiring, maintaining, or losing the power and legitimacy to rule.

The dynastic history of Muslim Sicily may be divided into the Aghlabid, Fatimid, and Kalbid periods. The Aghlabid period (827–909) is characterized by the long and difficult process of offensive jihad and close ties and dependence on the rulers of Ifriqiyya for manpower, arms, and logistic support. The invading army, under the command of Asad Ibn al-Furat, arrived in Mazara in 827 and captured Palermo in 831. The following decades were spent consolidating control over the central and southeast of the island where the Byzantines relocated their headquarters in Enna and Syracuse. The Northeast would not fall into Muslim control until after the fall of the Aghlabids. The Fatimid period of Sicily (909–944) saw no discernible change in the thrust, direction, and policies of the jihad movement. The new Shi'i rulers of Ifriqiyya expended vast resources on Sicily as a base to expand their naval and mercantile powers in the Mediterranean. They appointed trusted servants to rule the island, especially among the Kutama Berbers, and made efforts to spread the doctrines of their mission *(al-da'wa)* to a predominantly Maliki Sunni Sicilian populace. A violent four-year insurrection (937–941) launched by the Sicilian Muslims against their Fatimid governor, Salim Ibn Rashid, and his Ifriqiyyan-appointed backup, Khalil Ibn Ishaq, coincided with Fatimid efforts to conquer Egypt in their quest for the grand prize of Baghdad. Gradually, the island was granted greater autonomy in the appointment of al-Hasan ibn 'Alı al-Kalbı, whose father died during the uprisings in Agrigento in 938. When al-Hasan was recalled to al-Mahdiyya in 953, he left the duties of ruling Sicily to his son Ahmad, creating a dynastic process that would remain intact throughout the rest of the century.

The Kalbid period of Sicily (944–1044) enjoyed a period of political stability, economic expansion, cultural florescence (architecture, poetry, and scholarship), and military security. The Byzantines were held in check and the last Christian strongholds in the northeast of the island, not to mention fortress towns in Calabria and Apulia in southern Italy, fell under Muslim control. Kalbid success reached a high point in the rule of Abu al-Futuh Yusuf (989–998). But a stroke left him partially paralyzed in 998, and the rule of his son and successor, Ja'far, was challenged by Yusuf's second son, 'Ali, with the support of Kutama Berber factions and the slave corps. Ja'far crushed the revolt, executed 'Ali and the slaves, and expelled the Berbers from the island. As a precaution against further disturbances, Ja'far rebuilt his military forces conscripting only Sicilian troops. Ja'far's harsh policies, his illegal taxation on Muslim land and produce, and his mistreatment of members of his own family—princes themselves who were supported by entourages of wealthy and influential clients—eroded his base of support in Palermo. The Sicilians deposed him and would have executed him had it not been for the intercession of Yusuf.

A third son, Ahmad al-Akhal, pitted the Sicilians against each other, reopening festering wounds between the Arabs of Palermo and the Berbers of Agrigento on the one hand, and the old-guard "Sicilian" landed gentry against the more recent generations of "North African" immigrants on the other. This wrought devastating results, drawing energy and resources away from the jihad and tearing the threads of unity that held the Muslim Sicilians together. The political fragmentation of the island paved the way for the Norman invasion. Despite attempts by the Zirid Court in Ifriqiyya to rescue Muslim Sicily from the clutches of the Christian Reconquest, the enmity among the island's petty warlords was too strong. Abu al-Futuh Yusuf's fourth son, Hasan al-Samsan, was deposed in 1044, and in 1055, Ibn al-Thumna, warlord of Syracuse and Noto, offered the Normans a deal to deliver the island to them in exchange for their assistance in avenging his enemies. This final act of treason, reminiscent of the Byzantine renegade Euphemius two centuries earlier, who opened the way for the Muslim entry into Sicily,

paved the way for the Normans to take their turn as Sicily's new rulers.

The intellectual and cultural history of Islamic Sicily developed along the lines of those in Ifriqiyya and al-Qayrawan. Sicilian religious life was predominantly of the Sunni-Maliki sect, and its secular culture imitated the Arabo-Islamic mainstream, sharing features with both North African and Andalusian cultures. An "indigenous" Sicilian Islamic specificity came into its own and flourished at the Kalbid court in the middle of the tenth century. The academic journey *(al-rihla≈)* played a pivotal role in Sicilian Muslim scholarship and, along with commerce, war, and pilgrimage to Mecca, was instrumental in the import and export of knowledge and cultural influences to and from the island. The later Norman synthesis, the historical appellation for the great cultural eclecticism of the courts from Roger II to Frederick II in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, sprouted in good part from the seeds of Arabo-Islamic institutions that were sown in this period.

The education of Sicilian Muslims was based upon a tripartite of Arabic language, religion and ethics, and Islamic law. Sicily resembled Ifriqiyya in the composition and diversity of its religious and scholarly life. As military society evolved into a more civilian society, Sicily's institutions developed in new directions. It expanded beyond the fortress or fortified monastery to include private homes with extended mosque complexes for worship and education, pleasure palaces, and government complexes with adjoining shops and factories. Islamic legal studies, as elsewhere, evolved into a complex of subjects including methodological literature and speculative theology that assumed a degree of rationalist thinking. The study and practice of piety and asceticism gave way to a more sophisticated Sufism as a field of inquiry.

Language studies branched out into its many subsets, and poetry as entertainment became the subject of linguistic, historical, and aesthetic investigation. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, Arabic language and linguistic studies (Ibn al-Birr, Ibn Makki, Ibn al-Qattafi), as well as poetry and *belles-lettres,* competed with the traditional Qur'anic disciplines. This cultural florescence owes a great deal to the Fatimids who, through political acumen, tolerance, farsightedness, and patronage of learning, allowed the natural processes of Sicilian Islam to follow natural courses.

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SILK ROADS

Silk Roads was a popular name for the premodern system of trade routes by which goods, ideas, and people were exchanged between major regions of Eurasia, mainly between China, Central Asia, the Middle East, and Europe. The name can denote both land and sea routes, but this survey concentrates on the land routes (for sea routes, see Trade, Indian Ocean).

More specifically, the term *Silk Roads* denotes the roads leading from North China via the Gansu corridor westward. In the Gansu corridor the road is divided in two—the northern route, passing north of the Tianshan to Semirechye, and the southern route, leading from south of the Tianshan via the Tarim basin, again splitting into two routes passing north or south of the Taklamakan Desert. The northernmost route went either west to Khwarazm and Eastern Europe, or southwest via Transoxiana to Khurasan and Iran. Of the southern routes, one led via Farghana to Transoxiana and Iran, and the other through Balkh to India or Iran. From Iran the Silk Roads continued either to Iraq and the Middle East or to the Black Sea, Anatolia, and Western Europe.

Silk was a major good carried along these roads, due to its high value and small weight, but many other goods also traveled along the way. These included other kinds of cloth and clothing; precious metals and stones; furs, hides, and animals; porcelain; glass vessels; foods of various kinds; spices; exotica; and slaves. While the lucrative items often traveled the whole route, an important segment of the trade was in necessities, usually carried for shorter distances, often along north–south routes between nomads and sedentaries. This was made possible as the commerce was normally one of multiple resales, and up to the Mongol period individuals rarely traversed the whole route. A major part in the trade was therefore taken by people living not in its ends (China, Europe, the Middle East) but along the way, mainly in Central Asia. With the gradual political and religious expansion of Islam into Central Asia, Muslim merchants

became major actors in the Silk Roads trade, supplanting the Soghdians, Jews, and Uighurs who were active in the early centuries of Islam. The profit was lucrative enough to bring prosperity to the medieval cities of Central Asia and to cause numerous wars for control of the region.

Despite the importance of the Silk Roads exchange to the history of the civilizations bordering it and to world history in general, we know little about the actual commerce, as both literary and archaeological sources are scanty. Yet camels were the main vehicles of the merchant caravans, who traveled at a pace of 12–30 kilometers per day, staying the night in the caravanserais, which supplied lodging, food, and a place for negotiations. The building and maintenance of the routes and the caravanserais was often the work of individuals, but sympathetic governments who helped to secure the roads did much to enhance the trade. While barter was not unknown, most of the trade was monitarized, and credit letters and cheques were highly developed, at least from the tenth century. Most traders worked as individuals but enjoyed connections with their coreligions or coethnics along the roads. Some used different kinds of partnership to secure capital and minimize the risk to their investments.

Chronological Survey

The Silk Roads had been active long before Islam appeared in the Middle East. The rise of Islam coincided with one of the flourishing periods of the Silk Roads, initiated by the rise of the Turkic empire (sixth to eighth centuries), and accelerated with the consolidation in China of the Tang dynasty (618–906), known for its cosmopolitanism. Tang China, whose elite was enthusiastic for Iranian and Central Asian foodstuff, clothing, furniture, and entertainment, maintained close connections with the Sasanid empire. Indeed, the last Sasanid rulers tried to find refuge there when the Arabs conquered Iran in the mid-seventh century. In the seventh to mid-eighth centuries, Tang China also controlled important segments of the Silk Road, mainly the Tarim basin and Semirechye, and extended certain sovereignty even to Transoxiana, mainly on the expense of the Western Turks. Yet most of the commercial relations by the rise of Islam were conducted by the Soghdians, an Iranian people originating in Soghd (Transoxiana), who at least from the fourth century AD built trade diasporas along the roads: in Semirechye, the different oasis of the Tarim basin, in China proper, and even in North India.

Islamic expansion into the Silk Roads began with the campaigns of Qutayba b. Muslim, the Umayyad governor of Khurasan (705–715), who conquered Transoxiana and Farghana with their commercial centers. It is uncertain whether Qutayba tried (but failed) to reach Kashgar, one of Tang's westernmost strongholds and a major station on the Silk Roads, but apparently he initiated the sending of embassies to China, which continued throughout the Umayyad period. Though probably not initiated by the caliphs themselves, these embassies had both commercial and diplomatic functions. The mid-eighth century saw the one military clash between China and Islam. The battle of Talas (near modern-day Awlia-Ata, in Kazakhstan) in 751, a skirmish initiated by local interests of the governors of the newly established 'Abbasid empire and of Tang China, became in retrospect a turning point that determined the future orientation of Central Asia as part of the Muslim and not of the Chinese world. Whether paper arrived to Central Asia earlier with Buddhist missionaries, or only with the paper makers the Muslims took captives in Talas, certainly the battle was influential in initiating a paper industry in Samarqand. The diffusion of this Chinese technology contributed significantly to the expansion of culture and knowledge in the Muslim world and, since it rendered bookkeeping much easier, it also promoted all branches of trade and banking.

The establishment of the 'Abbasid dynasty (750–1258), whose center was in Iraq (as opposed to Umayyad Syria), combined with a growing demand for luxuries in Baghdad and Samarra, enhanced the importance of the eastern trade in the Muslim empire, though much of it was conducted by sea. The eighth and ninth centuries were also the time of the mysterious Rāhdāniya, Jewish merchants who allegedly traveled along the whole Silk Routes from Europe to China but specialized in connecting Europe and the Near East. Another profitable channel of this age was the commerce via Khwarazm with the Rus and Khazars in Eastern Europe, where Muslim silver *dirhams* were traded for northern furs, foods, and slaves. The demand for (mostly Turkic) slaves, who from the ninth century onward played an ever-growing role in Muslim armies, enhanced the land route traffic again. Its height was under the Samanids (888–999), who, from their capital in Bukhara, conducted trade networks that reached both China and Scandinavia. The Samanids closely controlled the extremely profitable slave markets, licensed slave traders, and levied dues on all sales. Muslim geographical works describe the fruitful commerce with Baghdad, the Turks north of the Jaxartes, and Eastern Europe via Khwarazm. Trade further East seemed to have been still conducted mainly by Soghdians or Uighurs (Turks who after 840 migrated from Mongolia to Gansu and the

Caravan crossing the Silk Road. Detail of the map of Asia, from the Catalan Atlas. Spain, Majorca. Fourteenth century CE. Photo: Dietmar Katz. Credit: Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz/Art Resource, NY. Kunstbibliothek, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin, Germany.

Tarim basin), though there is evidence of several embassies from the fringes of China that reached the Samanid court. Samanid military, economic, and cultural prestige, combined with their missionary efforts, also resulted in the expansion of Islam eastward into the Silk Roads, and in the mass conversion of whole Turkic tribes, later known as the Qarakhanids and the Seljuks.

The fall of the Samanids, and the division of their territory between the Qarakhanids and Ghaznavids, is usually considered the beginning of a decline in the Silk Roads trade, which continued until the rise of the Mongols. Yet cross-cultural contacts continued during this period, and with quite a significant scope, though the political fragmentation and the nature of the sources make it harder to follow them closely. The Qarakhanids (ca. 992–1213), who now ruled over significant parts of the trade routes (from Transoxiana to the Tarim Basin), maintained commercial and diplomatic relations with the contemporary Sinitic states, which rose after the fall of the Tang, especially with the Northern Song dynasty (960–1127), to which they sent a first commercial mission already in 1008, and with the Khitan Liao dynasty (907–1125), with whom in the early eleventh century they even concluded matrimonial relations (unlike the Ghaznavids, who refused a similar offer of the Liao). Khotan, a city on the southern Silk Road in the Qarakhanid realm, also took an important part in the trade with the Tangut Xi Xia dynasty (1038–1227), who took over the Gansu corridor. It was in this period that Muslim merchants replaced the Soghdians as the dominant Silk Road traders. Under the rule of the non-Muslim Qara Khitai (1124–1218), fugitives from the Liao dynasty who took over Central Asia and became the Qarakhanids' and Uighurs' overlords, the commercial relations with the Xi Xia improved, and certain connections existed also with the more eastern states in China, among which at least the Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279) also had maritime connection with the Middle East. Central Asian Muslim traders also had contacts with Genghis Khan's forefathers in

Mongolia, and many gained considerable wealth from the long-range trade.

The rise of the Mongol empire in the early thirteenth century begins the most flourishing and best-documented period in the history of the Silk Roads. The Mongols united the whole Silk Roads under their rule and protected them, but their contribution to its prosperity went much further. As shown by Thomas Allsen, the process of state formation among the nomads in itself stimulates trade through an increased demand for luxuries, especially fine cloth, needed to assert the new empire's authority. Genghis Khan was certainly aware of the benefits of commerce (which initiated his invasion into the Muslim world), and Muslim merchants were among his earliest supporters. Moreover, after the early conquests, Mongol elites, the main benefactors of the conquests' booty, became extremely wealthy. They provided both enthusiastic consumers for the best products of the sedentary world and major investors, who recycled their wealth by entrusting it as capital in the hands of their mostly Muslim commercial agents *(ortogh)*. The establishment of a Mongol capital, Qara Qorum, also promoted trade as the resources of Mongolia could hardly support such a big city (in Mongolian terms). It also led to the growing importance of the northern route of the Silk Roads, now shifted to include Qara Qorum. Even after the dissolution of the empire into four khanates in 1260, Mongol governments continued to promote both local and international trade, which provided taxes, markets, profits, and prestige. The khanates competed for commerce specialists, provided infrastructure for transcontinental travel, sometimes even by building new cities, and were actively involved in the manipulation of bullion flow. Yet traders were only part of the lively traffic along the Silk Roads in Mongol times. The formation of the empire, its continued expansion, and the establishment of its administration required a huge mobilization of soldiers and specialists throughout the empire. Mongol policy of ruling through strangers (for example, bringing Muslims to China and Chinese to Iran), originating in Mongol numerical inferiority and in their fear of potential local resistance, also promoted mobilization and cross-cultural exchanges. To secure the loyalty of these foreign strata, the Mongols aspired to give them "a taste of home," and therefore brought foreign food, medicine, and entertainment into different parts of their empire. Moreover, the Genghisids regarded human talent as a form of booty, and the different khanates competed for specialists and exchanged them to enhance their kingly reputations. The wide-range mobilization and the expanding trade led to frequent and continuous movement of people, goods, ideas, plants, and viruses throughout Eurasia. This in turn not only encouraged integration but also created means that facilitated further contacts, such as maps, multilingual dictionaries, and travel literature, and helped the diffusion of information and technologies, such as gunpowder and alcohol distilling. In the Muslim world the fruitful exchange of commodities, scientific knowledge, and artistic techniques, mainly between Iran and China, was widely felt. Mongol policies led to a considerable infiltration of Muslims into China, creating a firm basis for the modern Chinese Muslim community. Moreover, the Islamization of the Mongols in Iran, South Russia, and Central Asia brought about a massive expansion of Islam and made it by far the dominant religion along the Silk Roads.

With the collapse of the Mongol khanates from the mid-fourteenth century, the Silk Roads never regained their former importance. Indeed, they strived again under Tamerlane (r. 1370–1405), who from his base in Transoxiana tried to revive the Mongol empire and made concerted efforts to shift the trade routes into his realm (mainly on the expense of the more northern routes passing through the Golden Horde). Spanish, Ottoman, Mamluk, and Chinese ambassadors reached Timur's Samarqand, and the gunpowder technology was brought back to the East from Europe and the Ottomans. Yet the new political boundaries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, combined with the opening of a direct sea route to India and China by Western Europeans, the rise of Europe in general, and the waning of the nomads' power, initiated the decline of the Silk Roads. The land routes between China and the Middle East were marginalized, though new channels, mainly on the north-south axis connecting India, Central Asia, and Russia, as well as a fruitful regional trade, retained certain importance until the eighteenth century.

The Silk Roads were a major channel through which the medieval Muslim world enriched itself by purchasing Eurasian—but mostly East Asian—goods, knowledge, and technologies, most important among which were paper and gunpowder. They were also a major path for the expansion of Islam, which became the dominant religion along the Silk Roads.

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See also Bukhara; Camels; Cartography; Central Asia; China; Genghis Khan; Merchants, Christian; Merchants, Jewish; Merchants, Muslim; Mongols; Nomadism and Pastoralism; Road Networks; Samarqand; Slaves and Slave Trades, Eastern Islamic World; Spices; Tamerlane; Trade, African; Trade, Indian Ocean; Trade, Mediterranean; Transport; Transoxiana; Travel; Turkestan; Turks

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SINAN (1490–1588)

Sinan was the chief architect of the Ottoman court from 1538 until his death in 1588. He is known to have designed more than 450 buildings throughout the Ottoman empire, although the majority of buildings cluster around the imperial Ottoman capital of Constantinople (Istanbul).

Although other Ottoman architects are known by name, the number and quality of buildings attributed to Sinan make him preeminent not only among Ottoman architects but also a major figure in the history of world architecture. Sinan's significance as an architect was greatly enhanced by the fact that for most of his career he worked for the most famous Ottoman sultan, Sulayman the Magnificent (r. 1520–1566), whose career saw the expansion of the Ottoman empire throughout the Middle East and North Africa, and saw the Eastern Mediterranean becoming effectively a Turkish lake.

In view of Sinan's undoubted significance for the Turkish and Muslim culture, it is ironic that he was born in Salonika and brought up as a Greek Christian until the age of twenty-one, when he was recruited into the Janissary core. Nevertheless, it is clear that he embraced Islam wholeheartedly once he had entered Ottoman service. During these early years of service Sinan worked as a military engineer building and repairing bridges, forts, aqueducts, and cisterns. During the winter and when he was not on military campaigns, Sinan was involved in the construction of mosques, madrasas, and other religious buildings in the Ottoman capital. From the early 1530s, it is clear that Sinan had become an architect, and from 1538, the main architect of the Ottoman court. The list of buildings attributed to Sinan comes principally from three sixteenth-century works; *Tadhkirat al-bunyan* and *Tadhkirat al-abniya* by Mustafa Sa'i, and an anonymous work, *Tuhfat al-mi'marin,* that may have been written by Sinan himself. It is likely that for some of the buildings in this list, Sinan supplied no more than drawings and written instructions and that he did not oversee the work himself. It is unlikely that he was directly involved in the construction of Sulayman's pilgrimage complex (1554–1555) in Damascus and the Melek Ahmad Pasha in Diyarbakir.

Sinan's first major work was the construction of a mosque and *turbe* (mausoleum) commemorating Sulayman's son Mehmed, who died in 1543. The most remarkable part of the complex was the mosque, which, though employing traditional Ottoman forms based on a square domed box and derived ultimately from Orthodox churches, was revolutionary in its construction. The most notable feature of the Shehzade mosque was that it was flanked by four

Sinan the Great (1489–1588). Exterior. 1550–1577. Credit: Vanni/Art Resource, NY: Suleymaniye Camii (Mosque), Istanbul, Turkey.

semidomes instead of the usual two seen in mosques, such as the Bayazid II mosque (1501–1505), also in Constantinople. The Shehzade Cami was not the first mosque to use four semidomes, as this formula had been used previously by the Fatih Pasha Mosque (1516–1520) in Diyarbakir. However, the Shehzade was a different order of scale and sophistication. In the first place, Sinan pierced the supporting walls with successive tiers of arched windows, compensating for this with thick internal and external buttresses. This created a large, light, interior space that marked a departure from the mysterious dark interiors of many earlier Ottoman mosques. The change in architecture was also apparent on the exterior where the roof has a pyrimidical appearance with a high central dome flanked by semidomes, which in their turn are supported by smaller semidomes, each one tier lower. The massing of the domes is complemented by the four corner towers or minarets, which enhance the upward thrust of the building and detract from the heaviness of the roof system. Other early works by Sinan were the Mirimah Sultan Mosque at Uskudar (1540–48) and another mosque dedicated to Mirimah Sultan at Edirnekapi, also built during the 1540s. All three mosques share the same basic design principle of a central dome descending in curved surfaces (domes and semidomes) to near ground level, presenting a hierarchical order. Also, all three mosques have multiple fenestration set between tall relieving arches that admit plentiful light to the interior and on the exterior reduce the heavy appearance of the roofing system.

These three early mosques (the Shehzade, Edirnekapi, and Uskudar Mirimah Sultan mosques) may be seen as a preparation for Sinan's most famous building, the Suleymaniye, which was built between 1550 and 1567. The vast complex, built on a high hill overlooking the harbor, comprised more than fourteen different buildings arranged around the mosque, which still dominates the skyline of Istanbul. Sinan's first problem was to produce a design that overcame the sloping nature of the site without compromising the unity and order required in a complex of this size. The fact that Sinan was able to accomplish this is a testament not only to his architectural abilities but also to his skills as a civil engineer acquired during his earlier military career. The mosque that forms the

centerpiece of the complex was built to rival the former cathedral of Hagia Sophia, which had served as the architectural nucleus of Constantinople/Istanbul for more than a thousand years. Sinan's mosque adopted the same principle of a large central dome flanked on two sides by a series of smaller (and lower domes), though semidomes are used on the north and south (qibla) axis. Although the span of the central dome is slightly less than on the Hagia Sophia (twenty-six meters instead of thirty-two meters), the internal area appears larger because of the size of the flanking domes, which produce a vast covered area only interrupted by the corner piers supporting the main dome.

While the Suleymaniye is probably Sinan's most famous building, his masterpiece is probably the Selimiye in Edirne, built between 1564 and 1575. Like the Shehzade and the Suleymaniye mosques, the design of the Selimiye was characterized by the desire to achieve the maximum interior space. With the Selimiye, Sinan adopted a novel approach to increasing the internal space by supporting the vast central dome (thirty-six meters) on an octagonal system of eight piers. Sinan had already experimented with hexagonal plans in buildings such as the Sinan Pasha mosque in Besiktash (1555), the Semiz Ali Pasha mosque at Basaeski (1561–1565), and the Sokollu Mehmet Pasha Mosque (1570–1571) at Kadirga in Istanbul. The main advantage of the octagonal plan was that it was possible to build a larger dome spreading the downward thrust on eight piers instead of four. The other advantage of this system was that the weight resting on the curtain walls could be reduced, allowing an even larger number of windows creating a vast area lit by natural light. One of the problems of this design was that it reduced the emphasis on the qibla axis. Sinan compensated for this by setting the mihrab within a deep recess. The exterior of the mosque is equally impressive, with its four slender minarets, which attain a height never surpassed in Ottoman architecture. Also notable is the polychrome stonework of the exterior (in particular, the projecting mihrab recess), which provides a change from the somber stonework of the Sulemaniye.

The Selimiye was Sinan's last major work, although he continued to build a number of mosques that are evidence of his continuing architectural creativity. Examples of Sinan's later mosques include the Sokullu Mehmet Pasha Mosque at Azakapi (1578) and the Mesih Mehmet Pasha (ca. 1580), both of which use the octagonal base first used in the Selimiye.

Although from the 1540s, Sinan's name is mostly associated with mosques, he is also known to have designed secular and functional buildings such as the aqueduct at Maghlova that, with its two-tier design and diamond-shaped piers, displays unusual elegance.

Sinan is buried in a small plot decorated with a small, domed monument near the Suleymaniye mosque in Istanbul.

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SINDH

The word *Sindh* comes from the Sanskrit *sindhu*, with the meaning of "river, ocean." In the Middle Ages, Sindh was the southern part of the valley of the Indus River, which included the present-day province of Sindh, as well as the southern part of Punjab. Sindh was the first Indian territory to be conquered by a Muslim army led by Muhammad bin Qasim in 710–711.

When Muhammad bin Qasim invaded Sindh, he defeated Raja Dahir, son of the Hindu usurper Chach. According to architectural remains and Chinese pilgrims, southern Sindh was dominated by the Buddhists, while the north was under the control of the Shivaite school of the Pashupatas. The history of medieval Sindh is usually divided according to the different dynasties who ruled it. Up to the eleventh century, Sindh was ruled by governors sent by the 'Abbasids from Baghdad, and after 372/983, by Fatimid governors from Cairo who settled in the city of Multan.

In 1010, a Somra leader, apparently from the Rajput stock, put an end to the Arab rule. The Somra dynasty, which may have converted to Isma'ilism, was succeeded in 1352 by the Sammas, another Rajput clan. The resistance of both the Somras and the Sammas opposed to the sultans of Dihli, for instance, 'Ala' al-Din Khalji in 697/1297, was to be the core of Sindhi literature. The sultan Muhammad Shah Tughluq, while in pursuit of a rebel governor, arrived in Sindh in 1351, where he died. He was buried in the *darbar* of La'l Shahbaz Qalandar. His cousin and successor Firuz Shah Tughluq (d. 1388) invaded Thatta twice, in 1365 and 1367. In the fifteenth century, after Tamerlane's (*see* Tamerlane [Timur]) invasion of the Indian subcontinent, Sindh was ruled by Central Asian dynasties, the Arghuns and the Tarkhans. The sixteenth century saw many disturbances in Sindh. First is the sack of the wealthy

city of Thatta by the Portuguese in 1555. Secondly, the Mughul emperor Akbar (1556–1605) sent his army to secure his control on Sindh, which was achieved in 1593. It is only in the seventeenth century that a new Sindhi dynasty seized power, the Kalhoras, replaced in 1783 by a Baluch dynasty, the Talpurs, which was to be defeated by the British in 1843.

There is no evidence the population of Sindh converted to Islam before the thirteenth century, when the Sufi *tariqa*s became well organized and efficient. More relevant is the question as to whether the people really converted to Islam when one knows that many Hindus were still affiliated to Muslim *pir* at the time of the British colonization. The main cleavage was more between Sharif (from external origin) and Desi (indigenous), than between Muslims and Hindus. The study of La'l Shahbaz Qalandar's pilgrimage, a thirteenth-century Sufi saint, in Sehwan Sharif, gives evidence that a consensus based on the *qalandar*'s charisma was reached among the different communities of Sindh, including the Hindus and the Muslims, as well as the Animists, and also the Sayyids and non-Sayyids. The Sufis, following the Ismailis, can be named as the great integrators who gave birth to Sindhi culture.

Persian was the language used by the chroniclers in Sindh. Vernacular literature appeared through the devotional poetry of Qazi Qazan (d. 1551). Even if the Ismailis claimed their own *pir* have composed their canticles *(ginan)* in the fourteenth century, Sindhi literature really began to flourish with Shah 'Abd al Karim (d. 1624), and his great-grandson Shah 'Abd al Latif (d. 1753). In his compiled work *Shah jo Risalo*, 'Abd al Latif uses Sindhi folk narratives for symbolizing the mystical quest. For him, there is no difference between the Hindu yogis and the Sufis, who are both seekers on the path of God. Makla, located in the neighborhood of Thatta, can be seen as a conservatory of the cross-cultural legacy of medieval Sindh. The mausoleums built by the different dynasties give a last evidence of the location of Sindh at a crossroads among Persia, Central Asia, and India.

MICHEL BOIVIN

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SINGING

The voice has always been central in Middle Eastern music. Very little is known about preIslamic singing or the songs of the common people, but early medieval Arabic texts describe the contemporary elite (court) tradition of vocal music in detail. Legal texts on the permissibility of singing and music and on the regulation of markets provide glimpses of the musical practices of the common people. (In Islamic tradition, recitation of the Qur'an and the call to prayer fall outside the category of "singing.")

The origins of the court tradition of music-making go back to pre-Islamic Bedouin songs (such as camel-drivers' chants) and other types of folk singing on the one hand, and to a lighter, more refined urban style performed by slavegirls on the other. In the Umayyad period, singers from the Hijaz assimilated elements of Sasanian, Byzantine, and possibly other traditions felt to be compatible with the Arabic musical idiom and the Arabic poetry, which furnished the lyrics. Singing became an art practiced by men and women, generally slaves or of humble origin, and appreciated by members of the ruling elite, including some caliphs. Vocal technique became more sophisticated, and singers took to accompanying themselves on the lute. Light-hearted love poems like those of 'Umar ibn Abi Rabi'a (ca. AH 23–93/644–712 CE) provided ideal lyrics for songs, and singers and poets often associated closely with each other.

With the music-loving caliph al-Mahdi's (158–169/775–785) invitation to singers to perform in Baghdad, vocal music acquired an established place at court. The singer, or *mughanni* (a term that also includes composition and accompanying oneself on an instrument), was expected to have an all-around culture and, in particular, to be well versed in the Arabic language and poetry, as well as being an agreeable and entertaining companion. He should possess a

fine, trained voice, have a good grounding in the theory of rhythmic and melodic modes, and be thoroughly familiar with the repertoire of songs. One key to success was the capacity to improvise; the modes of a setting were given, but skill in improvising on them and inducing a feeling of ecstasy *(tarab)* among the audience was an individual gift. The training of singers was very demanding, as can be seen from Ishaq ibn Ibrahim al-Mawsili's (150–235/767–850) account of his education. Some members of the governing elite were noted amateur singers and composers, as were a few rulers; the first such royal music-maker was the Umayyad caliph al-Walid ibn Yazid (d. 126/744 CE), the last the Ottoman sultan Selim III (d. 1808 CE).

Whereas most leading singers in the 'Abbasid period were men, a few women were also famous composers. Most women singers, however, belonged to the category of singing-girls *(qaynas)*, who simply performed other people's songs. The best women musicians were acquired by the caliph, governors, or eminent dignitaries and lived a secluded life at court; less gifted ones entertained music lovers of humbler status. The owners of *qaynas* often derived profit not only from the girls' musical skills but also from their physical charms, and the dividing line between singing-girl and prostitute was not always clear. Women singers played an important role in preserving and handing down the repertoire.

Songs were performed in contexts from the highly ritualized to the informal. Singers might be summoned to the caliph's formal audience and asked to perform in turn; often a prize would be offered for the song that most appealed to the caliph. Or a singer would be expected to attend court on one particular day each week. The most informal gatherings, by contrast, were those of singers entertaining themselves and their friends. While many songs celebrated love, poems of praise and congratulation, elegies, wine poems, descriptions of nature, and even the occasional satires were also set to music. Regardless of theme, however, the lyrics never exceeded more than a handful of lines.

From the 'Abbasid period on, singing was a part of court culture, with rulers and their ministers patronizing singers and writers of music. Some dynasties, such as the Fatimids, were particularly noteworthy for their patronage of singers. Where a class of wealthy merchants emerged, they, too, often encouraged forms of art music and singing. Regional traditions developed, for instance, in al-Andalus, where a suite form, the *nuba*, evolved with vocal pieces incorporating strophic *muwashshahat* and *zajals.* In the East the 'Abbasid and Mongol court musician and theoretician Safi al-Din al-Urmawi (d. 693/1294 CE) was the author of an authoritative compendium on music, reflecting practice in Iraq and Persia, which was translated into Persian and Turkish. He mentions different kinds of songs, simple and more sophisticated, the latter being combined in suites *(nawbas)*. Safi al-Din's writings became the basis for musical practice in Persia and later the Ottoman court, which developed differently from that found in Egypt and Syria. One can thus speak of Persian and related Turkish traditions of singing distinct from the Arabic one in the later medieval period.

Besides the court and wealthy urban classes, certain Sufi brotherhoods that appeared from the twelfth century on preserved, transmitted, and contributed to the elite musical tradition. Mystical poetry, or poetry that lent itself to mystical interpretation—whether anonymous or by poets such as Ibn al-Farid (576–632/1181–1235 CE), Hafiz, Saadi, Rumi, or the Turkish Yunus Emre (d. 720/1320–1321 CE), was set to music and sung during *dhikr* ceremonies or "spiritual concerts," with the aim of inducing in the hearers a state of mystical ecstasy, the *hal*; the most famous ceremonies were and still are those of the Mevlevis. This Sufi musical tradition guaranteed continuity in the art of singing even during times of political instability, and in the Ottoman empire the Mevlevis played a role comparable to that of the court in fostering art music.

Finally, a specifically Iranian phenomenon was the chanting of Ferdowsi's *Shahnama* during physical-training sessions in what became known as the *Zurkhana,* or "house of strength."

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See also Adab; Ferdowsi; Music; Musical Instruments; Mystical Poetry; Poetry; Women Poets

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SIRA

Sira, meaning "the way," is, for the student of Islam, synonymous with biography, and particularly the biography of the Prophet Muhammad. The *Kitab sirat rasul Allah*, which tells of the life of Muhammad from birth to death, is the title given by Ibn Hisham (d. AH 218/834 CE) to his edition of three compilations of traditions regarding ancient legends, Muhammad's birth, early life and mission, and the expeditions of Muhammad (d. 11/632) right up to the moment of his death, that had been brought together by the greatest compiler of 'Abbasid times Muhammad ibn Ishaq (d. 150/767) under the titles, *Mubtada', Mab'ath*, and *Maghazi*. On the other hand, biographical narratives on other historical personalities, such as *Sirat Mu'awiya*, were also written, but these postdate the *Sirat rasul Allah* by Ibn Hisham and have never commanded as much interest.

Orientalists have disputed the exact meaning of the term *sira*. Writing in 1899, Hartmann concluded that, "Ibn Ishaq hat keine sira geschrieben." Nevertheless, they were Ibn Ishaq's compilations that were brought together by Ibn Hisham as *Sirat rasul Allah*. Importantly, the *Maghazi* portion of the Prophet's biography is considered most significant, for it is this portion that tells us, through more recognized traditions, of Muhammad's last years and his achievements in Yathrib/Medina. Indeed, the earliest traditions concerning the life of the Prophet are believed to come from *Maghazi* works, those compiled by 'Urwa ibn al-Zubayr (d. 643/710) and Wahb ibn Munabbih (d. 654/728): In this regard, the *Kitab al-maghazi* by al-Waqidi (d.207/823) has won a considerable reputation, as is indicated by the fact that the two most significant sources cited by al-Tabari (d. 310/923) for his narrative concerning the life of the Prophet, in his *History of Prophets and Kings*, come from the compilations of al-Waqidi and Ibn Ishaq. It seems to me that the title *Sira,* first used by Ibn Hisham, applies, in particular, to biographical material that progresses from birth to death. It does not take away from the premise that *Maghazi* compilations tell of the life of the Prophet, as well, albeit only the last ten years after his emigration from Mecca.

The significant issue raised by biographical literature on the Prophet concerns its reliability. Is this information historical and verifiable? Does it, for instance, provide the necessary context for understanding the Qur'an? Importantly, such compilations are based on a system of transmission that communicates both the piece of information *(matn)* and the names of those who communicated it *(isnad)*. Regarding the traditions communicated by Ibn Ishaq, Ibn Hanbal (d. 241/855) is reported to have condemned his handling of isnads; Ibn Hanbal's denunciation of al-Waqidi as a liar is probably based on the same grounds. Yet, several of these traditions are found among the exegetical compilations on the Qur'an.

Modern historians such as I. Goldziher, J. Schacht, and J. Wansbrough have rejected the majority of early Islamic traditions as unreliable: They suggest that these are the prejudiced creation of a later generation of believers. More recently, Marsden Jones has exposed the numerous chronological discrepancies that exist in *Sira-Maghazi*, while P. Crone opines that many of these narratives are the result of a desire to explain Qur'anic verses. As obvious are the parallels to the New Testament stories of miracles performed by Jesus. Nevertheless, scholars such as Montgomery Watt, Alford T. Welch, and H. Motzky continue to insist that these materials may be used to extract a basic biography of Muhammad. On the other hand, significant Muslim scholars, such as W. N. Arafat, have objected to the notorious tales concerning the expulsion and execution of the Jews of Medina that form an integral part of the *Maghazi* as "unislamic."

Tradition informs us that the compilations of Prophetic traditions were first arranged by Ibn Ishaq in response to a command from the 'Abbasid caliph al-Mansur. Concerned to explain the practices of the Prophet of Islam as based on teachings of the Qur'an, Ibn Ishaq informs us through his compilations that these Qur'anic revelations came to Muhammad as inspiration, from the time of his Prophethood, after his fortieth year, and especially in moments of crisis. According to Ibn Ishaq, the final verses of the Qur'an were communicated during Muhammad's pilgrimage to Mecca. The compilations include legalistic traditions, poetry, and genealogical information concerning the Prophet's Companions. Carefully learned and transmitted by his students, the books of Ibn Ishaq were soon to spread throughout the empire to be accepted and acclaimed by the Muslim community.

RIZWI FAIZER

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SIRHINDI, AHMAD (ca. 1564–1624)

The eponymous founder of the Mujaddidi branch of the Naqshbandi Sufi order named after his title, known to posterity, '*Mujaddid-i alf thani*' (the religious renewer of the second millennium), Shaykh

Ahmad ibn ʻAbd al-Ahad Faruqi Sirhindi was born in the Punjab in around 1564. From an *ashraf* family claiming descent from the second caliph ʻUmar, he was given a firm education in the literary and religious sciences in Sialkot and Agra, where he joined the court, disputing with Abu'l-Fadl and collaborating with Fayzi on literary projects.

In 1600, Sirhindi met the Naqshbandi Khwaja Baqi billah and became committed to the discipline and didactic method of that order, which he now promoted at court and beyond. He became a leading master of the order, and his writings were influential in defining a new Naqshbandi path of critical engagement with the Mughal rulers and contemptuous attack upon the heterodox (such as the Shiʻis) and non-Muslim Indians. Although there is a historiographical debate concerning the "Naqshbandi reaction" and his role in establishing Jahangir as the successor to Akbar, no doubt because Sirhindi (and the Naqshbandis) was hostile to Akbar's religious innovations, it is clear that Jahangir failed to live up to Sirhindi's expectations of an orthodox ruler. Following conspiracies at court, Jahangir had him imprisoned in 1619; the Naqshbandi hagiographies blamed his treatment on the Shiʻi notables at court. Released the following year, Sirhindi continued preaching until his death in 1624. After his death, his son Khwaja Ma'sum succeeded him as head of the Naqshbandiyya.

The historiography pits the inflexible Naqshbandis associated with Sirhindi against the peaceable Chishtis in the "battle" for Sufism in India. But such a picture is misleading. Although Sirhindi did write polemics such as *Radd-i rawafid* against the Shiʻis, attack non-Muslims in his letters, and criticize the Sufi doctrine of the unity of being *(wahdat al-wujud)* attributed to Ibn ʻArabi and his followers, a careful reading of his letters suggests a more nuanced picture. His own doctrine of *wahdat al-shuhud*, a critique of the ontological monism of *wahdat al-wujud* that instead considers there to be a unity in mystical vision, is not far removed from Ibn ʻArabi's views. His opinions on the continuing need for the role of the heirs of the Prophet are not dissimilar to Shiʻi doctrines. As a thorough-going elitist, he considered all issues and texts to be read at two distinct hermeneutical levels: At the exoteric level, there could be no compromise on persecuting non-Muslims and attacking "deviant" monist Sufis; however, on the mystical level, Islam and infidelity were no longer pitted against each other but different levels on the path to God. These two levels became two trends opposed to each other in his legacy.

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See also Akbar; Mughals; Sufism

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SLAVERY, MILITARY

Forms of military slavery have existed in the Islamic world since the early ninth century, and variations of this institution were found in many Muslim countries at different times up to the beginning of the nineteenth century. Military slaves, known variously as *ghulam*s (lit. "youths"), *mamluks* ("owned ones"), and janissaries (from Turkish *yeni cheri*, "new army"), had a tremendous impact on the military and political life, as well as economic and social aspects, of the societies in which they were found.

There is still a significant debate among scholars as to the origins of this institution, and the reader is referred to the studies later in this entry for opinions different from that presented here. Military slavery had its origin in the convergence of factors: the withdrawal of the Arab tribes from military service (a process encouraged by the government); the perceived lack of dependability of troops from Khurasan, hitherto the bulwark of the ʻAbbasid state; the precedent of hundreds, perhaps thousands of clients of slave provenance or freed prisoners of war, known as *mawali*, in the court and army, many from eastern Iran, Transoxiana, and even the Eurasian Steppe region; and contact with the Turks of the Eurasian Steppe, with their well-known military qualities, including hardiness, horsemanship, and archery. The first unit of military slaves, composed mainly of Turks, was founded by the future caliph al-Muʻtasim (r. 833–842), during the reign of his brother al-Ma'mun. Soon after his ascension to the throne, al-Muʻtasim decided to move his formation from Baghdad to Samarra, about two hundred kilometers to the north, to limit tension with other units and to keep his new formation isolated. This unit

was originally envisioned as a guard corps but soon began participating in campaigns in the empire and on the frontier. It soon became the mainstay of the 'Abbasid regime. Al-Mu'tasim's son and second successor, al-Mutawakkil (r. 847–861), eventually became disenchanted with these Turkish guardsmen, their commanders (also Turks), and the power that they wielded at court, and moved to weaken them. The Turkish commanders moved first and assassinated the caliph, setting a pattern for future officers, not only of slave origin. The Turkish slave soldiers and officers played a significant role in the political unrest that characterized Iraq in the next several generations, at least until the coming of the Buwayhids in 944, and sometimes afterwards. In spite of the problems inherent in importing new Turkish slaves from the Steppe, the expenses involved, and the problems of discipline, the institution of military slavery spread throughout the eastern Muslim world. The quality of the Turkish soldiers and the loyalty, at least accorded to their original patron, evidently had enough to commend them to various rulers and generals. The basic idea of the military slave, which we will henceforth call *Mamluk* for convenience, if somewhat anachronistically, was that they were more or less cut off from the local population and its political and religious concerns, and therefore loyal primarily to their patron who bought and educated them (and continued to support them), and to each other. We have here a classic client–patron relationship, institutionalized through the mechanism of slavery.

Over the generations, we can see that this institution developed several principles, most of which were articulated in various forms by Muslim historians and other writers (see the famous statement by the fourteenth-century historian Ibn Khaldun in the translation by B. Lewis, *Islam: From the Prophet Muhammad to the Capture of Constantinople* [New York: Walker and Company, 1974], 1:97–99), as follows:

1. Young slaves (mainly Turks) were brought from pagan areas to the north of the Islamic world, mainly the Steppe region.
2. These slaves were converted to Islam and underwent several years of military training (and often religious education) in the barracks.
3. On completing training and reaching manhood, the slaves were enrolled in the army of their patron (often they were formally manumitted), mainly as mounted archers.
4. In theory, and usually in practice, this was a one-generation system, meaning that the sons of military slaves could not themselves be such slaves, but rather new military slaves had to be brought continually from the Steppe. The idea behind this principle was that the descendants of *Mamluk*s would not have the same toughness and military qualities as their fathers, as well as the lack of connections to the surrounding society.
5. Military slaves were to be loyal to their patrons, who educated and supported them, as well as to their comrades, slaves of the same patron.

It is interesting to note that the Turkish Seljuks, who came to power in the eleventh century with the assistance of the Turcoman tribesmen, soon set up a large formation of Turkish Mamluks. They realized that with all due respect to the emotional ties to the Turcomans, and their clear military skills as mounted archers, they could not always be depended upon, and therefore an alternative force that was both loyal and effective was needed. This use and dependence on Turkish Mamluks was passed on to the various successor states of the Seljuks, including that of the Ayyubid established by the Kurd Saladin. From the beginning of Saladin's reign, Turkish Mamluk units played the major role in the war against the Crusaders. The role of the Mamluks was increased by his great-nephew al-Salih Ayyub (r. 1238–1249), who established the famous Bahriyya regiment, which first came to prominence at the victory at Mansura over the Crusaders under Louis IX of France. Subsequently, this unit and other Mamluks took over the rulership directly, establishing the Mamluk sultanate, which ruled in Egypt and then in Syria until the Ottoman conquest of 1516–1517. The Mamluks gained renown for their victories over the Mongols in a war lasting more than sixty years, from the battle of 'Ayn Jalut (1260) onward, as well as eradicating the Crusader presence in Syria (1291). Even after their subjugation by the Ottomans, Mamluks continued to play an important role in Egyptian politics until they were eliminated by Muhammad 'Ali at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It should be mentioned that the Ottomans also erected an institution based on military slavery, the aforementioned Janissaries, although this was somewhat different from the classical Mamluk institution.

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See also 'Abbasids; 'Ayn Jalut; Ayyubids; Mamluks; Mongols; Ottomans; Warfare

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SLAVES AND SLAVE TRADE, EASTERN ISLAMIC WORLD

As in the Roman Empire, the slave *('abd)* was the cornerstone of the domestic workforce in medieval Islam and provided a lucrative source of revenue for Islamic infrastructure. The Prophet Muhammad accepted slavery as a fact of life, but he mitigated it by insisting upon kindness to slaves. According to the Qu'ran, anyone who mistreated his slave would be damned, something that Muhammad's early followers took seriously. The early caliph Abu Bakr, for example, ransomed slaves.

Methods of Enslavement

Muslims practiced slavery freely during the Middle Ages. Slaves were an important element in the Islamic world, one that required constant replenishment through trade, war, raids, and the birth of new slaves to old ones. A large segment of the urban population, they could also be found working the fields in some places. However, they did not make up a large section of the agricultural workforce. Slaves in Islam, as in Christian lands, tended to be skilled labor.

Legally, slaves were supposed to be war captives or the children of already existing slaves, though reality did not entirely reflect theory. Like Christianity and Judaism, Islam frowned upon enslaving coreligionists, but in practice, Muslims did occasionally enslave each other. Under Sunni law, a man could be enslaved for defaulting on his debts. Muslims enslaving Muslims, however, most frequently occurred during wars between hostile sects, or rebellions against civil authority, where women and children spared from death were sold into slavery instead, as an example to other potential rebels. In 1077 CE, for example, the women of a Berber tribe were sold in Cairo as punishment for the tribe's revolt. Frontier raiders tended not to scruple over their captives' religion either, enslaving whomever they caught in their *razzias* (raids).

A great source of Christian slaves came from these *razzias* into the Dar al-Harb, the "Land of War." In the East this area was usually the Byzantine empire or Eastern Europe. The Dar al-Harb provided the source of the most famous Muslim slaves of the Middle Ages—the Mamluk slave–soldiers of Egypt. These were Christian boys kidnapped mainly from Eastern Europe or the Steppes and raised to fight in private or state armies. Through them the slave trade had considerable influence upon local political dynasties, since slave–soldiers sometimes overthrew their masters and ruled in their place. The Mamluks, for example, overthrew the Ayyubid Egyptian sultanate in 1250 and ruled as sultans in Cairo until 1517. Another large group of male slaves (frequently Slavs from Russia) were castrated and made into eunuchs. These were usually employed as domestic servants and some wielded considerable power. Not all eunuchs lost sexual function completely. Some were able to marry and occasionally, depending on the nature and skill of the operation, could still father children.

The Slave Trade

Piracy and privateering also supplied slaves from as far west as the Iberian Peninsula. Muslims frequently found themselves enslaved by Christians, particularly in Spain, Latin Palestine, or in the Byzantine empire. In the tenth century, the Byzantine emperor had a ritual of inviting Muslim slaves to his banquet. However, increasing numbers of slaves came from Africa in the late Middle Ages. The trans-Saharan slave trade with West, Central and East Africa was the precursor to the later trans-Atlantic slave trade. This differed from that in the northern Mediterranean trade in significant ways. While some of the trans-Saharan trade

resulted from raiding, much of it came from peaceful trade in slaves and other goods with local, slave-raiding tribes. These tribes sold off criminals, war captives, and debtors—the latter two categories being the same criteria for enslavement as in the Islamic world—but the desire for profit fueled the trade on both sides. Similarly, the Venetians traded lucratively in Christian slaves to the Muslim world from the eighth century onward, despite papal censure about selling coreligionists to the infidel. Christians and Muslims were not the only groups engaging in the slave traffic. Some Jewish merchants were also instrumental in the trade of Slavs (who were favored for becoming eunuchs) via Eastern and Central Europe, though how involved they were—particularly later on in the early Modern era—is subject to academic controversy.

Types and Functions of Slaves

Not all slaves had the same value. White slaves were considered more valuable than black slaves, for example, though it is difficult to say how strong this prejudice was, particularly in how it influenced the origins of the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Different slaves from different regions were favored for different functions. Women, particularly if they were young, beautiful, well educated, and skilled, were favored over men because they made good housekeepers, nursemaids, and concubines. Men could be slave–soldiers, eunuchs, bodyguards, field workers, officials, or domestic slaves. They might also transact the master's or mistress's business outside of the house, as merchants and representatives of the master's affairs, sometimes with considerable freedom. Some male slaves served their masters or mistresses sexually, just as female slaves did. This practice could be extremely dangerous for male slaves, however, since a mistress was usually committing adultery when she took a slave as a lover and the penalty was death for both partners.

Manumission

There were several roads to manumission. Muslims, Christians, and Jews all ransomed coreligionists from slavery in hostile territory. Ransoming was a lucrative by-product of the slave trade for slave owners. A slave might buy his freedom, or win it through negotiation with his master or if his master mutilated him, or if he contracted blindness, leprosy, or paralysis. A slave's master might also free and marry the mother of his child, but this was not automatic upon the birth of the child. However, if she and her child survived her master, she won her freedom at the price of her sale, taken out of her child's inheritance.

Conversion to Islam did not automatically win freedom either. The concubines of the Ottoman sultans, for example, were converted to Islam upon their sale to their royal master but remained slaves. Almost all of them were originally Christians from Central and Eastern Europe, or Russia. The frequency and acceptability of relations between masters and slaves introduced a not-inconsiderable ethnic mixing into all levels of slave-holding society, even the highest. Because the child of a slave and a free person was born free, a slave's son could therefore inherit the throne. Muslim slaves were more likely to find manumission than Christians or Jews, and conversion tended to precede freedom, particularly in the case of concubines who were freed for bearing heirs to their masters. As with so many other aspects of his or her life, the freedom of a slave depended on the whim of the master.

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See also Mamluks; Slaves and Slave Trade, Western Islamic World; Slavery, Military; Trade, African

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SLAVES AND SLAVE TRADE, WESTERN ISLAMIC WORLD

Legal texts are the greatest, most precise, and biggest sources of information about slavery. The predominant legal school in the Islamic West was the Maliki, providing a wealth of works of different genres: legal

practice, compilations of legal opinions, legal rulings, record of notaries, and so on. These works have a great abundance of information in the chapters devoted specifically to slavery—often called Law of Slavery—whose main focus was the issue of manumission. But they also contain a number of references scattered in the other chapters that form the book.

In addition to these sources, whose contents deal with the domestic slave, more news is dispersed in historical chronicles, biographical dictionaries, and literary works. Although they are not long stories, nor is the aim of the author to describe the slave, those passages help to enhance the information about what slavery was actually like. It must be emphasized that, despite all bibliographical sources, theoretical information about slavery in the Western Islamic world during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance is far richer than the references to legal practice of this subject.

Slaves: Types and Circumstances

According to all the legal schools, anybody born as a slave, being a son of a female slave, could be considered a slave no matter whether or not he was Muslim. A war prisoner could also be enslaved given that he was not a free Muslim, but professed another faith. However, it was forbidden to enslave a member of another religion who lived in Islamic territory and therefore enjoyed the protection of the *dhimma* status. This privilege was obtained by means of paying a tax. Only if this status was lost by any reason, such as cooperating with the unfaithful enemy in a battle, might the *dhimmi* become a slave. Nor was abandonment considered a valid origin of slavery: If anybody found a deserted child *(manbudh)* and took him in, that child was considered a free person. In fact, there were Muslim slaves, both born in such condition, as well as those who wished to convert to Islam after having acquired that status. Conversion was not a reason to obtain freedom.

The Maliki school considered the same kinds of slaves as other legal schools: a common slave *('abd, jariya, ama)*; concubines *(milk al-yamin, jariya, ama)*; a concubine who gives a son to her master *(umm walad)*; a slave having completed the conditions for a manumission contract *(mukatab)*; and the slave to be released after his master's death *(mudabbar)*. Moreover, it included a new kind, the slave who was authorized to trade *(ma'dhun bi-l-tijara)*, who needed to have free movement and certain economic means to conduct business. The possibility of being manumitted in the future provided some of these slaves with a number of rights and legal obligations that placed them close to the status of free persons, thus acquiring an intermediate status between slavery and freedom.

In the Islamic world a slave could be married legally and create his own family structures with previous authorization of his master. Still, in order to perform the legal act of marriage he had some limitations that the free man lacked. According to Maliki law, a slave could have four legal wives, the same as a free man, whereas for the other legal schools, only two were allowed. On the other hand, the slaves' capacity to form their own families was restricted to the servants of very rich people, or else to those slaves who paid their manumission in installments by means of a contract signed up with their master. Both kinds of slaves had a right to enjoy a certain degree of independence in order to have a job that enabled them to pay for their freedom.

A master was not allowed to marry one of his concubines legally. However, if one of them became pregnant, she acquired a new status that provided her with certain rights common to a free woman. These *ummahat al-awlad*, or mothers with child, might not be sold and acquired freedom after their master's death. On the other hand, their children were free according to the principle on which nobody may be his father's slave, despite slavery being a condition inherited from the mother.

A slave was not considered an object of law by himself, like in Roman law, but a subject of legislation. Consequently, he had civil and criminal rights, as well as obligations. His master could not kill him nor impose any arbitrary penalty on him, although there are examples of this being made in practice. Likewise, a slave was subject to penalties that were half the amount of those imposed on a free person, because his responsibility was considered to be less.

As for property rights, law provided that the goods belonging to a slave pertained to his master, so that the slave was the usufructuary only as long as the master permitted it. Nor had he rights to inherit, even from free relatives. Nevertheless, Maliki law emphasized that a slave's manumission had to include enough possessions for the slave to survive with dignity; otherwise, to give him freedom would not be a generous deed but a concealed abandonment. When the slave was released, a client bond was established between him and his master. Although he acquired all the rights and duties of a free person, his former master and his agnates preserved the right to become heirs to the slave. Consequently, slaves were not only members of the medieval Islamic family—and must be included in every study concerning it—but after their manumission, they continued to be bound to the

master's family unit through a client bow *(wala')*. In such a way, they contributed to perpetuate its patrilineal structure, a fact that had important social and economic consequences.

Maliki jurists established a number of legal principles concerning slave property, trade, and their liberation that were considered when dealing with the matters of law. First, the rights of a free person—especially property rights—were secured because, as texts repeated once and again, "slaves are goods, just as cattle is." Respect for the property of a free person might have priority over the religious element. Likewise, it was important that a manumission or sale did not damage the interests of any free person. Secondly, there were the fundamental rights of the slave to be considered: respect for his legal condition as an individual and therefore for the rights applying to that particular type of slave. Other aspects were his manumission and kind treatment; the concession of an amount of money for his use after liberation; and some sexual rights of female slaves, as the forbiddance to be rendered, rented, and so on, to another person.

Slave Trade

The most common way of acquiring slaves must have been, on the one hand, by birth at home of the children of other slaves. On the other hand, captivity at war, particularly in places such as al-Andalus, where there was continuous struggle against Christian territories throughout many centuries, provided prisoners. Since the tenth century there was an institution created for the release of captives, the redeemer *(al-fakkak)*.

Captives, such as other slaves imported from diverse places, were sold in the market. Their transaction was subject to controls in which the fulfillment of the legally established criteria were secured, the same as with other goods (cattle, luxury items). Among the many questions Maliki jurists dealt with, two were worth special attention: the slave's possible physical defects or blemishes—where the possibility of selling a pregnant female slave was included, since it might give rise to claims and conflicts between the parties involved—and possible frauds related to the legal status of the slave, which would result in the annulment of the sale once it had been carried out. The texts dealt extensively with the question of slaves owned by several masters, because the lack of whole property of a slave restricted the rights of the masters over that person. For example, during a sale or rent, there had to be a unanimous agreement among all the proprietors; or, in the case of female slaves, they could not have sexual intercourse with her.

Up to the twelfth century there existed an intense slave trade between al-Andalus and the Christian kingdoms, in which Jews living in the Christian lands played an active role. During this period, different commercial products were exported from al-Andalus to other Islamic countries, either in the West or in the East. Among the products that were in great demand Christian slaves stood out. Since the ninth century, Radhanite merchants had traded with "Andalusian slave women," who had become very popular in North Africa and the Orient. The Verdun merchants are also referred to in the sources as people trading slaves between both territories.

The drastic territorial withdrawal of al-Andalus in 1212 brought about a radical change in the commercial relationships of all the products. Al-Andalus stopped being an importer, and most of the trade is addressed to the north of the peninsula from the thirteenth century onward. In the case of Muslim slaves, the Nasrid sultans were forced to prohibit their sale to the Christians.

Most of the slaves were destined for domestic use, although their numbers are unknown. The different genres of written sources refer to privileged social groups living in an urban environment, without any information about the rural world and other urban contexts, so it is difficult to determine the absolute social and economic weight of the slave population. The use of slaves was infrequent in the armies of Western Islam, both in al-Andalus and North Africa. As for some high-ranking officers of the army whose status as slaves has been assumed, it is difficult to say whether they were so, or else they had slave origins but had been enjoying freedom for several generations already, so they would rather be clients than slaves.

Eunuchs should also be mentioned briefly. Their existence is known by means of historical chronicles. Their destination, according to these sources, was only the royal palace and some very wealthy families. They were mainly assigned to manage the harem, but some of them had high positions in the administration, and even in the army of the Umayyad court of al-Andalus.

Nowadays, one of the most debated issues in the field is the ethnic origins of the slaves in Western Islam. The confused state of terminology at some point when, for instance, the term *saqaliba*—which was used to designate only slaves of Slavic origins—started to be used to call any palace slave, makes a systematic revision of Arabic sources very necessary. It seems that the sources indicate that slaves came mainly from captivity, so in al-Andalus, Christians from the Northern Iberian Peninsula must have been abundant. On the other hand, a great number of black slaves of sub-Saharan Africa must have been

acquired in North Africa, especially since the expansion of the Berber dynasties of Almoravids and Almohads, in the eleventh century. On their part, the treatises on market rules and the very few treatises of slave trade allude to ethnic origins in a merely theoretical way.

CRISTINA DE LA PUENTE

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SOCIALIZING

Socializing outside the family was not mixed. Socializing took place either in a context where one person played host to a number of guests, or else in a place where people gathered spontaneously. Examples of the former are the tribal leader's council, the ruler's court, and the prominent official or scholar's literary or academic salon; the most common Arabic term for these institutions is the *majlis*. Very little information exists about women's socializing, although it was apparently organized partly on the same lines as men's; some princesses, for instance, are known to have had their own salon.

Rules of correct behavior in social gatherings existed; they included showing proper respect to the host and to older and more important people present. Thanks to this formal etiquette, sensitive and controversial subjects, including religion, could be discussed with considerable freedom. The *majlis* were also places where reputations were made and unmade. Young secretaries (*see* Bureaucrats) who favorably impressed a ruler with their eloquence or technical knowledge, and budding poets whose odes received a patron's praise or a philologist's stamp of approval (*see* Poetry), could find themselves launched on a successful career after attending *majlis*. However, someone who betrayed ignorance, failed to parry a

rival's attack, or allowed himself to be made a laughingstock might lose his position and standing (*see* Adab).

The character of the gathering was determined by the host's interests and mood; a ruler could discuss affairs of state with his courtiers and then invite musicians to sing. The host set the tone; the 'Abbasid caliph al-Mutawakkil (r. AH 232–247/847–861 CE), for instance, was known for his barrack-room sense of humor and enjoyed humiliating his courtiers. Intellectually minded rulers, such as al-Ma'mun (198–218/813–833), sometimes invited experts in various fields to give short talks on subjects they wanted to learn more about. Al-Tawhidi's (d. 411/1023) account of evenings of conversation with the vizier Ibn Sa'dan, *Delight and Entertainment*, gives an idea of the intellectual level and breadth of interests that were current in some courts.

A scholar's salon—whether at his home or in a shop or mosque—was often the setting for more or less formal teaching. Hence the existence of a genre of books, sometimes termed *majalis* (salons, or sessions), recording the pronouncements of prominent philologists on linguistic topics. The subjects of less specialized conversations among cultured people have been preserved by the Baghdadi judge al-Tanukhi (d. 384/ 994) in his *Table-Talk of a Mesopotamian Judge*.

Socializing served more than to affirm one's status, advance one's career, or improve one's mind. Friends would invite each other to spend a pleasant time together; this almost always involved the recitation of poetry and often, singing, with musicians being invited if necessary. Such gatherings could be accompanied by wine, and the more attractive the setting and attendants the better.

The second (spontaneous) type of socializing took place in mosques, bathhouses, or taverns. The mosque was, and is, a kind of community center where people gather not only to pray but also to chat and discuss matters in neutral surroundings, without anyone having to play host. In medieval times a stranger arriving in a city where he knew no one would make some first contacts at the mosque. Conversations were usually dignified and serious in the mosque's tranquil, meditative atmosphere, but they were not necessarily devoted to religious matters; in his *Book of Misers,* al-Jahiz (d. ca. 255/869) portrays a group of men who regularly gathered in a mosque in Basra to exchange tips on how to save money.

The public baths, too, were a socially acceptable place to meet, although unlike the mosque they were not free and therefore seldom became a regular rendezvous for friends. They offered physical relaxation, and their informal atmosphere encouraged conversation. Since ritual purification accompanies Islamic rites, including important stages in the life cycle such as weddings (*see* Marriage), a visit to the baths was an integral part of many celebrations. Women had far fewer opportunities than men of socializing outside the house, and for them in particular going to the baths was often synonymous with a party to which they brought their own food. Baths were (and are) not mixed; they were open to women and men on separate days.

The third meeting-place, the tavern, was reprehensible from the religious point of view since it sold wine; it was also associated with gambling, sexual immorality, and unseemly behavior. Yet taverns counted poets and singers among their customers, and they offered a setting for creative artistic activity.

The coffeehouse appeared at the end of the medieval period (*see* Beverages), first in Yemen and the Hijaz and then in the wider Ottoman empire and Iran. Offering the advantages of the tavern (food and conversation) without its drawbacks, it rapidly became popular.

HILARY KILPATRICK

See also Adab; Baths and Bathing; Bureaucrats; Courtiers; Gambling; Al-Jahiz; Al-Ma'mun; Marriage; Poetry; Al-Tawhidi

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SONGHAY EMPIRE

Origin

Islam began to spread in the Songhay empire some time in the eleventh century CE, when the ruling Za or Dia dynasty first accepted Islam. It was a prosperous region with a booming trade from the city of Gao.

In fact, a Songhay kingdom in the region of Gao had existed since the eleventh century, but it had come under the control of Mali in 1325. After the decline of Mali, the kingdom of Gao reasserted itself as the major kingdom in the *Sahel*. By the late fourteenth century, Gao reasserted itself as the Sunni dynasty, the other name of the Songhay empire.

Songhay would not fully eclipse Mali until the reign of Sunni 'Ali Ber, who reigned from 1464 to 1492. He aggressively turned the kingdom of Gao into an empire under his leadership, and the most important towns of the Western Sudan came under the Songhay empire. The great cities of Islamic learning, such as Timbuktu (captured from the Tuaregs) and Jenne, also came under his power between 1471 and 1476. The empire stretched across the Niger valley, west to Senegal and east to Agades (modern-day Niger). With his cavalry and a highly mobile fleet of ships, 'Ali Ber pushed the Berbers who had always played such a crucial role in the downfall of Sahelian kingdoms, far north.

The Sunni Kings

The '*ulama* have condemned Sunni 'Ali, the first real founder, in spite of his contribution in founding the Songhay empire. They claimed he was a nominal Muslim and compromised between paganism and Islam, although he prayed and fasted. Once he punished the famous scholar Al-Maghili—to whom is attributed the introduction of the *Qadiriyya* fraternity of Sufis in Africa—by calling him "a pagan." He believed in magical practices and local cults. This, however, was not something new in the Songhay only. Almost the same practice continued in other parts of West Africa until the time that various revivalist movements took place in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Sunni 'Ali's syncretism was soon denounced by the eminent Muslim scholars in Timbuktu. Timbuktu had an established reputation as a center of Islamic learning and civilization of West Africa. Members of the famous *Aqit* family of Berber scholars were enjoying the post of the Grand *Qadi* (Chief Justice) at the time and were known for their fearless oppositions to the rulers. Sunni 'Ali did not take such criticism lightly. In his lifetime he suppressed the scholars of Timbuktu, but after his death the situation completely changed and the Muslim scholars triumphed. Muhammad Touré, a military general, asked his successor, Sunni Barou, to make a public appearance and make a confession of his faith in Islam. When Barou refused to do so, Muhammad Touré ousted him and established a new dynasty in his own name, called the *Askiya* dynasty. Sunni 'Ali may be compared with Sundiate of Mali and Askiya Muhammad Touré to Mansa Musa, a champion for the cause of Islam.

An ardent Muslim, when Muhammad Touré (r. 1493–1528) came to power, he established Islamic law and extensively drew upon the expertise of his Timbuktu scholars in matters of the state. He also arranged for a large number of Muslims to be trained as judges *(qadis)* and he replaced native Songhay administrators with Arab Muslims in a bid to stabilize the empire. Timbuktu gained fame as an intellectual center rivaling many others in the Muslim world. It had the credit of establishing the first Muslim university—Sankore University—in West Africa, the name of which is commemorated still today in Ibadan University, where a certain staff residential area is named Sankore Avenue. Learners from various parts of the world came to study a wide array of sciences, ranging from language and politics to law and medicine (apart from the city's more than 180 *madrasahs* where one could undertake strictly Islamic studies). Medieval Europe sent emissaries to the University of Sankore to witness its excellent libraries with manuscripts and to consult with the learned mathematicians, astronomers, physicians, and jurists whose intellectual endeavors were said to be paid for out of the king's own treasury.

Muhammad Touré continued Sunni Ali's imperial expansion by seizing the important Saharan oases and conquering Mali. From there he conquered Hausaland. He also further centralized the government by creating a large and elaborate bureaucracy to oversee his extensive empire. Merchants and traders traveled from Asia, the Middle East, and Europe to exchange their exotic wares for the gold of Songhay. As in Mali, there was a privileged caste of craftsmen, and slave labor played an important role in agriculture. Gold, kola nuts, and slaves were the main exports, whereas textiles, horses, salt, and luxury goods were the main imports.

Touré also standardized weights, measures, and currency so that culture throughout the Songhay began to homogenize. These programs of conquest, centralization, and standardization were the most ambitious and far-reaching in sub-Saharan history until the colonization of the continent by the Europeans. Songhay reached its greatest territorial expansion under Askia Dawud (r. 1549–1582), when the empire stretched all the way to Cameroon. With literally several thousand cultures under its control, Songhay was the largest empire in African history.

Touré, on his pilgrimage to Makkah, came into close contact with various Muslim scholars and rulers

in the Arab countries. He visited the caliph of Egypt, who proclaimed him caliph of the whole of Sudan. Sudan, at the time, was a loose term for a large area in sub-Saharan Africa usually embracing Mali, Chad, northwest Nigeria, and Niger. In Makkah, the King accorded him great respect, turbanned him, and gave him a sword and the title of *Khalifah* of western Sudan. On his return from Makkah in 1497, he proudly used the title of *al-Hajj.* Askiya took such a keen interest in the Islamic legal system that he asked a number of questions on Islamic theology from his personal friend, Muhammad al-Maghili. Al-Maghili wrote down the answers in detail, which Askiya circulated in the Songhay empire. The questions pertained to the fundamental structure of the faith that later served as the chief source of 'Uthman Dan Fodio's revolution in Hausaland a few years thereafter.

Although most of the people in urban areas had turned Muslim, the majority of those living in the rural areas still followed African traditional religion. Some aspects of traditional religion have been preserved to this day, including the sacred drum, the sacred fire, and the old types of costume and hairstyle.

Overall, the appearance of Islam in western Sudan was important for much more than religious reasons. It introduced the culture of scholarship to countries beyond Egypt and the *Maghrib* and stabilized trade between her and the lands beyond the Sahara. It also, however, left terrible religious conflicts between the various tribes who did or did not accept Islam, and created a different kind of unrest.

Decline

After Askiya Muhammad Touré, the empire began to crumble. His sons who had shared power with him deposed him since there was no fixed law of succession to the throne. During a period of sixty years (1528–1591), eight Askiyas came to power consecutively.

Songhay had gotten too large by this time; it encompassed too much territory to control. After the reign of Askia Dawud, subject peoples began to revolt, even though Songhay had an army of more than thirty five thousand soldiers. The first major region to go was Hausaland. In 1590, al-Mansur, the powerful and ambitious sultan of Morocco, decided that he wanted control of the West African gold trade badly enough to send his army all the way across the Sahara. The spears and swords of the Songhay warriors were no match for the cannons and muskets of the Moroccan army. The Moroccan invasion destroyed the Songhay empire. It contributed, along with such other phenomena as the growing Atlantic trade, to the decline of the trade routes that had brought prosperity to the region for hundreds of years.

Trade routes fell under local control and deteriorated beyond recovery. The Moroccans also took Timbuktu in 1591 and ruled over the city until about 1780, supervising its ultimate decline. During the early nineteenth century, Timbuktu passed into the hands of a variety of West African groups, including the Tuaregs and the Bamabra, who founded the Bamabra kingdom of Ségou farther to the south. In the late nineteenth century, as European powers invaded parts of Africa, French colonizers took over the city.

In 1612, the remaining cities of Songhay fell into anarchy and the greatest empire of African history came to a sudden close. No African nation since has risen to prominence and wealth as did the mighty Songhay.

KHALID DHORAT

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SOUTHEAST ASIA, HISTORY AND CULTURE

Although never conceived of as a unitary region in Arabic accounts, Southeast Asia was a maritime contact zone for Indian Ocean trade with China from antiquity. The shippers who plied this route, such as Ibn Khurradadhbih, recorded the names of several of the harbors at which they called for water, victuals, and trade. The most famous of the trading ports were located in the vicinity of the Isthmus of Kra (Kalah), in the locales of North Sumatra (Ramni), East Sumatra (Zabaj), Tioman Island (Tiyuma), and the coasts of Cambodia (Qmar) and Champa (Sanf)—the last being the collective name for the Austronesian kingdoms once located in central Vietnam.

The majority of the Southeast Asian ports gained advantage from this passing India trade, and their

organization and culture reflected Indic modes. The Buddhist (or at times Saivite) kingdoms of Java; Angkor in Cambodia; the Cham cities in Vietnam; and Srivijaya in the Straits of Malacca all maintained cults of divine kingship and the use of Sanskrit for official proclamations. Because of this, most medieval accounts placed Southeast Asian toponyms in general descriptions of India.

The region was not always a stable constellation of states. Eleventh-century attacks by the Tamil Cholas weakened Srivijaya and may have led the Khmers to play a stronger role on the peninsula. Further, the Mongol conquests of the twelfth century saw a reorientation of Southern Song networks involving Java as a more active agent of interoceanic trade. The Javanese state Singasari, and then its thirteenth-century successor Majapahit, exercised hegemony over Sumatra. The general view of a Java-dominated island world seems to have led to the nascence in the Arabic texts of this toponym, as in the encyclopedia of Yaqut, who stated in his *Mu'jam al-buldan* that Java was one of the first of the kingdoms of China. Ibn al-Mujawir also made reference, in his *Ta'rikh al-mustabsir* (ca. 1228), to rough passage to "the region of Jawa." When Marco Polo visited the region in 1292, he referred to Sumatra as *Java Minora*. Similarly, when Ibn Battuta returned from China circa 1345, he named Sumatra as a part of *Jawa*.

The Mongols had also invaded mainland Burma in 1258, and their impact in Asia was a catalyst for the southward movement of the Tai peoples at the expense of the mainland Mon and Khmer populations. After slow beginnings on North Sumatra, and between the exertions of Singasari and Majapahit, Islamization would spread westward to other parts of the Malay Peninsula and the spice islands before the arrival of the Portuguese, who took the port of Malacca in 1511 and attempted to monopolize the collection of spices in the region. This allowed for the rise of the Sumatran state of Aceh under 'Ali Mughayat Shah (r. 1514–1530). Whereas the Portuguese apothecary Tomé Pires, stationed in freshly conquered Malacca between 1512 and 1515, could write of a largely non-Muslim Java, by 1527, Majapahit had been defeated by the coastal sultanate of Demak, ushering in a long-term process of Islamization from above.

Muslims were also an increasingly notable presence in mainland Southeast Asian courts, such as Siam and Cambodia, but their influence was short-lived. With the rise of Atlantic commercial power in the seventeenth century, Sumatran Aceh and West Java's Banten constituted the leading Muslim competitors for trade in the region. Their territories, like those of many Southeast Asian states, were slowly being eaten away over the course of the coming centuries by Western colonialism. At the same time, Islam became ever more linked with many of the cultures of the archipelago while Theravada Buddhism became ever more entrenched as that of the mainland.

MICHAEL LAFFAN

See also Ibn Battuta; Ibn Khurradadhbih; Java; Silk Roads; Southeast Asia, Languages and Literatures; Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula; Yaqut

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SOUTHEAST ASIA, LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

Ever since Southeast Asia began to feature in the accounts of Muslim mariners, it is clear they had dealings mainly with the Austronesian peoples of the archipelago and coastal harbors of the mainland, for whom Malay served as the *lingua franca*. Ninth-century Arab accounts referred to the Malacca Straits as Salaht, from the Malay *selat* (strait), while the *'Aja'ib al-hind* of al-Ramhurmuzi (ca. 1000) made reference to the practice of sitting deferentially before a local king by using the Malay verb *bersila*. The use of Malay along the main artery of trade was often commented on by later travelers. Jean Baptiste Tavernier (1605–1689) reported that the languages of the cultured world included Malay as that "of educated people, from the flooding Indus to China and Japan, and in most of the Eastern isles, much like Latin in our Europe."

Although Malay played an important role in interethnic communication, there is a dearth of inscriptions in that language as compared to those of the cultures of Java and Cambodia, whether in the once widespread Indic-derived scripts or in the Arabic script that supplanted them in the Muslim islands of Indonesia and the Malay Peninsula. Equally, there is a paucity of manuscript holdings—again as compared with the palm-leaf texts of those kingdoms that remained substantially Hindu–Buddhist in outlook when the Europeans arrived; most notably the Southeast Asian mainland and the islands of Java and Bali.

Nonetheless, the holdings that remain indicate that the pre-Islamic Malay literature, like most of the literatures of the region, consisted of a rich selection of royal epics, declamatory poetry, and morality tales, suffused with stories from (or complete reworkings of) Indian epics, such as the Mahabharata and the Ramayana. With Islamization, these were both supplemented or replaced by Islamic tales drawn from Arabic and Persian literature, such as the *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyya*, and many indigenous compositions in the form of poems—sometimes brief, sometimes epic—known as *syair* (from the Arabic).

Malay also played a leading role in the inculcation of Islamic norms in the archipelago, first mystical and then primarily for the transmission of knowledge of Shafi'i *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence). The first known Malay author, Hamzah al-Fansuri (d. 1527), wrote in one of his poetic works that he had done so in Malay in the hope that "those of God Almighty's servants unacquainted with Farsi and Arabic will be able to discuss its contents." Again, in 1601, Shams al-Din of Pasai, wrote in his *Mir'at al-mu'min* that he had written "in the Jawi language in order to render words of the principles of religion for those unable to understand Arabic or Farsi," and al-Raniri, the chief Qadi to the Acehnese court in the late 1630s, composed his compendium on Shafi'i *fiqh*, the *Sirat al-mustaqim;* he did so in Malay.

Malay literature has also been strongly influenced by that of Java, which shares in the corpus of Indian stories that were often recast with specifically Javanese admixtures (such as the powerful clown characters or the cultural hero Panji).

Furthermore, with the Islamization of Java and closer contacts between its sultanates and those of the Malay world, there was an increasing trend toward polyglossia among Islamic scholars. Perhaps for this reason one of the great Malay exponents of the Sufi tradition, and the author of the first Malay exegesis of the Qur'an, 'Abd al-Ra'uf al-Sinkili (1615–1693), noted in his *Mir'ât al-tullâb* that he made specific recourse to *al-lisan al-jawiyya al-samutra'iyya* (the Sumatran Jawi tongue), perhaps implying that there were indeed other Southeast Asian languages.

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See also Java; Scriptural Exegesis, Islamic; Sufism and Sufis; Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula

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SPICES

When comparing the simple fare and the paucity of ingredients of pre-Islamic Bedouin (or even sedentary) Arab food with the sophistication displayed in 'Abbasid or Mamluk cookbooks, one is struck by the quantities and diversity of the spices, herbs, and condiments employed by the latter. These books reflect the aristocratic cuisine of the courts and the rich rather than the populace. It may not be superfluous to point out that the often-heard assertion that the lavish use of spices was generally meant to mask the odor of badly preserved meat is a slanderous insult to a highly refined cuisine. The choice of a particular seasoning was naturally guided by matters of taste and culinary delight, but at the same time a coherent theory of dietetics and medicine would give guidelines for the selection of ingredients appropriate to the dish, the eater, his or her circumstances, and the time of the year. Medical treatises deal with the theory and practice of this, but the cookbooks, too, may include dietary recommendations for the preservation of a balanced constitution.

Medieval Arabic texts sometimes differentiate between various categories of spices, herbs, aromatics, and condiments. The terminology is fluctuating but will usually include *abazir* (mostly seed-based), *tawabil* (other seasonings), and *afawih* (aromatic substances); *bahar* is another general term for "spice." The precise definitions often overlap, and the distinction between herbs and vegetables (Ar. *buqul*) is not strict. Some items are multipurpose: saffron, for instance, is used for its fragrance in food and as a perfume, in addition to its use as a coloring agent. In a thirteenth-century cookbook, cinnamon and coriander are used in approximately eighty percent of all dishes, followed by cumin, mastic, pepper, and ginger. An introductory chapter of the tenth-century cookbook from Baghdad, by Ibn Sayyar al-Warraq, lists the spices, herbs, and fragrances that are indispensable for any cook. They include musk, ambergris, rosewater, saffron, cinnamon, galingale, cloves, mastic, saltwort, cardamom, sugar, honey, treacle,

pepper, coriander, cumin, caraway, ginger, spikenard, asafoetida, salt (allegedly called by the Prophet Muhammad "the lord of condiments"), onion, vinegar, olive oil, garlic, celery, cress, leek, dill, fennel, rue, mint, and thyme, not to mention numerous fruits, pickles, nuts, aromatics, and vegetables. Other chapters give the digestive properties of these ingredients. Almost any kind of dish, savory, sweet, or sour, including kinds of bread, pastry, and drinks, could and should be enhanced by the addition of spices and herbs. Recipes are often amazingly complex, as if simple ones were to be disdained by the wealthy. The correct use of spices and herbs was an art, and anecdotes in literary sources show the disgrace resulting from sinning against the rules, even though the consequences would not always have been as severe as in the story told in the *Thousand and One Nights* (in the story cycle of "The Hunchback"), in which a man annoys his lover by using an excess of cumin.

Naturally, the use of spices was not uniform and there are many local differences or shifts in time. Striking in all periods is the frequent use of sugar and other sweeteners in meat dishes. The various condiments and pickles, called *kawamikh*, which are used either as side dishes or as ingredients in the cooking process, are in a special category of seasoning. Among the most often mentioned of these is a briny concoction based on fish, like the Roman *liquamen* or *garum*; another is based on barley. Recipes for these relishes describe a very complicated and lengthy process taking several months. Both kinds may be called *murri*, which seems to be derived from Latin *muria*.

The spice trade, both within and beyond the Muslim territories, was a flourishing business. Pepper, ginger, cinnamon, cloves, cardamom, mace, nutmeg, and musk were among the products imported from India, China, and Black Africa. In due course, even before the time of the Crusades, Europe became greatly interested in the Eastern spices, with Venice being at the hub of the spice trade with the Middle East, with Egypt in particular. The spice trade in the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods was dominated by a group of merchants known as the Karimi, who were active in the major centers of trade and sent their fleets over the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. Their power dwindled in the course of the fifteenth century due to the policy of the Mamluk sultans and the economic crisis in Egypt. The end of the Middle Ages coincided with the taking over of much of the spice trade by European powers.

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See also Food and Diet; Trade, Indian Ocean; Trade, Mediterreanean

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SPORTS

Engagement in various types of sports was undoubtedly a favorite pastime of medieval Muslims throughout Islamic territories. However, given both the extremely scattered data and the relatively poor research on this subject the information that follows is bound to be incomplete. In addition, since our sources report next to nothing on the sport activities of the common people, this entry deals with a limited number of sports and of the medieval Islamic elite in particular.

We first learn of horseracing, an expensive pastime and a sport of princes, in the Umayyad period, although it stands to reason that it took place also in pre-Islamic Arabia. It appears from our sources that its apogee was in the eighth century CE, in the reigns of the Umayyad Hisham to the 'Abbasid Harun al-Rashid. Probably at some point after the ninth century, it went into decline, although it certainly did not disappear altogether. Being also part of equitation *(furusiyya)*, horseracing was always essential for military training and an object of entertainment for the rulers, dignitaries, and others. Long hippodromes *(maydan)*, sometimes stretching for several kilometers, were set apart for this purpose in major Islamic towns. Horses that participated had to undergo a period of training that lasted a few weeks. According to the rules, a race could take place only between horses of the same class, age, and other defined criteria. Prizes for winners were part of this sport activity. As for the defeated competitors, some sources tell of the custom of placing a monkey on the back of their horses with a whip to lash the horse, thus putting the masters to shame. Due to the high costs of horse breeding for competition, the common people had to satisfy themselves with alternative sorts of races, such as camel, donkey, or dog races. Especially popular was pigeon racing.

Polo (*sawlajan* and *jukan*, from Persian Chawgan), originally a Persian sport, was another pastime limited

to the higher echelons of the society that became favorable under the early ‘Abbasids and contemporary local dynasties. Some of the caliphs are reported playing polo with their boon companions. In later periods, polo was exercised on festive occasions such as the visit of foreign ambassadors. This was the case in AH 660/1262 CE, when the Mamluk sultan Baybars I received a Mongol delegation. When, in the last years of the Mamluk reign in Egypt, Sultan Qansuh al-Ghawri received Ottoman and Safavid delegates, he entertained them with polo games. The status of polo in the Mamluk court is demonstrated in the establishment of the post of the *jukandar*, a high official in charge of supervising polo exercises.

The wide practice of polo games among the Mamluk elite was based on the assumption that it was suitable for keeping soldiers and horses in good physical condition. Polo was usually played on horseback. Players were divided into two teams, each carrying a long-handled stick with one end bent back. One of the players started by throwing a leather ball (but sometimes a ball of silver) high into the air, another player struck it, and thereafter the ball passed from player to player. Each team tried to get the ball between two posts defended by the opponents, the posts being located at the end of a pitch so large that it gave ample freedom of movement for the mounted participants. The polo game is repeatedly reported for the Ayyubid and Mamluk courts, where it was played in special hippodromes constructed for that purpose. It appears that in the Mamluk state, at least under the reign of Barsbay (825–841/1422–1437), a special season of polo games was fixed. The favor that polo gained in the Mamluk state can be gauged from its recurrence as a theme in artistic objects. Similar to polo, and also a favorite pastime of the early ‘Abbasids, was the sport of *tabtab*, which was played on horseback with a broad piece of wood or a racket to hit the ball.

Qabaq, or gourd game, entailed shooting arrows from a moving horse at a gourd target at the top of a high pole, where a pigeon was placed. It was popular in the early Mamluk period and was occasionally played during feasts for the birth of a Mamluk prince, or his circumcision. Sultan Baybars I constructed for it the grounds known as Maydan al-Qabaq, which were used till the reign of al-Nasir Muhammad ibn Qalawun (ca. 700/1300).

Finally, on equestrian sports, one should mention archery competitions. These simulated a duel between mounted horsemen with the use of imitations to shoot at from a distance of a few hundred yards. Betting was part of the game. Many manuals were written to guide participants through the numerous techniques. Shooting with the crossbow was known as *bunduq*. Flight and target shooting with arrows was a sport as much as a basic part of military proficiency.

Wrestling matches took place at Islamic courts. A fragmentary lustre plate, probably from eleventh-century Egypt, has a painting of a wrestling match, most likely serving as a royal theme. We laconically know of popular wrestling matches in Cairo during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Their referees were versatile entertainers and street performers. In the same vein one should mention weightlifting.

A report about the ‘Abbasid al-Mu‘tasim (218–227/833–842) notes that he lifted weights during exercise. Fencing, riverboat racing, swimming, and games with lances were also in vogue, due to their low costs. Among the sports of the ‘Abbasid period, contests of animals and bird fighting were notable. The rulers and the common people alike favored them. Dogs, rams, and cocks, among others, were used in competitions, and thus Ma’mun’s (198–218/813–833) servants were on one occasion busy watching cock fighting at the court. A duel of lions and buffaloes is reported for al-Mu‘tasim’s court.

Also related to the present discussion is the subject of falconry (hunting with trained falcons), an ancient sport practiced in different parts of the world, which was introduced into Arabia many centuries before the Christian era. It seems to have been of special appeal there. It was sanctioned in the Qur’an and after the conquests became a favorable pastime with the ruling elite and a symbol of high status. It is first associated with the Umayyad Yazid (680–683 CE) and later the ‘Abbasids maintained falconers on official posts with lavish expenses. When Marco Polo, the famous Venetian traveler, visited the Mongol Khan Kublai in 1275 CE, he was astonished to see as many as ten thousand falconers. All that enormous interest resulted in sanctuaries for falcons and hawks and a flourishing literature on falconry.

One of the best descriptions of hunting practices is provided by the ‘‘aristocrat’’ Usama ibn Munqidh (1095–1188 CE), who was a member of an Arab petty dynasty from northern Syria. In his memoirs he describes some hunting expeditions in which he himself participated.

BOAZ SHOSHAN

See also Hunting

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STORIES AND STORYTELLING

See Popular Literature

SUDAN

Bilad al-Sudan, the "land of the blacks," was the name used for the savannah regions south of the Sahara from the Atlantic to the Red Sea. It can be divided into the Western Sudan (present-day Senegal to Mali), the Central Sudan around and to the northeast of Lake Chad (today Niger, northern Nigeria, and Chad), and the Nilotic Sudan (today the northern part of the Republic of Sudan). Western Sudan was sometimes also given the generic name "Takrur."

The Muslims' relation to the Sudan was initially one of trade. The origins of trans-Saharan trade is not known, but it did predate the Arab presence in North Africa, and it must have seen a marked expansion when the Maghrib was included in an Islamic world market, at least from the eighth or ninth century. Muslim traders traveled across the desert to market towns in the Sudanic belt, such as Tadmekka, Walata, and Awdaghost, where they met with local long-distance traders that had brought gold, ivory, and slaves from forest regions of the south. Eventually these Sudanic traders also started to make the journey across the desert to the trade centers that grew up on the northern side, such as Aghmat, Sijilmasa, and Wargala.

The Muslim traders did not, by and large, make any attempt at proselytization of their faith. Instead, they kept apart in separate quarters, often somewhat outside the main Sudanic towns. But the lucrative trade did in itself attract local elites to the civilization and thus the religion of the strangers. The rules of the Shari'a formed a legal framework necessary for more elaborate commercial networks, and those Sudanic traders that wanted to insert themselves directly in the transdesert trade would find conversion a major benefit for participation in it.

The trade also led to the growth of large empires in the Sudanic region. The first was Ghana (or Wagadu). It collapsed, perhaps after an Almoravid attack, in 1076, and was succeeded by Mali on the Niger bend (early thirteenth century). Mali became famous in the Muslim world for its wealth based on the gold trade, a reputation entrenched when its ruler, Mansa Musa, made a resplendent *hajj* in 1324. In the fifteenth century, the power of Mali was overtaken by the Songhay empire (c. 1460–1591), slightly to its east, with the capital of Gao.

Unlike Ghana's rulers, those of Mali had converted to Islam. However, it was initially only a partial conversion, as they also had to retain their religious legitimacy as divinely ordained rulers according to the popular faiths of their subjects. As Islam spread among the socially dominant classes of the population, however, Muslim religiosity also became important for the ruler, and the *askiya* rulers of Songhay, such as Askiya Muhammad, sought a reputation for piety by inviting Muslim reformers from the north to deepen knowledge of Islam in his lands.

Local traders also spread Islam southward from Jenne and other riverain centers, embodied by scholarly lineages such as the Suwari teachers and traders (the Jahanke and Juula).

The western trade routes were initially the most important ones across the desert. But the first major Sudanic king to convert to Islam was not of the west, but the ruler of the Kanem empire east of Lake Chad. He had already in the eleventh century made the transition to Islam. Kanem was also the first and only Sudanic kingdom to colonize a part of the Maghreb when it invaded Fezzan (today southern Libya) and established a local capital there at Traghen in around 1258. This expansionism from the south lasted about a century before weaknesses at home caused contacts to the colony to be cut off and it eventually withered away.

The traders that first brought Islam across the desert were mostly Ibadis or other Khariji groups that dominated such northern centers as Sijilmasa and Wargala. Thus Sudanic Islam was initially an Ibadi Islam, and it may have been this school to which the Kanem king converted. However, in this period Islam was still an elite and trader religion. By the time it spread to a wider audience from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Malikism reigned supreme in the north, and although some Ibadi desert retreats (Ghardaia, Wargala, Ghadames) remained important trading centers, it was Maliki Islam that came to dominate the Sudan, and all traces of an Ibadi past were lost to posterity.

The history of Islam in the Nilotic region differs from the western and central ones, because the Nile River allows a continuity of population from north to south. It also differs because Christianity had gained a firm foothold in the Nile valley, such as in the Nubian kingdoms of Maris, Muqurra, and Alwa. Muqurra, with its capital of Dongola, came under Egyptian Muslim control under the Mamluks, and its cathedral was turned into a mosque in 1317. The

kingdom of Alwa to the south (near modern-day Khartoum) fell apart around the same time. The immigration of Arab tribes, together with Arabization of the local population groups, made Arabic the dominant language, and Islam dominated the Nilotic Sudan by the end of the sixteenth century. At the end of this period, a dynasty of the Funj people established the kingdom of Sennar, which included most of the Nilotic Sudan and lasted until the nineteenth century.

In spite of its geographical closeness to Muslim Egypt, Islamic scholarship was much less developed in the Nilotic regions than in the western Sudan. There, desert-side centers such as Timbuktu and Walata, as well as scholarly tribes of the desert proper, produced an extensive Islamic literature and became focuses of learning that later came to influence not only their own region but also the central lands of Islam. More militant expressions of religious mobilization, such as the Almoravid movements that had some roots in the south, also showed the impact that the Sudan had on the Maghreb and beyond.

KNUT S. VIKØR

See also al-Bakri; Berber or Tamazight; Ibn Battuta; Mahmud al-Kati; Slaves and Slave Trade; Sunni 'Ali; Trade, African; Waqwaq

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SUFFERING

Various discussions that relate to the theme of suffering can be found in several genres, including discussions of pain, evil, misery *(shaqa')*, affliction *(bala')*, and torment *('adhab)*. Traditionally, humans (including prophets), animals, and jinn are liable to suffer, to the exclusion of God and angels. As with pleasure and happiness, suffering may be experienced in this world and the hereafter; and it is generally accepted that "the torment of the hereafter is greater" (Q 68:33). The entry discusses this-worldly suffering only.

The Qur'an and *hadith* literature approach suffering in various ways. Some suffering is explained as punishment deserved by those who commit unbelief or disobedience, and is cited to draw people toward piety. The worst cases involve the violent and humiliating annihilation of an individual or a people (for example, the peoples of Noah and Lot), leading to more severe torment in the hereafter. Those with greater prudence should perceive these cases as a warning and as lessons through example. Where the sufferer survives, he or she will have the opportunity to recognize his or her own suffering as a directive to mend his or her ways.

Equally, suffering may be cathartic and thus a reason to rejoice. It may redeem the sufferer by purging him or her of sin, bringing relief from greater torment in the hereafter. According to one *hadith*, any Muslim who suffers harm, even the prick of a thorn, will have his or her sins expiated, "shedding from him as a tree sheds its leaves." Suffering may also draw one nearer to God (Q 7:94), or serve as an ordeal that tests the individual's faith (Q 2:155–157). Another *hadith* describes the plague as representing divine punishment upon some people, and divine mercy upon the believer, who will be rewarded for his or her patience in enduring a plague-ridden town. The Qur'an presents Prophet Job as the patient believer *par excellence*, who passed the test of severe adversity.

As regards the moral and spiritual virtues associated with the experience of suffering, the main religious traditions in Islam are in general agreement but differ on details. The central cathartic virtue emphasized throughout the Qur'an is patience, which (in contrast to stoic endurance) should be based on faith in, and reliance on, God's goodness and power. This basis is explained in various ways, for example, by reference to the eventual happiness that the patient should expect, or the insignificance of mundane pain to the believer, who is absorbed in his or her relation with God. To be truly patient, one should also conceal one's suffering, turning to none but God.

A spiritually advanced person will go beyond patience and reach the station of acquiescence and approval *(rida)* of whatever God decrees. This stance led some Sufis to take the non-mainstream view that, at this stage, one should not supplicate God to relieve suffering, which would imply disapproval.

Certain rituals—most notably fasting—induce moderate suffering in the believer and are thus

considered cathartic. Ascetics typically went further by undertaking forms of mortification, which serve a similar purpose. In Imami Shi'ism, great importance is attached to commemorations of the events of 'Ashura', partly as means to participating in the suffering of al-Husayn and his supporters in the battle of Karbala.

Theological Tradition

The rise of rational theology witnessed the development of systematic solutions to the problem of evil, which is essentially as follows. God is good, and good beings do not perform evil acts; yet God created the world, including at least some of the evil it contains.

According to the Mu'tazila, evil is justified rationally in the framework of their moral realism, whereby moral value can be intrinsic to acts and knowable to unaided reason. We are therefore able to make moral judgments in relation to both human and divine acts, for example, God is obligated to omit bad acts, including those that harm creatures. However, they argued, the act of creation is good, since it allows humans to attain great reward in the hereafter. Human suffering in this world, though *prima facie* bad, becomes good on account of afterlife compensation that God will provide. As for unjustified harm caused intentionally by other humans, it is their own moral responsibility (as they have free choice), not that of their Creator. It is thus incumbent upon God to deliver retributive justice by punishing wrongdoers. Though Mu'tazilism did not survive as a school, this theodicy was adopted in Zaydi and Imami Shi'ism.

By contrast, most Sunni theologians took an antirealist metaethical stance. Members of the Ash'ari school advanced an increasingly sophisticated criticism of Mu'tazili ethics and argued that ordinary moral judgments stem from emotion and social convention, rather than reason. God, therefore, is not obliged to adhere to any moral rules or duties. Though He creates everything, including human suffering and its causes, none of His acts are bad or morally justifiable. Yet God is compassionate and, out of favor, promises reward to believers who suffer patiently.

The Philosophical Tradition

According to Abu Bakr al-Razi (d. 313/925), an early maverick philosopher, pain is real, whereas pleasure, being mere relief from pain, is unreal. In reality, therefore, creatures experience only pain and anguish. Al-Razi argues that God, being absolutely good, could not have produced such a wretched creation. Rather, this world came into being when the preeternal Soul, out of sheer ignorance, desired to unite with matter (also, in his view, preeternal). Having witnessed the result of this union, God ameliorates it as much as possible and introduces reason, which serves to emancipate the Soul from matter, gradually as it advances through metempsychosis.

By contrast, Ibn Sina (d. 429/1037), the most influential Muslim philosopher, advances a Neoplatonic, purely ontological analysis of the problem of evil, which aims to prove that God, the absolutely good First Cause, produces a good world. Evil, he argues, refers either to imperfection in an entity (such as blindness), in which case it is nonexistent, or to a cause thereof, which is a quality in another entity (such as burning in fire). Such qualities are necessary features of the best possible cosmic order and serve greater good than the harm they cause accidentally. Pain, for Ibn Sina, is ontologically insignificant and deserves little justification; time, after all, erases most memories of pain from the mind. God, therefore, should not be judged morally on account of creaturely suffering—higher causes never act for the sake of lower beings. Ibn Sina lambastes the Mu'tazila who fail to comprehend this and take the subjective human experience of pain at face value in their theodicy.

This standard Neoplatonic theodicy became influential on later philosophical Sufis, most notably Ibn 'Arabi (d. 638/1240). But Ibn Sina was seriously challenged by Fakhr al-Din al-Razi (d. 606/1210), who argues that a theodicy that disregards the human experience of suffering merely circumvents the real problem of evil, which concerns the ordinary understanding of evil in terms of pain. This world, he retorts, contains much more pain than pleasure. Yet (reiterating the prevalent Sunni view) this has no moral bearing on God.

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See also Afterlife; Ash'aris; Ethics; Mu'tazilites

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SUFISM AND SUFIS: SOUTH ASIA

Sufism, or the mystical component of Islam, in South Asia constitutes a critical component of Muslim society in the medieval period. Alongside the religious learned class *('ulama')*, Sufis had developed sophisticated institutions of learning, networks for merchants, charitable organizations, and contributed immensely to scholarship. In South Asia, just as their counterparts in the Middle East and North Africa, Sufis were scholars of law, philosophy, theology, literature, medicine, mathematics, and astronomy. Sufis obtained prominent political positions as advisors to statesmen on jurisprudence and on policy decisions, and they also were influential members in all of the major Islamic Sunni and Shi'i legal schools. Sufi scholars in South Asia were responsible for developing major intellectual trends, philosophical schools of thought, and devising legal interpretations that were historical in nature.

Many of the major educational institutions that taught traditional Qur'ānic, legal, linguistic, and hadith and seerah studies had incorporated Sufi studies into their curriculum. As scholars, Sufis developed new ways of defining and transmitting spiritual knowledge and authority and simultaneously devised their own methods of legitimation. By the medieval period, Sufism evolved as the main expression of Islamic piety by being patronized either by the Delhi sultanate or the Mughal dynasty. Their popular religious appeal simultaneously was connected to the intellectual growth and exuberance of Muslim scholarship.

Emperor Akbar's erudite historian, Abu Fazl, recorded in *A'in-i Akbari* that there were fourteen major Sufi orders in South Asia. In Abu Fazl's analysis of Sufism, he outlines the subbranches of each of the orders, the founding Sufi masters, the genealogies, and their primary areas of influence. The fourteen Sufi orders that were dominant in the medieval period were: Chishtī, Hubairī, Zaidī, Habibī, Karkia, Suhrawardī, Taifurī, Junaidī, Firdausī, Tasuia, Gazrunī, 'Iyazī, Adhamī, and Saqatia. Each Sufi order constituted its own rituals, meditation practices, prayer manuals, literature on Sufism, and independent institutions that lodged members and senior Sufi masters.

A review of two major Sufi orders, the Chishtis and Suhrawardīs, will illustrate the major religious practices of Sufis in South Asia. Mu'īn al-dīn Chishtī, commonly called *Khwaja Gharib Nawaz* ("The Patron Saint of the Poor") established the Chishti Sufi order in India. Mu'īn al-dīn Chishtī was born in Sijistan, an eastern province of Persia, was forced out of his town by invasions, and became itinerant until he settled in Ajmer, India. Chishtī studied in a variety of prestigious Islamic colleges *(madaris)* in Baghdad, Samarqand, Tabriz, and Bukhara, where he mastered languages, philosophy, law, and ethics and then concentrated on an internal mystical approach to religion. It is recorded that Chishtī met prominent Sufis, such as 'Abdu'l Qadir Jilānī, Najm ud-dīn Kubra, and Abdul Qadir al-Suhrawardī, and studied under the eminent Usmān Baghdadī for twenty years. Mu'īn al-dīn Chishtī reached Delhi in 1193, and then settled in Ajmer to establish his teachings and the Sufi order. Like earlier prominent Sufi masters before him, Mu'īn al-dīn Chishtī implemented a hierarchical master–disciple *(pir–murīd)* structure for spiritual training, and he also successfully assimilated local customs into the order. Chishtī understood the benefits of cross-religious exchanges and shared many Hindu *yogi* practices, such as bowing before an elder, shaving the head of new members, presenting water to guests, and the use of devotional music *(samā')* for worship. The distinguishing features of Mu'īn al-dīn Chishtī's teachings and practices are assimilating Sufi practices within the Indian religious context, while other contemporary Sufis and legal-minded scholars were interested in maintaining boundaries between Islam and the Hindu tradition.

Mu'īn al-dīn Chishtī's beliefs were a combination of Islamic mystical beliefs with an emphasis on social reforms. Chishtī Sufi mystical practices are rooted in the theory of the unity of being *(wahdat al-wujūd)*, which stressed that the presence of the Divine is manifested in everything in the universe and one is able to access the divine through spiritual exercises. In contrast to the legal-minded scholars or *'ulamā'* who claimed they had the exclusive rights to interpreting divine knowledge through the laws of the Qur'ān, Sūfī masters like Mu'īn al-dīn Chishtī emphasized that the ability for each individual, regardless of class and educational training, was to be able to experience the ecstasy of divine union. Mu'īn al-dīn Chishtī's esoteric path involved a disciple in relentless sacrifice and love to God. Like many Sufis before him, Mu'īn al-dīn Chishtī believed that the individual needed to be guided by a master in order for the disciple to be completely immersed in living for God and cultivate a special kind of inner love *(muhabbat-i khass)*. This involved striving to a higher spiritual level where the disciple developed an emotional and spiritual relationship between himself or herself and the Divine. At this ideal state nothing else existed but a complete spiritual union.

The difficult social and political conditions under which Mu'īn al-dīn Chishtī lived influenced his emphasis on incorporating social services with his Sufi theosophy. With a corrupt sociopolitical and economic system under the Delhi sultanate, Chishtī's rejection of all worldly material *(tark-i dunyā)* was the foundation of his ideology. Any possession of property was considered a compromise of faith. According to Mu'īn al-dīn Chishtī, "The highest form of worship to God was to redress the misery of those in distress, to fulfill the needs of the poor and to feed the hungry." Chishtī Sufis lived on charity *(futuh)* and practiced several mystical breathing techniques, engaged in spiritual confinement in a cell for meditational purposes, and involved themselves in devotional music gatherings *(samā')*. The more advanced Sufis tied a rope around their feet and lowered their bodies into a well for forty days for prayer *(chilla-i ma'kus)*. Mu'īn al-dīn Chishtī preached that fasting from food was a good method for increasing one's faith, and if one desired food it should be a vegetarian diet. The Chishtīs had a reputation of having a large section of lower classes and the dispossessed in society as members. Since the Chishtīs accepted any member without discrimination of religion, class, ethnicity, and gender, the order rapidly became eclectic. When an individual became a member of the Chishtī Sufi order, which did not require religious conversion, he or she needed first, to choose an elder as a spiritual guide and second, to commit themselves to maintain the grounds of the shrine *(dargāh)*. Mu'īn al-dīn Chishtī's blend of a mystical life and social services for the poor profoundly changed the Islamic mystical institutions in the Indian subcontinent. His Sufi order served as an alternative form of popular spiritual expression because it empowered individuals to develop a spiritual discipline within a meaningful framework.

Another significant Sufi order in South Asia during the medieval period was the Suhrawardī Sufis, mainly located in Punjab and Sind. Baha' al-dīn Zakariyya Multanī (1181–1262) was Shihāb al-dīn 'Abū Hafs 'Umar al-Suhrawardī's (d. 1234) primary successor *(khalīfa)* to establish the Sufi order in Multan. Zakariyya successfully made his Sufi center *(khānaqāh)* an important center for both secular and religious activities as prominent royal families would visit and attend Suhrawardī rituals. A well-known poet and disciple of Zakariyya was Faqr al-dīn 'Irāqī, who wrote on the experience of divine union in his book *Lama'āt (Divine Flashes)*. Zakariyya's son and primary *khalīfa*, Sadr al-dīn 'Arif (d. 1285), continued the Suhrawardī order's mission, and his conversations were recorded by his successor, Zia al-dīn. Another important Suhrawardī successor of 'Umar al-Suhrawardī was Qādī Hamīd al-dīn Nagauri, who was based in Delhi. Nagauri wrote on the principles and practices of Sufism in *Usūl ut tarīqāt (The Principles of the Sūfī Path)*, which was widely used in most Suhrawardī centers in the Indian subcontinent. Nagauri served as *Shaikh-al-Islām* for the Delhi sultānate and was considered a leading scholar in his period. An extensive *tafsīr* is attributed to Nagauri called *Tafsīr-i Para-i 'Amma*. Works pertaining to Nagauri's ideas on mystical experiences connected to the larger cosmos. Another eminent Suhrawardī master and teacher was Jalāl al-dīn Bukhārī (d. 1291), who wrote *Sirāj al Hidayāh (Rays of Guidance)* in which he discussed the establishment of the Suhrawardī order in Ucch and in the Sind province. Most of this information is recorded by one of the major Suhrawardī chroniclers, Hamīd ibn Fazl Allāh Jamalī (d. 1536), author of *Siyār al 'Arifīn*.

Since its early history in Baghdad, the Suhrawardī Sufi order maintained the principle of embracing the world with the esoteric practices of Sufism. That is, the early theosophist of the Sufi order, 'Umar al-Suhrawardī, emphasized the necessity of becoming politically active and building networking alliances in order to be active members of the community. Part of al-Suhrawardī's basic creed was to adhere to and fully recognize the caliph's rule, or perhaps to obey general state authority, because this authority was a manifestation of divine authority on earth.

Suhrawardīs understood the Sufi path as the way to perfect one's devotion and the journey where one can fully embrace divine beauty; at the heart of the Suhrawardī Sufism was the reconnection with the divine the human soul had previously experienced in a preexistent time. This did not mean that Suhrawardīs could not lead a practical life; rather, they were encouraged to enjoy the benefits of this world and to not reject the world. They understood that the Prophet Muhammad established a balanced code for Suf living, and this example was the model for Suhrawardīs. According to the Suhrawardīs, there were only a few advanced devotees who were able to pray all night and work all day. The majority of believers needed to maintain prayers and specific Sufi practices, such as meditational spiritual exercises *(dhikr)*, as part of their daily routine. On the controversial issue of whether Sufis should maintain a celibate lifestyle, Suhrawardīs argued that only advanced Sufi masters were qualified to judge whether their disciples were spiritually equipped to take on that challenge. But there was a consensus that the lifestyle of the antinomian nomadic begging Qalandars was not acceptable in the Islamic tradition.

The overwhelming stress on proper moral conduct *(adab)* is mainly connected with his concern that

Sufis develop an internal and external discipline that mirrored the Prophet's life. For the Suhrawardīs the physical world is very much related to the spiritual world, and in order for Sufis to perfect their spirituality their physical customs must reflect their internal condition. Most South Asian Suhrawardī masters connected *adab* as way to obey the law completely because it was a manifestation of divine order. Some suggested that in the process of creating a perfect harmonious society, it required an intensely structured model. *Adab* was a critical element in this ideal world because all the minute details of an individual's behavior could be controlled. However, Suhrawardīs believed they were practicing more than spiritual purity, but in the larger scheme, Suhrawardī Sufis were attempting to reunite with the divine, and this required them to uphold Islamic law. One needed to be prepared to carry out this extraordinary responsibility by having one's thoughts and actions planned for every moment.

QAMAR-UL HUDA

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SUHRAWARDI, AL-, SHIHAB AL-DIN 'UMAR (1145–1234)

Shihab al-Din Abu Hafs 'Umar al-Suhrawardi belonged to a prominent Persian Sufi family and was responsible for officially organizing the Suhrawardi Sufi order. At an early age he was initiated into Islamic mysticism by his renowned uncle, Abu Najib al-Suhrawardi (d. 1168), and he studied jurisprudence, philosophy, law, logic, theology, Qur'anic studies, and hadith studies. He studied theology under the eminent scholar and Sufi teacher 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani (d. 1166), and at a young age al-Suhrawardi mastered the Hanbali and Shafi'i branches of Islamic law in Baghdad.

The 'Abbasid caliph al-Nasir li-Din Allah designated al-Suhrawardi the *Shaykh al-Islam* or Minister of Religious Affairs to supervise political and religious affairs for the 'Abbasid administration. As a political theorist, al-Suhrawardi advocated the supremacy of the caliph because he was the capstone who mastered the Islamic sciences, who commanded knowledge of law, and who was the mediator between God and creation. For al-Suhrawardi, since humanity was incapable of returning to God on its own, the caliphate was the temporal overseer and the representative of God on earth. His political theories did invite their share of criticism from legal scholars of his time, who felt he was too closely connected to legitimizing the policies of the state.

Al-Suhrawardi's legacy is primarily within Sufism, where he asserted that living according to

Sufi principles and beliefs was the perfect way for devotion and to enjoy divine beauty. According to al-Suhrawardi, the Sufi tradition was rooted in the life of the Prophet Muhammad, who embodied human perfection and divine guidance. It is the goal of Sufis to mirror the Prophet in order to discipline their entire inner and outer selves. His Sufi theosophy stressed proper moral conduct *(adab)* because the physical world is very much related to the spiritual world, and in order for Sufis to perfect their spirituality to meet the divine their physical customs must reflect their internal condition. Al-Suhrawardi's ideas on proper moral conduct stem from the belief that it is necessary to obey the law completely because it is a manifestation of divine order. *Adab* was a critical element in his ideal world because all minute details of an individual's behavior could be controlled, a practice the Sufi novice needed to master. For al-Suhrawardi, Sufis were practicing more than spiritual purity, but in the larger scheme, Sufis were attempting to reunite with the divine in their lifetime, and this required them not to abandon or neglect the law. According to al-Suhrawardi, one needed to be prepared to carry out this extraordinary responsibility by having one's thoughts and actions planned for every moment, at every place.

One of al-Suhrawardi's best extant Sufi texts, *'Awarif al-Ma'arif (The Knowledge of the Spiritually Learned)*, was one of the more popular Sufi books of his time, and posthumously it became the standard preparatory text book for Sufi novices around the Islamic world. One of the many reasons for its esteemed reputation in the Sufi world was that the manual attempted to reconcile the practices of Sufism with the observance of Islamic law. To later generations of Sufis and to a wide cross-section of Sufi orders, al-Suhrawardi's Sufi treatise became one of the most closely studied and memorized texts in the tradition. Al-Suhrawardi's contribution to Sufi thought, to Islamic piety, and to living a holy life was to ensure that Sufis fully comprehended *adab* as a transformative medium between the inner and outer worlds. For him, *adab* was grounded in theology that is less about the physical, psychological, and temporal dimensions of moral conduct; rather, it is more concerned with accentuating the constant opening of the heart that inspires a real journey toward encountering God.

QAMAR-UL HUDA

See also 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani; Sufis and Sufism

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SULAYHIDS

The Sulayhids, a Yemenite dynasty in close relationship with the Fatimid caliphate of Egypt, ruled Yemen between AH 439/1047 CE and AH 532/1138 CE. The earliest Fatimid base had been in Yemen when the Isma'ili da'i Ibn Hawshab Mansur al-Yaman declared his mission at Mt. Masar near San'a' in 268/881 and started conquering many parts of northern Yemen in preparation for the advent of the Fatimid caliphate there. However, the Fatimid al-Mahdi chose North Africa for the establishment of his caliphate, and Yemen, on purpose, was abandoned politically, although a mission *(da'wa)* continued to exist there. When, in the eleventh century, to face the Seljuk challenge, the Fatimids entered into a thick confrontation with the 'Abbasid caliphate, their interest in Yemen was revived as a base for its trade with India to compete with that of the 'Abbasids in that region, and also because the Fatimid Mediterranean trade declined because of the Zirid defiance in North Africa in league with the 'Abbasid–Seljuk entente. This brought the Sulayhids into prominence, helped by the Fatimids, to establish themselves in Yemen on their behalf.

'Ali ibn Muhammad ibn 'Ali, of the Sulayhi family, belonging to the Yam branch of the Hamdan tribe, was the son of a Shafi'i *qadi* in the Haraz region west of San'a'. He was converted to Ismailism by the then incumbent of the Fatimid *da'wa* in Yemen, Sulayman ibn 'Abd Allah of the Zawahi family. In 429/1038, at a pilgrimage at Mecca, 'Ali gathered enough followers to declare his mission on behalf of the Fatimids and to embark on a campaign of conquests that culminated in the taking of San'a' in 439/1047 from the Yu'firids. By 455/1063, he had conquered all of

Yemen. About this the near-contemporary historian Umara wrote: "By the end of 455 H. he had conquered all the plains and mountains; all the lands and waters of Yemen, the like of which had not been seen either in the *Jahiliyya* or Islam."

Exactly at that time, Fatimid Egypt was passing through a great crisis because of a long-drawn-out famine *(al-shidda al-'uzma)* and the ravages of a soldier of fortune, Nasir al-Dawla. 'Ali sent a prolonged embassy under his *da'i* Lamak ibn Malik al-Hammadi from 454/1062 to 459/1067 to the court of the Imam–Caliph al-Mustansir bi-Allah (427–487/1036–1094) at Cairo. Lamak was lodged at the Dar al-'Ilm (Academy of Science), the headquarters of the Chief Da'i al-Mu'ayyad fi al-din al-Shirazi (d. 470/1077). It seems that this embassy was responsible for many decisions. 'Ali wanted to visit the Fatimid court as a savior from its crisis, but he was prevented from doing so. 'Ali had wanted to control Mecca and its Sharifate. He was dissuaded from it and was instead encouraged to conquer Hadramawt. 'Ali wanted that his family would be confirmed in the *da'wa* as da'i-kings. This was agreed upon, but an autonomous *da'wa* was set up under the Sulayhid sovereigns. It is possible that the process of transferring the *da'wa* literature to the Yemen began at this time, and so also the strengthening of the *da'wa* in India under Yemeni control, thus securing the Egypt–Yemen–India trade route.

Without waiting for the Imam's permission, 'Ali started on his journey to Egypt via Mecca, where he went for pilgrimage at the end of 459 (early 1067). He was assassinated there by the forces of Sa'id, the Najahid king of Zabid. 'Ali's wife, Asma bint Shihab, was taken prisoner.

'Ali was succeeded by Ahmad al-Mukarram, his second son. His first son, Muhammad al-A'azz, had predeceased him by a year. Al-Mukarram rescued his mother by defeating the Najahid Sa'id in a battle that also resulted in his paralysis. In 467/1074, he had to retire to Dhu Jibla near Ibb, leaving the affairs of the state in the hands of his wife, al-Sayyida al-Hurra al-Malika Arwa, who resided probably in Haraz, while San'a' was put under the charge of 'Imran ibn al-Fadl al-Yami, along with Abu l-Su'ud ibn As'ad ibn Shihab, the brother of queen-mother Asma. Asma died later in the same year (467/1074).

That year also saw the establishment of the absolute power of the Armenian military leader Badr al-Jamali in Egypt. From then until his death in 470/1078, the Chief Da'i al-Mu'ayyad fi l-din al-Shirazi was probably responsible for bringing Badr al-Jamali and Queen Arwa in close collaboration with each other. Badr needed the adherence of Yemen, and the queen needed her autonomy. The maintenance of this Egypt–Yemen entente explains the acceptance by the Yemeni *da'wa* of the caliphate of al-Musta'li, the nominee of Badr's son al-Afdal after the death of the caliph al-Mustansir. The older son of al-Mustansir, Nizar, was bypassed in Fatimid succession but was supported by the Da'i Hasan ibn Sabbah who established a rival Nizari Da'wa at Alamut in Iran.

When al-Mukarram died in 477/1084, the queen faced a rivalry between the two Qadis—'Imran ibn al-Fadl and Lamak ibn Malik. Imran was stationed in San'a' and was the commander-in-chief of the Sulayhid army. However, he once insulted the memory of al-Mukarram's father and fell out of grace of the king and the queen, although he later fought with the Sulayhids against the Najahids and was killed in battle. 'Imran's family would later control San'a' and found a Hamdanid kingdom there. The queen, on the other hand, was supported by the *da'wa* under Lamak and then under his son, Yahya. Although the queen was the sole *de facto* ruler, the official ruler was her minor son, 'Ali 'Abd al-Mustansir. However, she was at this time given by Imam al-Mustansir the title of *Hujja,* making her the highest religious leader in her region. The queen was supported by two military chiefs—Amir Abu Himyar Saba ibn Ahmad of the Sulayhid family and Amir Abu l-Rabi' 'Amir ibn Sulayman of the Zawahi family—both in constant conflict with each other, thus weakening the Sulayhid state. In the years 491–492/1098–1099, the two Amirs died. The da'i Lamak ibn Malik and the queen's two sons, 'Ali and al-Muzaffar, also died about this time, leaving the queen at the mercy of another Amir, al-Mufaddal al-Himyari, who guarded her treasure at the fortress of Ta'kar but was also responsible for creating many enemies against her by his constant warfare. On his death in 504/1110, Egypt sent an Armenian commander, Ibn Najib al-Dawla, as a *da'i* to reign in the chaotic situation in Yemen. Soon the local tribes revolted against him and the authority of the queen was much constrained by him. In any case he was drowned in the Red Sea, probably at the unavowed instigation of the queen. Another administrator was appointed at this time from the Sulayhid family, 'Ali ibn 'Abd Allah, with the title of Fakhr al-khilafa. The queen, however, relied on the *Da'wa* under Yahya ibn Lamak and its military arm, Sultan al-Khattab ibn al-Hasan al-Hamdani, the baron of Jurayb in the Hajur district. He is also called a *da'i*, for many works of the Yemeni *da'wa* were authored by him. He became the queen's defender of faith and the protector of her realm. He never attained the position of a *Da'i mutlaq* under the queen as a Hujja, which went to his mentor—the Da'i Dhu'ayb ibn Musa al-Wadi'i—on Da'i Yahya's death in 520/1126.

In the meantime, in Egypt, the imam–caliph al-Mustansir was followed by al-Musta'li (487–495/1094–1101), and then by al-Amir (495–524/1101–1130), who was assassinated by the Nizaris. On Amir's death, Queen Arwa recognized his minor son Tayyib as imam, thus severing her ties with the new Fatimid ruler al-Hafiz and his successors. Tayyib, in hiding, was then never heard from. Two years later, in 526/1132, the Tayyibi da'wa was declared in Yemen with da'i Dhu'ayb as the first *da'i Mutlaq*—a rank that continued to signify the headship of the da'wa in Yemen and India, independent of the Fatimid caliphate. The last years of Queen Arwa saw the disintegration of her empire. She died in 532/1138, leaving in her will a large fortune to the absent Imam Tayyib, that is, to the da'wa. Soon after, in a year's time, her chief military supporter, the da'i Khattab, also died.

The Hamdanid dynasty of San'a' and the Zuray'id dynasty of Aden supported the Hafizi da'wa of the Fatimids till all three of them were terminated by the Ayyubid conquest of Egypt and Yemen during 567–569/1171–1173. Under Ayyubid rule, the Tayyibi Ismailis remained as a community, not involved in politics, and thus survived till today in Yemen and India, preserving the *Da'wa* structure and the Fatimid literary heritage.

ABBAS HAMDANI

See also Arwa; Ismailis

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SÜLEYMANIYE MOSQUE

The architect Sinan (AH 895/1490 CE–996/1588) built the great Süleymaniye *külliye* (socioreligious complex) for his patron Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent (926–974/1520–1566) in the years 957–965/1550–1557. The mosque complex dominated the eastern skyline of Istanbul, occupying the third of its seven hills. The choice of such a site was intended to enhance the building's grandeur, so that the mosque, and by identification its patron, had visual prominence in the Ottoman capital. Moreover, it commanded dramatic panoramic views from its elevated platform, which on its eastern side was raised so high that one could gaze over the rooftops of the Salis and Rabı Medreses to the Golden Horn and the Sea of Marmara below.

The architectural construction, maintenance, and the huge support staff of 748 needed for the daily running of the complex was financed, as typical for such enormous imperial Ottoman commissions, by an extensive *waqf* endowment of farms and other income-producing properties, taxes on villages, and the rents produced by the assorted shops and cafes around the perimeter of the site. The seven-hectare complex consisted of a centrally placed mosque, a courtyard, and a cemetery enclosed within a walled esplanade that was surrounded by six *medreses* (colleges), a Koran school *(mekteb),* soup kitchen *(imaret)*, hospital *(daruşşifa)*, baths, a Sufi hostel *(tabhane)*, and various coffeehouses and shops. The *medreses* were self-contained schools with small rooms for students, residences for the academic directors, and lecture halls organized around large open courtyards. A residence for Sufis was a central feature of earlier *zawiya*-mosque complexes, but here, its position outside the walls of the main mosque precinct was a sign of the diminished importance of Sufi sheikhs and the imperial subordination of the Sufi orders to the orthodox and increasingly centralized Sunni state.

The centerpiece of the hilltop complex is the great domed mosque, erected on sloping ground artificially leveled at great expense. The prayer hall and mosque

courtyard together form a rectangle, with a second courtyard beyond the mosque's *qibla* wall that contains the simple yet imposing, double-shell-domed, octagonal tomb of the sultan. The location of the founder's tomb here firmly and permanently attached his identity to the great *külliye*. Off center stood the smaller tomb of his favorite wife, the Haseki Hürrem Sultan (d. 1558). Surrounded by a roofed colonnade and adorned with inscriptions referring to paradise and tile panels with garden themes, Süleyman's tomb bore a resemblance to the late-seventh-century Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, and by extension evoked an association with Solomon's Temple, which was particularly appropriate since the sultan was sometimes called "The Solomon of the Age." Although earlier Ottoman complexes, such as the Ulu Cami in Manisa (776/1374), included the founder's tomb beside the mosque, its placement directly beyond the mihrab at Süleyman's mosque followed the example of the Fatih Cami (867–875/1463–1470), an ideologically important mosque built just after the conquest of Constantinople, that trumpeted the realization of the Ottoman imperial dream.

Visually dramatic and mathematically rational, the Süleymaniye mosque is one of the sublime achievements in Islamic architecture. A peristyle *(revak)* with twenty-four domes runs around the interior of the courtyard (forty-four by fifty-seven meters), which has a central ablution fountain. The courtyard is marked by four minarets that vertically extend its dimensions, the sharp spikes contrasting and competing with the majestic dome of the prayer hall. The minarets at the courtyard's outer wall have two balconies, whereas those at the juncture of the courtyard and prayer hall are taller, with three balconies. The change in height and elaboration contributes to a sense of acceleration that culminates in the dome, a huge fifty-three-meter-high half sphere that rises above a host of smaller and lower half and full domes. The central dome is raised on a high drum buttressed at the north and south ends by great half domes, which are, in turn, supported by smaller half domes fitted neatly into the corners of the rectangle thus formed by the great central and half domes. The dome rests on four massive piers that inscribe a central area of 26.5 square meters, a dimension that is exactly half of the dome's height. To the east and west sides of the central dome, galleried secondary spaces are vaulted by a rhythmic succession of large and small domes. The result is not so much an accumulation of discrete domical units but a single, continuous space that crescendoes at its apex. Goodwin, who has traced the relative proportions of the domical units, the interior volumes of the prayer hall, and the mosque's plan, asserts that Sinan had a sophisticated understanding of mathematical and geometrical harmony: "These measurements conform absolutely to the symbol of the perfect circle in the perfect square and it is so satisfactory a definition of space that it dominates the complexities which modulate the rigid form of the rest of the mosque. . . ." (p. 213).

The mosque was built with luxurious materials: marble, porphyry, glazed tile, gold, richly hued paints, and even ostrich eggs. The interior furnishings once included crystal mosque lamps, handsomely inlaid wooden chests, and carpets. The mihrab wall was the first of Sinan's works to be extensively decorated with red and blue Iznik tiles. The brilliantly colored glass windows on the *qibla* wall were the work of Sarhoş Ibrahim. The bright painting of the mosque's interior seen today is largely the work (recently retouched) of the Fossati brothers in the mid-nineteenth century. Between the dome's immense piers, four massive red granite columns form lateral screens that run perpendicular to the *qibla* wall. Their provenance was charged with territorial and political symbolism, for according to reports, one each came from the old Ottoman palace (the site on which the Süleymaniye was built), Kiztaşi in Istanbul, Alexandria (Egypt), and Baalbek (Lebanon), which itself was associated with a palace built by Solomon. However, modern historians point to the impossibility of obtaining four perfectly matched columns of such prodigious size from such disparate sources; although architectural spolia (reused material) was no doubt extracted from those places, it is more likely that all four of the columns were specially commissioned for the mosque from the same quarry and workshop.

If the Süleymaniye mosque made sophisticated reference to numerous earlier buildings at the symbolic level, it also was clearly the architectural progeny of the Hagia Sophia. Both are enormous religious buildings with expansive interior spaces that, through the careful massing of domes and half domes, had elongated axes in which vision was unimpeded by vertical supports. The concentration of architectonic support on corner piers liberated the walls so that they could be filled with windows, flooding the interior with light. Sinan had plenty of opportunity to study the great sixth-century Byzantine church that had been converted to a mosque immediately after the conquest of Constantinople of 857/1453, and appears to have deliberately striven to equal and eventually exceed the venerable monument. The Hagia Sophia's patron Justinian was reputed to have proclaimed, "Solomon, I have surpassed you!" at the church's inauguration, but a thousand years later Süleyman could claim to have surpassed Justinian.

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See also Istanbul; Madrasa; Sinan

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SULTAN

The Arabic word *sultan* is derived from the noun *sulta*, defined as authority in medieval Arabic dictionaries such as Ibn Manzur's (d. 1312) *Lisan al-'Arab* or al-Fayuzabadi's (d. 1414) *al-Qamus al-muhit*. A sultan is thus one who holds authority. In the Qur'an, the word *sultan* is linked to the concept of spiritual power, but use of the term *sultan* soon spread to other aspects of the medieval Islamic world, most notably in governmental and nongovernmental areas. Thus, for example, a master of poetry or a Sufi shaykh could receive the honorific appellation of *sultan* from his devotees. However, it is the use of *sultan* in the political and governmental spheres with which this entry is concerned.

In political spheres the term was given to (or claimed by) rulers, primarily derived from the military classes, who achieved independent power and control over the regions they ruled. Its use in this context emerged during the periods of Buyid (c. 932–1062) and Seljuk (c. 1038–1194) domination of the Central Islamic lands of Iraq and Iran, although after the Seljuks it was used primarily in regions where the rulers were Sunni. A representative list of the polities who used this title for their preeminent ruler would include the Ayyubid (1169–1250), Delhi (1206–1555), Ghaznavid (977–1186), and Mamluk (1250–1517) sultanates. It was the highest title such a military warlord could claim, as titles such as caliph or imam were reserved for those who possessed religious authority. It is worth noting that while it is commonplace to mention that there is no Islamic precept similar to the Christian idea of "rendering unto Caesar that which is Caesar's and unto God that which is God's," the regnal titles *(laqab, alqab)* adopted by many of these *sultan*s often took the form of a phrase such as "*sayf al-dawla wa-l-din*." While *sayf* is easily translated as sword, translations of both *dawla* and *din* are heavily dependent on context and difficult to translate into only one English word, but in a context such as this, *sayf al-dawla wa-l-din* may be rendered as "sword of the polity and the faith." Thus while sultans would not have the authority to rule on matters of faith, they would be charged with upholding Islamic belief and defending and ensuring justice for the Muslims they ruled.

In many cases, while sultans were the *de facto* rulers of their regions, they often sought the *de jure* recognition of their authority from the 'Abbasid caliphs. The decline of the actual power of the 'Abbasid caliphate and the rise of military leaders as sulṭans did not go unnoticed by medieval Islamic jurists. Al-Ghazali (d. 1111), al-Mawardi (d. 1058), Nizam al-Mulk (d. 1092), Ibn Taymiyya (d. 1328), and Badr al-Din Muhammad ibn Jama'a (d. 1333), to name but five, wrote normative treatises on government that discussed, among other things, the rise and power of sultans, and the impact this had on Sunni principles of Islamic government. The reader is referred to the respective entries for the first four; the remainder of this entry will briefly discuss the ideas of the last.

Prior to the Mongol sack of Baghdad and murder of the 'Abbasid caliph al-Musta'ṣim in 1258, most Sunni political thought had been concerned with maintaining the primacy of the caliph (the title "imam" is often used). Normative thought legitimized the authority of sultans by arguing that while the sultans held power, the caliph was suzerain, although it is probable that most jurists recognized that such suzerainty was theoretical only. After 1258, and despite the creation of the oft-called "Shadow" 'Abbasid caliphate in Cairo by the Mamluk Sultan Baybars—whose authority few jurists recognized—this theoretical suzerainty was abandoned by jurists such as Badr al-Din ibn Jama'a. In his work *Tahrir al-ahkam fi tadbir ahl al-islam*, whose title echoes the *Ahkam al-sultaniyya* of al-Mawardi, Ibn Jama'a instead "was prepared to transfer to the *de-facto* ruler the constitutional theories worked out by earlier jurists and to recognize [the *de facto* ruler] as imam, holding that the seizure of power itself gave

Sixteenth century CE. Courtyard. Built around 1570 by Sultan Mulay Abdullah. Credit: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY. Madrasa Ben Yusuf, Marrakesh, Morocco.

authority'' (Lambton, p. 139). Even the seizure of power by a bad ruler, according to Ibn Jama'a (although the idea is not unique to him), was preferable to the absence of a government. In order to provide just rule and protection to his subjects, however, Ibn Jama'a wrote that the sultan should by necessity consult with the *'ulama'*. In this, of course, Ibn Jama'a was following a well-developed line of Islamic thought.

WARREN C. SCHULTZ

See also 'Abbasid Caliphate; Ayyubids; Baybars; Buyids; Al-Ghazali Ghaznavids; Ibn Taymiyya; Mamluks; al-Mawardi; Nizam al-Mulk; Seljuks

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SUNNI ALI, SONGHAY RULER

In the thirteenth century, Mali extended its sovereignty to include the Songhay area and, according to the chronicles (most of them by African writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries), took two noble hostages. One of them, Ali Kolon, escaped and returned to found the Sunni (Sonni) dynasty. Ali Kolon's far descendant, Sunni Ali (Ber), is known as a powerful and combative Songhay ruler who laid the foundations of an extensive empire, among others by conquering Timbuktu during his reign from 1463 to 1492. Islam's influence in the area, with a flourishing base in Timbuktu, appeared as an obstacle to Sunni Ali Ber's plan to exert more complete control over the entire region. According to the chronicles, he was a lukewarm Moslem at best. However, there is good reason to consider such descriptions as either

biased by political points of view from regions with growing links to Islamic Northern Africa or as the product of a literary model, since both these chronicles and present-day oral traditions picture Sunni Ali in contrast to his illustrious successor Askia Muhammad.

JAN JANSEN

See also Askia Muhammad; Mali; Songhay Empire

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SUNNI REVIVAL

The Sunni revival occurred during the eleventh century when the 'Abbasid caliphate in Baghdad and the Turkish–Seljuk Sultans actively supported Sunnism. During this period Sunni Islam became the dominant branch in the Muslim east. Sunni Islam is based on the approved standard or practice introduced by the Prophet Muhammad, as well as the pious Muslim forefathers. Sunnism first gained prominence during the eighth century when reports on the sayings and deeds of the Prophet were collected. During its early days, Sunnism stood in opposition to the 'Abbasid caliphate, which favored more rationalist schools of thought, like the Qadarites, Murji'ites, or Mu'tazilites. The most prominent figure of early Sunnism, Ahmad ibn Hanbal (d. 855), withstood the persecution of prominent Sunni leaders during the *mihna*, the "inquisition" instituted by the Caliph al-Ma'mun (r. 813–833). After the end of the *mihna* in 848, 'Abbasid caliphs are said to have paid homage to Ahmad ibn Hanbal and his followers, but they still did not support their traditionalist Sunni views. As the 'Abbasid caliphs became more and more marginalized during the ninth and tenth centuries, the real power came into the hands of the emirs and grand-emirs of the Buyid family, who openly supported Shi'ism in Iraq and Iran.

During the beginning of the eleventh century, the twenty-fifth 'Abbasid caliph, al-Qadir, who reigned the long period between 991 and 1031, managed to pursue a religious policy in Baghdad that became increasingly independent of the Buyid grand-emir in Shiraz. Al-Qadir found support among the well-organized group of traditionalist Sunni scholars of the Hanbali school and their local militias ('ayyarun). In 1018, al-Qadir published the so-called Qadiri Creed, in which he attempts to set a standard for Muslim orthodoxy. The Qadiri Creed, inspired by Hanbali Sunnism, is the very first document of its kind and it was repeatedly read in public throughout the eleventh century. In it, al-Qadir condemns Shi'is and Mu'tazilites and declares that rationalist theological positions such as the belief in the createdness of the Qur'an are unbelief *(kufr)* and liable to punishment by the state authorities. The open alliance of the Caliph al-Qadir and his grandson and successor, al-Qa'im (r. 1031–1075), with the conservative Hanbali branch of Sunni scholars led to violent tensions between the equally powerful Sunni and Shi'i militias in Baghdad that often exploded in outbursts of civil war.

The arrival of the Seljuks in Baghdad in 1055 completely changed the balance of power in favor of the caliph and his Sunni allies. The Seljuks were Turkish nomads from the plains of Central Asia (in today's Kazakhstan) who had adopted Islam and crossed the border to the Muslim empire in about 1025. With their superior horsepower they destroyed the Buyid principalities one by one and aimed to establish amicable relations with the 'Abbasid caliph in Baghdad. In 1055, they rescued the Caliph al-Qa'im from what was almost a successful Shi'i-supported coup d'état by an Iraqi military leader. Under the leadership of their Sultan Toghilbeg (d. 1063) and his Grand Vizier al-Kunduri (d. 1065), a Hanafi jurist from Nishapur in northeast Iran, the Seljuks pursued a religious policy that favored the conservative branches of Sunnism, who were loyal to the caliph. In Baghdad and Iraq they followed a middle way that acknowledged the rights and customs of the moderate Shi'i population and made a halt to the excesses of the radical Shi'i and Sunni militias.

The politics of a middle path in order to establish moderate Sunnism as the dominant way of Islam was most forcefully pursued by al-Kunduri's successor, Nizam al-Mulk (r. 1019–1092). He served as grand-vizier over a period of almost thirty years, between 1063 and his violent death in 1092. Second in power only to the Seljuk Sultans Alp Arslan (r. 1063–1072) and Malikshah (r. 1072–1092), both of whom he served, Nizam al-Mulk formulated the religious policy for an area that stretched from Asia Minor to Afghanistan. In the big cities he founded religious *madrasas* (so-called *Nizamiyyas*) that institutionalized the teaching of Sunni jurisprudence and theology. In theology, he favored the Ash'arite school tradition of Nishapur and mentored such outstanding scholars as al-Juwayni (1028–1085) and al-Ghazali (1058–1111). His religious policy was successful because it combined tolerance toward the moderate groups of Shi'ism with intolerance toward the radicals in all camps. Under the leadership of Nizam al-Mulk, the

Seljuks continued to persecute Ismaili Shi'is, who often acted as agents of the Shi'i Fatimid caliphate in Cairo. Some Sunni groups, such as the populist Karramites, who were powerful in the province of Khorasan in Northeast Iran until the end of the eleventh century, lost much influence during Nizam al-Mulk's reign, while particularly the Ash'arites came to dominate the scholarly activities in the Muslim east.

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SURGERY AND SURGICAL TECHNIQUES

The art of healing wounds, *djiraha*, was derived from the Arabic root *djurh,* meaning injury or wound. The term *'ilm al-djiraha* was used from the ninth century on, meaning knowledge of wounds, operation of ill organs, and surgical treatment and instruments. Surgical operation, *'amaliyya djirahiyya,* was expressed as *'amal bi'l-yad* or *'amal al-yad,* that is, work performed by hand. The one who treated wounds was named *djarrah*, while the bonesetter and bonehealer (Ar. *mudjabbir*) and *sınıkcı* (in Turkish) and the oculist *kahhal* were both regarded as practitioners of special fields of surgery.

Surgical development started in the ninth century following the translation of the ancient Indian, Greek, and Roman surgical works into Arabic. Hunain ibn Ishaq (d. 874) highly contributed to Arabian surgery by translating works of Hippocrates, Galen, and above all Paulus Aegineta (d. 690). We find chapters on surgery in the books of known physicians, for example, *al-Mansuri, al-Jami,* and *al-Hawi* of Zakariya' ar-Razi (d. 925); Kamil as-sina'a of 'Abbas al-Madjusi (d. 994); *Qanun fi't-tibb* of Ibn Sina (980–1037); *Tadhkirat al-kahhalin* (about 1000) of 'Ali ibn 'İsa; *Dhakhira* of İsmail al-Jurjani (d. 1136); and *al Mujiz* and *Sharh Tashrih al-Qanun* of Ibn an-Nafis (d. 1288). The first known monograph on surgery, titled *al-'Umda fi sina'at al-djiraha,* was compiled by Ibn al-Quff (1233–1286) in the thirteenth century.

The greatest surgeon of the medieval ages was Abu' l-Qasim az Zahrawi (d. 1010), a most important representative of the Andalusian school. Called Albucasis in Europe, Zahrawi is mainly known for the thirtieth chapter on surgery, *fi'amal al-yad* in his encyclopedic book *at-Tasrif liman ajiza.* The sources of Zahrawi were classical Greek and Latin authors, Paulus Aegineta being the immediate source. However, Zahrawi inserted his own experiences, not following any author in the description of some new pathological conditions and methods of treatment, for example, ptosis and its method of cure; removal of ranula beneath the tongue; removal of a leech sticking in the throat; treatment of fracture of male and female private parts; hunchback; wounds of the neck; various pathological conditions affecting the adult uterus; and lithotomy incision in the female case; and the designs and ways of using various instruments, such as the tonsil guillotine and its use, the concealed knife for opening abscesses, the trocar for paracentesis, vaginal speculum, and obstetric forceps. The illustrations of surgical instruments and the sketches of several incision and excision techniques are the earliest addition of these operative elements to a book. In the second half of the twelfth century, Gerard of Cremona translated the chapter on surgery into Latin as *Liber Alsaharavi de cirurgia*. Zahrawi's surgery was utilized as a main source in the Islamic and European worlds through eight centuries.

From the fourteenth century on, Arabic and Persian medical books started to be translated into Turkish; consequently, Turkish medical literature began to develop. In the fifteenth century a comprehensive chapter in *Dhakhira-i Muradiye* (1437) of Mu'min b. Mukbil, and the exhaustive book *Murshid* (1483) by Mehmed ibn Mahmud of Shirvan were assigned to ophthalmology. The Turkish book on surgery, *Jarrahiyatu'l Khaniye* (1465), of Sharafaddin Sabunjuoghlu, the head physician of the Amasya Hospital in central Anatolia, is mainly a translation of Zahrawi's work *Kitabu't- Tasrif,* specifically the thirtieth chapter on surgery. However, he introduced his own experiences as well, and added two new chapters. Sabunjuoghlu was the earliest in illustrating surgeons treating patients. Certain spots of cauterization marked on the patients illustrated are similar to those used in acupuncture and moxa. Fifteenth-century Turkish surgical monographs *Kitab-ı djarrahnama* by an unknown writer (Süleymaniye Library, No. 814); *Tarcama-i hulasa fi fenni'l-ciraha* by Djarrah Mesud; and *Alaim-i djarrahin* by Ibrahim b. Abdallah are also notable.

The main surgical instruments and techniques of medieval Islamic surgery were, for example, *kayy* (cauterization by fire) used with the objective of surgical excision or as a stimulating remedy; the *mismariya* (cautery) of several forms, such as claviform, crescentic, ring, quill, and so on; the *mibda'* (scalpel) with numerous shapes and sizes for incision, scraping, extraction, separation, and opening; *fasd* (bleeding) applied by a phlebotome, the *al-fa's*, an edged and sharp pointed scalpel; *hadjm* (cupping) without or after scarification, practiced with *mahajim* (cupping vessels); *miqass* (scissors) invented for surgical purpose; *miqdah* (needles) for eye operations; several probes *(barid, misbar, mirwad)* and the fine trocar *(midass)* as exploring instruments; *sinnara* (hook) for picking up and holding tissues; instruments for circumcising, the *musa* (razor) and *falka* (spindle whorl); *anbuba* (tube) for drainage; *zarraqa* (syringe) both for aspiration and for irrigation; *mihqan* (clyster) for irrigating sinuses; *kasatir* (syringe); *al-qam* (funnel) for fumigation and irrigation; and *mus'ut* (dropper) for irrigating the nose. A great variety of *minshar* (saw), *mijrad* (raspatory), *miqta'* (osteotome), *mithqab* (trephine), *kalalib* (forceps), *jabira* (splint) devices to reduce dislocations or displace fracture ends and plaster cases were used to treat fractures and dislocations. Several instruments such as *minqash, mibrad*, *mishdakh* (lithotrites), and *mish'ab* (lithotriptor) were developed for extracting stones. Various kinds of suture materials for surgical purposes were utilized, such as ants' nippers; gut sutures; wool, linen, ox, or horse hair and silk in connection with the ligature *(rabt)*; gold or silver wire for wiring in the teeth. Drugs called *muhaddir* or *murkid,* such as opium, henbane, mandrake, hemlock, Indian hemp, and yellow alison, were used as anesthetics by snuffing or inhaling, especially as a soporific sponge or as local anesthetics in surgical operations.

Surgery was regarded as an art necessitating skill and experience. Though authors like Zahrawi noted anatomy as a necessary knowledge for surgeons, dissection of dead bodies as a means of training was not practiced, though there is no religious prohibition of it. Surgeons were trained by the master-apprenticeship method, usually as a family profession; they were employed as primary or secondary surgeons at hospitals, palaces, military service, or offices, and some were itinerant. The head of surgeons was called *ser-djarrahin*. Information and hints about the requirements and expectations of morality regarding surgery is found in surgical manuscripts and the deed of trusts of hospitals. The reflection of Muslim morality to surgical practice is found in judges' registries, for example, a patient's or guardian's written consent taken before surgical operation and a contract signed to certify this in order to withhold a suit for compensation against the surgeon in case of death or injury.

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See also Abbas al-Madjusi; Abu' l-Qasim az Zahrawi; 'Ali ibn 'Isa; Hunain ibn Ishaq; Ibn an-Nafis; Ibn al-Quff; Ibn Sina, or Avicenna; Kahhal; Medical Literature, Turkish; Paulus Aeginata; Zakariya' ar-Razi

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SUYUTI, AL-, 'ABD AL-RAHMAN

Al-Suyuti, the celebrated erudite Egyptian savant, is recognized today as one of the most prolific authors of all Islamic literature.

The family of al-Suyuti, of Persian origin, settled during the Mamluk period in Asyut, in Upper Egypt (from where they derive their name). His father, however, was established in Cairo, and it is there that al-Suyuti was born on October 3, 1445. The child followed a very thorough course in various Islamic sciences. It is shown very early on, as of eighteen years of age, that he teaches Shafi'i jurisprudence and the science of Hadith; in addition, he delivers *fatwa*s (legal consultations) in various sciences. In parallel, he writes prolific works: Before al-Suyuti reached the age of thirty, his works came to be required reading throughout the whole of the Middle

East and then soon circulated in India until they reached Tekrur in sub-Saharan Africa.

In Egypt, on the other hand, he evokes much jealousy and polemic because he claims to have reached the status of *mujtahid* (that is, a legal scholar possessing independent authority in interpreting the sources of the law) in the Shafi‘i school of jurisprudence. Moreover, al-Suyuti affirms that his *ijtihad*, far from being limited to Islamic law, also applies to the sciences of Hadith and the Arabic language. Finally, al-Suyuti is announced as the *mujaddid* (renewer of Islam) (*see* Renewal, or Tajdid) for the ninth century of the *hijra*, two or three years before the year 900/1494. At the age of forty, al-Suyuti withdraws from public life to his house on the island of Rawda, in Cairo. He dies on October 18, 1505. The reasons that he calls upon in connection with his withdrawal are the corruption of the institution of the ulema and the ignorance that prevails among them; in fact, the decline of the cultural level at the end of the Mamluk era is manifest.

The assurance, even the claim, to which al-Suyuti testifies, comes initially from the awareness that he has of his own gifts: He has an extraordinary memory, a remarkable spirit of synthesis that enables him to write or to dictate several works at the same time. He is convinced to be invested with a mission, which prevails over any other consideration and, in particular, over the opinion that others have of him. This mission consists of gathering and transmitting to the future generations the Islamic cultural inheritance, before it disappears following the neglect of his contemporaries. In fact, he quotes in his works many old texts now lost, particularly in the field of the Arabic language. Al-Suyuti precedes the modern time by certain aspects: for example, he is partly an autodidact, and herewith to a public that he wishes to reach out to with handbooks centered on precise topics. In the same spirit of popularization, he summarizes the works of others and makes them clean. One cannot regard al-Suyuti as only a compiler. Indeed, he approaches topics usually neglected in the Islamic literature; he is the first to have introduced Sufism into the field of the *fatwa*.

Al-Suyuti wrote approximately one thousand works (981 according to a 1995 study). Hardly three hundred were published, but his manuscripts are nowadays a great success in published editions. The scientific versatility of al-Suyuti illustrates the Islamic ideal, according to which there is no really profane science; he explores geography, as well as lexicography, pharmacopoeia, dietetics, erotology. More profoundly, his approach to a subject is often multidisciplinary, and he often employs several sciences to cover a subject.

This versatility allowed al-Suyuti to free himself from a determined axis through his attachment to the Prophet (*see* Muhammad the Prophet) and his Sunna. He includes in his field of vision the most scattered sciences as long as they do not contradict the Revelation descended on Muhammad; this is why he condemns *al-mantiq* (Hellenistic logic). Among the disciplines that he says to control, that of Hadith prevails because it permeates the greatest part of his work. Sciences having been imbued with the Arabic language represent, according to him, his subject of predilection, but one very clearly notes the influence of the science of Hadith in his major work on language, *Al-Muzhir fi ‘Ulum al-Lugha wa Anwa‘iha*. In his other ‘‘linguistic’’ works, al-Suyuti follows the method of religious sciences like usul al-fiqh (foundations of jurisprudence) or the fiqh (jurisprudence). Qur’anic sciences constitute another axis of al-Suyuti’s work (approximately twenty works). ‘‘Al-Itqan fî ‘Ulum Al-Qur’an’’ makes the beautiful share with the language and rhetoric, but the principal commentary of al-Suyuti, Al-Durr al-Manthur fi al-Tafsir bi-al-Ma’thur, is exclusively based on Hadith and the words of the first Muslims. In this field, it is also necessary to mention the very practical *Tafsir al-Jalalayn*, a Qur’anic commentary started with al-Suyuti’s professor, Jalal al-Din al-Mahalli, and completed by him.

If the discipline of Hadith represents in al-Suyuti’s eyes the noblest ‘‘of sciences,’’ it is imbued with the prophetic model, which for him is the only way that leads to God. In this field, al-Suyuti’s working model is undoubtedly *Tadrib al-Rawi fi Sharh Taqrib al-Nawawi*, which pertains to the terminology of Hadith. The aforementioned prophetic model could not be transmitted by book science alone; it must be experienced interiorly. Al-Suyuti, who affirms to have seen the Prophet more than seventy times while in a waking state, ensures that he can maintain during a vision the validity of Hadith directly from the Prophet. As a Sufi (*see* Sufis and Sufism), al-Suyuti found in the *tariqa Shadhiliyya* (Shadhili order) the right balance between the Law and the Way. Moreover, he benefited besides from his notoriety as a scholar and jurisconsult to carry out a perspicacious apology for Sufism and its Masters: He sees in the *dhikr* (invocation of God) the highest form of worship, showing that it is necessary to interpret the words of the Sufi, and to defend the orthodoxy of Ibn ‘Arabî.

Finally, al-Suyuti wrote much in the fields of history and biography, including a number of works on the theory of history (for example, *al-Shamarikh fi ‘Ilm al-Ta’rikh*), in its various fields of application: the history of the caliphs, to which he was very attached *(Ta’rikh al-Khulafa’),* about the history of

Egypt *(Husn al-Muhadara)*, and a great number of biographical collections by specialty (specialists in Hadith, grammarians, poets, and so on).

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See also Caliphs; Ibn ‘Arabi; Renewal; Sufism; Usul al-fiqh

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SYNAGOGUES

There were Jewish communities scattered throughout Arabia in Muhammad’s time. Mecca, his hometown, does not seem to have had an organized Jewish community, but the oasis of Yathrib, to which he emigrated in 622, housed a large and well-organized community. Now known as al-Madina (from *madinat al-nabi,* or “the city of the Prophet”), it had two tribes of *Kohanim,* that is, of Priestly ancestry, a third Jewish tribe, and possibly other clans. The synagogue there was called *Midras*; the word is from the Hebrew *Bet Midrash,* or “House of Study.” Islamic tradition has preserved some details about the *Midras* of the Jews in Yathrib, enough to suggest various conclusions about the building, religious services, administration, and theology, but unfortunately not to secure them.

The Qur’an itself has several terms that refer to Jewish houses of worship. It most likely refers to the Temple in Jerusalem, with the term *Masjid.* While the reference of 17:1 (*al-masjid al-aqsa,* “the farther place of prostration”) is open to some controversy, the reference to the twofold destruction of the Israelites, alluding to destroyers entering the *masjid* as they had before (17:7), can hardly refer to anything else. Places of monotheistic prayer before Islam are called *sawami‘, bi’a, salawat,* and *masajid,* roughly translated as “cloisters,” “places of petition and prayer,” and “places of prostration” (Q 22:40). *Bi’a* (sing. *bi’a*) and *kanisa* (pl. *kana’is*)—a term not used in the Qur’an—came to be the most usual appellations for synagogue and church, although some authors say the one or the other ought to be used only for houses of prayer of Christians or Jews; others use both as synonyms. Jewish sources generally referred to the synagogue as *kanis* or *kanisa* in Arabic, and *bet knesset* in Hebrew. Some geniza sources use the term *majlis* (assembly) to refer to certain synagogues, especially those clearly postdating Islam.

Islamic expansion quickly brought the largest centers of Jewish life into its orbit; indeed, for several centuries, most of the world’s Jews resided in areas ruled by Muslims. Islamic provisions about the status of non-Muslims in Islamic lands, including the status of their synagogues and churches, reached full expression in the form of the document usually known as the Pact of Umar. The framework of the Pact reflects reports of agreements made with non-Muslims by Umar b. al-Khattab or his generals during the Islamic conquests. The early pacts indicate that non-Muslims were allowed to retain their religion and places of worship, although the part of their houses of worship facing the *qibla* could be used by the Muslims as a place of prayer. Many more limitations are found in later legal works, such as *Kitab al-Umm* by al-Shafi‘i, and the regulations do not appear in the form of the Pact of Umar earlier than the tenth century. According to this document, Jews and Christians stated:

> “We shall not found in (the town) or in the land surrounding it, a new monastery, church, cloister or monastic cell. Nor shall we renew whatever has been destroyed of them, nor revive any of them which are in Muslim quarters. We shall not prevent any Muslims from staying in our churches at night or during the day, and we shall open their gates wide to passers-by and wayfarers.”

The legal prohibition of the construction of new churches and synagogues applied particularly to Muslim areas, and some of the legal traditions had no objections to synagogues in neighborhoods where there were no Muslims, or which had been Jewish prior to becoming Muslim. So, too, in the early days, establishment of synagogues to serve the Jewish community seems to have been less of a problem: Kairawan, Cairo, Baghdad, Fez, and other places established by Muslims all had synagogues, although often in

neighborhoods considered to antedate Islam. A report that Umar himself established seventy Jews in Jerusalem was cited to support the synagogue there.

By the twelfth century, opinions about this became more settled, and the Pact of Umar came to be applied more stringently. Synagogues were closed in North Africa and Cairo, and there was discussion and occasional violence concerning whether synagogues in Cairo and Jerusalem were allowed to be retained or repaired; in early-fourteenth century Cairo, continuing riots led to the closure of numerous synagogues and churches and the intervention of the king of Aragon and the Byzantine emperor to reopen them. These restrictions continued into the nineteenth century, until reform attempts by Muhammad Ali and his successors in Egypt and in Palestine, by the Ottomans, and by European protectorates.

We have little information about the layout and procedures in synagogues of the Islamic world. Nathan the Babylonian gives a particularly vivid description of one synagogue service in Baghdad from the tenth century. Geniza records confirm that in addition to meeting for prayer it was the center for many other community functions. Lawsuits were brought there and persons, including women, could delay services to seek redress. Sometimes, funerals would stop outside or in the courtyard. In some, a women's entrance indicated that women attended services. Many cities had multiple synagogues, reflecting differences in custom between the traditions of the Jews of Babylonia (Iraq) and Palestine, or Rabbanite, Qaraite, and Samaritan Jews. Some synagogues were built primarily in locations of pilgrimage, such as the Dammuh synagogue in Egypt; travelers' descriptions of sacred tombs also suggest these were sometimes the locations of synagogues, although in many cases graves associated with figures from biblical history were also sacred to the Muslims and Christians, and the buildings associated with these sites could not be considered synagogues.

In some cases the few structural details of which we are aware suggest that the buildings continued the pre-Islamic basilica style, and may even have been converted from churches; in other cases, as, for example, in Benjamin of Tudela's description of the synagogue in Baghdad, the colonnaded hall and open courtyard suggest similarities to early Islamic mosques, although synagogues in Muslim areas would necessarily have had modest facades.

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SYRIA, GREATER SYRIA

Syria, specifically Greater Syria (Ar. Bilad al-Sham), is a historical term denoting a region that comprises modern Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Israel, the West Bank of Palestine, and the southwestern borderlands of Turkey. Geographically, Greater Syria can be divided into two sections: the mountainous coastal region in the west, which in the medieval period included Antioch (modern Antakya in southern Turkey), and the Mediterranean ports of Tripoli, Beirut, Tyre, and Acre; and the steppe and desert region in the east, of which the leading centers were Aleppo, Hama, Hims, Damascus, and Jerusalem.

Greater Syria played a major role in the development of Islam from the earliest period. The decisive battles of the *futuh* (Islamic conquests) against the Byzantines were fought there; Damascus was the capital of the first Islamic dynasty, the Umayyads; and Jerusalem quickly became the Muslims' third most important religious center after Mecca and Medina. A degree of religious and linguistic pluralism persisted in spite of Islamization: Christianity survived, although at times under duress; and neither Greek nor Aramaic was completely abandoned for Arabic.

By the start of the medieval period, the political predominance that Greater Syria had enjoyed under the Umayyads had long since gone. 'Abbasid rule over the region from Baghdad had given way successively to Tulunid and Ikshidid control, successor dynasties of the weakening 'Abbasids. In the middle of the tenth century, the decline of Ikshidid power resulted in northern Syria being given to the Bedouin Arab Hamdanids, under whom Aleppo enjoyed a period of literary and artistic inflorescence.

Even before Hamdanid rule in Aleppo had come to an end in AH 394/1004 CE, the Egyptian Fatimids had conquered Palestine and Syria. Fatimid rule over Greater Syria was weak, however, especially in the north, where a revived Byzantium regained some of its old territory, and another Bedouin dynasty, the Mirdasids, established themselves in Aleppo.

The situation in Greater Syria was altered by the advance of the Seljuk Turks during the second half of the eleventh century. By the eve of the Crusades, often mutually hostile Seljuk *amir*s (princes) ruled in Jerusalem, Damascus, Aleppo, and Hims. In AH 477/1084 CE, the Byzantines lost Antioch, their last possession in Syria. An independent Arab

family of *qadi*s (Islamic judges) ruled in Tripoli, while the Fatimids remained in control of some of the coast.

There was a tension between the strongly Sunni Seljuks and the existing Shi'is and Shi'i-influenced sects. The latter included people in sympathy with the (Ismaili Shi'i) Fatimids, and more heterodox elements, such as the Nusayris and the Druze of the coastal montagne. To these would later be added the Syrian Assassins.

The map of Greater Syria changed again in the wake of the arrival of the Crusaders before Antioch in AH 491/1098 CE. By 1130, much of the region was under Frankish control: the principality of Antioch and the county of Edessa (modern Urfa in southern Turkey) in the north; the county of Tripoli in the central maritime region; and the kingdom of Jerusalem to the south. Many of the military fortifications that the Crusaders built to protect their possessions have survived, such as the impressive Krak des Chevaliers in the west of modern-day Syria. Much of the Muslim interior, meanwhile, maintained a precarious independence, with the Turkish *amir*s of Aleppo and Damascus among others paying tribute to the Crusaders in return for peace.

The Frankish possessions shrank almost as rapidly as they had grown. The Crusaders were isolated, and weakened by their unwillingness to make common cause with their coreligionists in the East, the Byzantines and the Armenians. 'Imad al-Din Zanki, a Turk who had risen to prominence in the service of the Seljuks and made himself independent of his former masters, pushed the Crusaders back west of the River Euphrates. In the middle of the twelfth century, his equally able son, Nur al-Din Mahmud, became ruler of both Aleppo and Damascus. Nur al-Din continued and emphasized the Seljuk Sunni Muslim tradition by founding *madrasa*s (Islamic schools) in which an orthodox curriculum was taught.

Outdoing the Zankids in their opposition to the Crusaders was a Kurdish lieutenant of Nur al-Din's, Saladin, the founder of the Ayyubid dynasty. Having declared himself ruler of Egypt on the death of the last Fatimid caliph, Saladin proceeded to seize Damascus from Nur al-Din's heirs. He then turned on the Crusaders. By the time of Saladin's death in AH 589/1193 CE, only Antioch, Tripoli, Tyre, and Acre remained in Frankish hands.

The following century saw the increasing dominance of Egypt as the center of the Ayyubid empire, at the expense of Greater Syria, particularly of Damascus. In AH 642/1244 CE, the Egyptian Ayyubids defeated a prudential alliance of central Syrian Ayyubids and Crusaders in southern Palestine. Aleppo, meanwhile, bought its continued independence from Egypt by helping the Egyptians to capture Damascus. Jerusalem was also brought under Egyptian control, after a brief period in the hands of the Crusaders, to whom the Syrians had given the city in return for cooperation against the Egyptians. In AH 648/1250 CE, the Ayyubids of Egypt were ousted by the Mamluks, originally Turkish slave soldiers who would found their own dynasty. Aleppo seized the advantage and occupied Damascus. It was a short-lived triumph: Within ten years the Mongols had overrun Greater Syria and put an end to Ayyubid rule.

The Mamluks would eventually absorb Greater Syria into their empire. In AH 658/1260 CE, they defeated the Mongol armies at 'Ayn Jalut in Palestine. Damascus and Aleppo were occupied by the Mamluks, although the Mongols remained a threat to Greater Syria until the beginning of the fourteenth century. Before the end of the thirteenth century, the Mamluks had taken all the Frankish colonies still remaining in Greater Syria. It was the end of an era marked by ambivalent relations between Muslims and Crusaders: hostility punctuated by accommodation, and mutual destruction contrasting with thriving commercial links between East and West.

Mamluk rule lasted until AH 922/1516 CE, when they were defeated by the Ottomans at Marj Dabiq near Aleppo in a decisive battle that marks the end of the medieval period in Greater Syria. Damascus and Aleppo were leading cities of the Mamluk empire. Both took years to recover from the effects of the plague pandemic of the mid-fourteenth century, and of Tamerlane's ravages in AH 803/1400 CE, when they were pillaged and emptied of their populations. This notwithstanding, and in spite of the depredations of some of the governors of the Syrian *niyaba*s (Mamluk provinces), industry and trade at times resulted in a degree of prosperity that allowed intellectual and artistic life to flourish.

DAVID MORRAY

See also Architecture, Secular: Military; Black Death; Byzantine Empire; Earthquakes; Excellences Literature; Madrasa; Merchants, Christians; Dome of the Rock; Muslim–Byzantine Relations; Muslim–Crusader Relations; Muslim–Mongol Diplomacy; Silk Roads; Sunni Revival; Trade, Mediterranean; Umayyad Mosque (Damascus)

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SYRIAC

Syriac is the name that came to be given to the Late Aramaic dialect of Edessa (modern-day Sanliurfa, southeast Turkey). The earliest texts (in Old Syriac) are pagan inscriptions of the first to third century CE, and three legal documents on skin from the early 240s. Syriac, with its own distinctive script, soon became the literary language of Aramaic-speaking Christians, both in the Eastern provinces of the Roman Empire and in the Parthian and Sasanian empires to the east. Syriac literature, which covers many secular and religious topics, constitutes by far the largest body of Aramaic literatures, spanning from the second century to the present day. Many of the earliest writings are preserved in manuscripts of the fifth and sixth centuries.

Syriac script takes on three main forms: the oldest, *estrangelo*, is the norm in manuscripts till at least the end of the eighth century, when it was largely replaced by *serto* in the west (based on an earlier cursive) and a distinctive "eastern" script. It is disputed whether Arabic script has its roots in Syriac or Nabataean script.

Syriac literature can most conveniently be divided into three main periods, second to mid-seventh centuries, mid-seventh to thirteenth centuries, and the thirteenth century onwards. Although some names are known from the second and third centuries, only a few texts survive, and it is not until the fourth century that major authors emerge: Aphrahat, writing in the Sasanian empire around 345, and the poet Ephrem (d. 373) in the Roman empire. Subsequent important prose writers of this first period include the historian John of Ephesus (d. ca. 589). Poetry is particularly well represented, with Narsai (d. ca. 500) and Jacob of Serugh (d. 521), as well as many fine anonymous authors. Among the genres developed is one that continues the ancient Mesopotamian precedence dispute; thus Syriac provides the bridge between ancient Mesopotamia and the Arabic *munazara* (debate or contest in verse or prose). A remarkable number of translations from Greek were made during this period, especially in the latter part, and include medical and philosophical texts. A few translations were also made from Middle Persian, among them the oldest version of *Kalila wa-Dimna*.

A distinctive feature of the second period is the more learned and encyclopedic character of its writings. Despite the political upheavals of the time, the seventh century witnessed a great flowering of Syriac literature, both in the Syrian Orthodox Church (notably with the scholar Jacob of Edessa, d. 708) and in the Church of the East, where several monastic authors flourished, among whom Isaac of Nineveh was to prove particularly influential (he, in fact, originated from Qatar). In the late eight and ninth centuries, Syriac scholars (the most notable being Hunayn ibn Ishaq) played an important role in the 'Abbasid translation movement, especially early on when it proved more practical to translate Greek texts first into Syriac (a task that had the benefit of several centuries of experience) and only then into Arabic. The second period comes to an end with the encyclopedic writings of the polymath Gregory Abu 'l-Faraj, better known as Bar Bar Hebraeus (Bar 'Ebroyo, d. 1286). Whereas authors of the sixth and seventh centuries had come to be greatly influenced by Greek literary culture, Bar Hebraeus draws freely on both Arabic and Persian sources.

The third period is the least known, and most texts remain unpublished. Syriac literature, however, has continuously been produced right up to the present time. Poetry in Modern Syriac is known from the seventeenth century onward, and prose from the mid-nineteenth century.

SEBASTIAN BROCK

See also 'Abbasids; Aramaic; Hunayn ibn Ishaq; Kalila wa-Dimna

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T

TABARI, AL-

Ab-Ja'far Muhammad b. Jarar al-Tabari (d. AH 310/923 CE) was the most important scholar of his generation. His works exerted a profound influence on future Muslim scholarship, because of both their voluminous content and their meticulous methods of inquiry. Although many of his works have not survived, his two most famous works, his *History (Ta'rikh al-Rusul Wa'l-mul-k)* and his Qur'an commentary *(Tafsir),* remain standard references today.

Al-Tabari was born in 224–225/839 in or near Amul, in Tabaristan near the Caspian Sea. He then spent most of his life in Baghdad, where he composed most of his works. He left his birthplace at a young age to pursue studies in Rayy and then in Baghdad, where he arrived in 241/855, shortly after the death of Ibn Hanbal, with whom he had hoped to study. His scholarly travels subsequently took him to most of the major intellectual centers in the Muslim world, including Bara, Kufa, Damascus, Beirut, and Egypt. Unlike many scholars, al-Tabari does not appear to have studied in the Hijiz, with the exception of brief pilgrimage visits. Ultimately, he returned to Baghdad around 256/870 to write and teach.

Although income from his family's estate in Tabaristan spared him the poverty many scholars suffered, he did occasionally find himself in dire financial circumstances. For a time he served as a tutor to the son of al-Mutawakkil's vizier, 'Ubaydallah b. Yahya, probably because of his own economic difficulties. Despite many later offers, this was his only stint of government employment. Payments from his many students (supplemented by income from his family's estates) sufficed to meet his modest needs.

Reports about al-Tabari's lifestyle typically emphasize his piety and moderation. Although he was not an ascetic, he did not live extravagantly or indulge in food, drink, or other diversions. He never married, and he apparently committed himself to a life of celibacy. He spent his days teaching, worshipping at the mosque, and writing. His scholarly works attracted both admirers and enemies. He condemned the usual heretical groups, including Mu'tazilites, Shi'is, Zahiris, and others. He attracted unusual enmity from the followers of Ibn Hanbal, who reportedly rioted in front of his house on at least one occasion. His dispute with the Hanbalis reportedly centered on two issues. The first was al-Tabari's decision to exclude Ibn Hanbal from his *Ikhtilaf al-Fuqaha'*; this was done because of his opinion that Ibn Hanbal was a great muhaddith but not a jurist. Ibn Hanbal's followers naturally took offense and reacted violently. The second focus of al-Tabari's feud with the Hanbalis was his interpretation of the praiseworthy position *(maqaman mahm-d'an)* that God had promised the Prophet Muhammad. Al-Tabari rejected the Hanbali interpretation that this meant Muhammad would sit on God's throne. Some reports suggest that Hanbali hostility toward al-Tabari was so extreme that, when al-Tabari died in 310/923, he had to be buried secretly at night to prevent Hanbali mobs from disrupting his funeral. Most reports, however, describe a peaceful daylight funeral instead.

Al-Tabari's works covered a broad range of topics, including law, history, Qur'anic exegesis, and hadith (tradition). His most famous and influential works are his *History* and his *Tafsir.* The *History* presents a complete history of the world from creation until just before al-Tabari's time. In the *History,* al-Tabari applied the methods of the hadith scholars to historical reports, emphasizing proper isnads and including divergent versions of events to allow the reader to decide which interpretation was most valid. His meticulous methods profoundly influenced the way in which later Muslim historians approached their craft. Modern scholars have emphasized al-Tabari's objectivity and his reluctance to impose his own interpretations on material or to insert his own narrative voice in any way. The work is also praised for al-Tabari's skillful incorporation of pre-Islamic narratives into a master narrative that places Islam at the center of world history. Although al-Tabari skillfully concealed his own agenda in his *History,* careful analysis of his treatment of pivotal events suggests that he did adhere to a theory of historical causation according to which calamity befell the Muslim community when tribal rivalries and personal greed were not sufficiently suppressed. His *History* is essentially a salvation story in which the advent of Islam is situated in God's larger plan and proper adherence to Islam raises human society to its pinnacle.

In his *Tafsir,* al-Tabari was more willing to express his own opinions about particular disputes about Qur'an interpretation. He relied extensively on grammatical analysis of the text and included divergent interpretations of particular verses. However, he ultimately offered his own judgment about which interpretation was most viable, relying on ijtihad to an extent that his Hanbali rivals could not accept. As a legal scholar, al-Tabari initially adhered to the Shafi'i madhhab, which he probably embraced during his travel to Egypt as a young man. Later, however, his followers began to consider themselves to be a separate madhhab, usually called the Jariris. His madhhab did not survive long, and its principles were apparently not far removed from the Shafi'i school from which it sprang.

Al-Tabari's influence on later scholarship cannot be understated. His *History* became the model for many later works, some of which were merely poorly disguised abridgments. The hadith methodology he so carefully applied to historical reports became the standard procedure for scrutinizing and reporting historical akhbar. His *Tafsir* remains a crucial work for understanding the development of Qur'anic exegesis and for insight into the debates about variant readings of the Qur'anic text. In addition, his *Ikhtilaf* offers thorough comparisons of the legal theories of the orthodox madhhabs (with the exception of the Hanbalis). His reputation as a pious and exemplary scholar survived the extreme hostility of his Hanbali foes and the accusations that he was in fact a Shi'i, which stemmed from his unwillingness to condemn 'Ali with sufficient vigor. His meticulous work ultimately withstood his critics' venom and remains a vital part of Muslim scholarship to this day.

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TAJ MAHAL

During the first decade of his rule, the Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan (r. 1627–1658 CE) embellished the imperial capital of Agra with stunning white marble buildings that were metaphors of the hierarchy and order supporting the state. That huge architectural programs of this sort could be undertaken not only in Agra but also in Delhi, Lahore, Ajmer, and Allahabad reflects the wealth, artistic talent, and administrative acumen available to the Mughal rulers. They projected a developed classic style, reproducible in its elements and clear in its symbolic content. When the emperor's favorite wife Arjumand Banu Begam (or Mumtaz Mahal) died in 1631 giving birth to their fourteenth child, the grieving ruler added another massive project to those already underway, the construction of her tomb, now known as the Taj Mahal.

Built over an eleven-year period from 1632 to 1643, the tomb's form came from a rich tradition of Mughal sepulchral architecture, beginning with the tomb of the second Mughal emperor, Humayun, whose tomb was built in Delhi under the patronage of his son Akbar from 1562 to 1571. In the center of a cruciform (four-quadrant) garden *(chahar bagh)*, Humayun's tomb was a huge octagon faced in red sandstone

with marble outlining the main structural elements. It supported a high double dome that glistened in white marble and reflected the influence of architecture from the Mughals' Timurid heartland in Central Asia. For the builders of the Taj Mahal, the tomb of Humayun, along with the 1636 tomb of the Khan Khanan in Delhi, was a direct prototype.

The Taj Mahal and its extensive gardens were surrounded on the east, south, and west sides by red sandstone walls measuring 305 by 549 meters in length. The main gate was on the south side and was preceded by an extensive bazaar (Mumtazabad or city of Mumtaz), the income of which, along with that from thirty neighboring villages, was assigned to the maintenance of the tomb. The gate not only controlled access to the complex; it also had a specific meaning. Its great arch is framed by white marble inlaid with a black marble inscription from the Qur'an that describes the Last Judgment and the joys awaiting the blessed who can enter Paradise; this is seen as visitors enter the tomb's garden.

Once inside the gate, visitors left behind the everyday life of Mumtazabad and entered a place of ordered quiet. A formal four-part garden stretched from the gate north to the actual tomb and provided a structured space intended to replicate paradise. Movement was controlled by paved walkways that outlined beds of flowers, flowering shrubs, and trees fed by streams of water from bubbling fountains.

The name *Taj Mahal* first appears in the writings of visiting Europeans during the seventeenth century. To the Mughals, it was known simply as "the illumined tomb." Begun in 1632, it was almost entirely complete by 1643, and much of its construction took place at the same time as the rebuilding of the Agra Fort. It was the single largest building project underway in the Mughal state, and some twenty thousand workers from India, Iran, and Central Asia were employed at the enormous cost of forty million rupees. The overall project was supervised by two distinguished architects, Makramat Khan and 'Abd al-Karim; a third architect, Ustad Ahmad, appears to have been responsible for the design of the actual tomb. Passionately interested in architecture, Shah Jahan must have carefully watched over the design and its implementation. Imprisoned by his son Awrangzeb in the Agra Fort from 1658 until 1666, he could look east to view the Taj.

The mausoleum itself is a square with chamfered corners that rests on a marble plinth that is seven meters high. Each side is dominated by a thirty-three-meter-high *pishtaq* (niche arch) that is flanked to the east and west by two smaller pishtaqs and topped by a domed and arcaded pavilion at each corner. At each corner of the plinth stands a three-storied minar. This elaborate structure of repeating identical elements is dominated by a twenty-meter-high drum and double dome. The outer dome provides the dramatic profile that defines the sky around it; the inner dome is low and comforting. Directly under its peak was the cenotaph of the deceased empress, beside her the cenotaph of Shah Jahan. Both grave markers are enclosed by an intricate marble screen inlaid with precious stones, as are the cenotaphs themselves.

The great calligrapher Amanat Khan designed inscriptions that frame the great pishtaqs, the smaller arched entrances into the tomb, the eight interior pishtaqs, the inner frieze of the drum, and the two cenotaphs themselves. Written in a majestic cursive style of script known as *thuluth,* they are inlaid in black marble into the white marble. A number of inscriptions give us completion dates, the name of the scribe, and other historical information. Most, however, are Qur'anic: admonitions to follow Islam; warnings of hell to those who do evil; evocations of the Last Judgment; references to the Resurrection; and descriptions of the joys of paradise for the righteous. The inscriptions were selected to fit the purpose of the tomb and to reinforce an image: the Taj Mahal was designed to replicate one of the houses of paradise.

Family and adherents were expected to make formal visits on birth and death anniversaries. To the tomb's west was a red sandstone and marble mosque with three glistening white domes. Its exact counterpart (*jawab*; answer) was on the east side. Mughal designers laid out gardens and buildings according to precise grids that preserved predictable proportions. A formal garden replaced natural chaos with order; although buildings might inspire awe, they should avoid surprises. The great south–north garden is divided into identical quadrants; the mausoleum creates balance through repetition, and a visitor's expectations are rewarded by dazzling elements that have already been seen before. One must remember, however, that harmony has variations, and, in its interaction with its natural setting, the tomb provides a multitude of them. The white marble facing is minutely inlaid with precious stones that only reveal their variety when a visitor is close. The marble is translucent, and the great dome absorbs and responds to every change in the sky over Agra.

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See also Agra Red Fort; Akbar; Architecture, Religious; Architecture, Secular: Civil; Architecture, Secular: Palaces; Babar; Baraka; Beauty and Aesthetics; Burial Customs; Dara Shikoh; Death and Dying; Delhi; Festivals and Celebrations; Funerary Practices, Muslim: Sunni; Gardens and Gardening;

God; Hadith; Horticulture; Hindus; Humayun; India; Irrigation; Lahore; Love; Mughals; Nur Jahan; Persians; Pilgrimage; Prayer; Qur'an; Scriptural Exegesis, Islamic; Timurids; Turks; Waqf; Water

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TALISMANS AND TALISMANIC OBJECTS

The term *talisman* refers in its widest sense to an object made to protect the owner, to avert the power of evil, and to promote well-being. *Talisman* is used interchangeably with *amulet,* although Savage-Smith (1997) has drawn a distinction between an amulet, which is made from durable materials such as hard stones and which can function over time, and a talisman, which is made from more ephemeral materials such as paper and kept in amulet cases. Talismanic objects, which, by association, include magic bowls and talismanic shirts, belong therefore in the realm of magic *(sihr)*. In Arabic, this is a term that has a variety of connotations, from "that which entrances the eye" to "actions effected through recourse to demons" (Fahd, 1996). In the sphere of healing and well-being, this magic is beneficent; for the present context Dols (1992) has aptly described it as a "forceful method of supplication or a supercharged prayer."

What links talismanic objects together, irrespective of what material they are made from, is a particular vocabulary of inscriptions and designs. The most important of these elements are verses from the Qur'an, which in itself is considered the most powerful of all talismans (Hamès, 1997; Porter, 2002). Particularly powerful in talismanic contexts are, for example, the opening of the Qur'an *(Fatiha)*, which has been used in oral incantations from the time of the Prophet against the evil eye and for healing (Hamès, 1997), and Qur'an 2:255, the "throne verse" *(ayat al-kursi)*, also known as the "verse of seeking refuge" or the "verse for driving out Satan" (Canaan, 1937). The short chapters *(suras)* known as the Four Declarations (suras 109, 112, 113 and 114) and the last two suras (113 and114) are additionally known as *al-mu'awwidhatan* (the verses that provide the antidote to superstition and fear) (Ali, 1975). In addition, there are verses that are deemed to have specific powers: for example, those that contain the Arabic root word *sh-f-y* (to heal) were used for curing sickness (Porter, 1998); those with the victory verse (61:13) were used for help in battle.

In addition to these, the names of God *(asma' al-husna')* feature prominently, particularly on amulets, as do the names of or invocations to the cherished figures in Islam, the Prophet Muhammad, and the twelve imams revered by the Shi'is. The archangels—Jibrail, who revealed the Qur'an to the Prophet and the others, such as Izrafil, Mikail, Israfil, and Uzrafil—also appear, as do the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus, whose story is told in Qur'an 18:9–26 (Porter, forthcoming).

Other important elements of the magical vocabulary—which, although they appear more esoteric, are still deeply rooted in the Qur'an—serve to strengthen the supplication (Savage-Smith, 2004). They include individual Arabic letters, which are often repeated and which are believed to be particularly powerful when written in isolated form. The "Mysterious letters of the Qur'an" (which appear singly or in groups at the beginning of twenty-nine suras of the Qur'an) are also widely used. Magic squares *(wafq)*, in which religious phrases, names of God, and so on appear are represented numerically in the abjad system (an alphanumeric system based on the old order of the Semitic alphabet) within a square. At their simplest, they are three by three, but they can extend at least as high as twenty by twenty or more, as is seen by the talismanic chart in the Khalili collection (Savage-Smith, 1997). Symbols such as the "seven signs" (see below) also feature, as well as the five- or six-pointed star known as "Solomon's seal." Solomon had power over the jinn, and it is to him that, according to the writer of the *Fihrist* (written 987 to 1010 CE), Ibn al-Nadim, licit magic can be traced (Dols, 1992). Other symbols include scorpions, lions, and magical scripts that include invented alphabets (these appear from as early as the mid-ninth-century text of Ibn Wahshiya; Savage-Smith, 2004). There are strings of numbers,

meaningless Kufic letters sometimes combined with numbers, and the so-called "lunette" script, which is characterized by a group of Arabic letters with long looped forms attached (Canaan, 1937 and 1938).

Depending on the object, these elements sometimes appear on their own or in combinations: for example, Qur'anic verses with magic squares or the seven signs with magical letters. Many of these elements are first found in the influential text of Abu'l 'Abbas Ahmad ibn 'Ali ibn Yusuf al-Buni (d. 1225), author of the *Shams al-Ma'arif al-Kubra,* a treatise that draws on Hellenistic, Jewish, and other pre-Islamic magical practices. Al-Buni focuses in large part on the "beautiful names of God" and their magical properties, creating elaborate magic squares made up of the numerical value of the names. He also includes charms using the lunette script and the seven signs, which he believed denoted the "greatest name of God." As a result, it is through the proliferation of this text throughout the Islamic world that these symbols start to appear regularly on medieval talismanic objects; this practice continues to this day.

The range of objects covered by the terms *talisman* and *talismanic* in their broadest sense includes amulets, about which the largest body of material is available. Amulets are objects that are worn as protection or for warding off the evil eye, a practice that entered the life of the early Muslims (Henniger, 2004) and that was tolerated in Islamic theology. The practice continues today, although it is more prevalent in some parts of the Islamic world (e.g., North Africa, Egypt) than others. These small objects, which are made to either be worn around the neck or on a ring, are made from hard stones or metal. The material from which they are made can be significant, because particular beneficial properties are often traditionally ascribed to certain stones and are cited in textual sources. Carnelian, for example, was said by the medieval gemologist Ahmad ibn Yusuf al-Tifaschi to control fear in battle and to stop hemorrhages (Tifaschi, 1998). It was also popular because it was the stone most favored by the Prophet Muhammad. These objects are most frequently inscribed positively, although there are some that are inscribed negatively that are "activated" when they are stamped onto something.

Another important category of talismanic objects are the magic-medicinal bowls used to cure sickness, continuing a pre-Islamic tradition found in Aramaic bowls. Among the earliest datable Islamic examples are bowls made for Nur al-Din Zangi (1146–1174; Savage-Smith, 1997). These bowls can be inscribed with Qur'anic verses and invocations; very frequently magic squares are used, and they are often interspersed with strings of meaningless Kufic-style letters; some examples have toggles attached to them that bear the Names of God. In an associated tradition, the water used to clean the wooden writing boards used by children to learn the Qur'an is believed to be rendered efficacious, and it is used to cure sickness because it contains the words of the Qur'an. Talismanic shirts made from linen or cotton and covered with magic squares, Names of God, and passages from the Qur'an were worn beneath armor in battle for protection; these are found in Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal contexts. One of the finest is an example made for Ottoman Sehzade Selim in AH 972/1564–1565 CE (Rogers and Ward, 1988). Talismanic charts are associated with the shirts in style and are generally covered with magic squares, Qur'anic and other inscriptions, and strings of letters and numbers; these are made to carry around in times of need or to be displayed in the home.

Another powerful talismanic object is the hand. Made from brass and other materials or inscribed on paper (in the western Islamic lands), it symbolizes the hand of Fatima, the Prophet Muhammad's daughter, and it often has a blue bead in the center to ward off the evil eye. In Shi'i contexts, it symbolizes the hand of Abbas, Imam Husayn's uncle who was also killed at Kerbela. A final group of objects to be mentioned are mirrors. Magical inscriptions start to appear on the shiny side of twelfth- and thirteenth-century mirrors from Iran and Anatolia. These inscriptions were probably engraved later than the object itself. They consist of elements of the magical vocabulary mentioned above and were probably associated with a specific type of magic requiring shiny surfaces (Savage-Smith, 1997). In the case of an example in the British Museum, the names of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus are combined with magic squares, the seven signs, letters, and numbers.

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See also Alphabets; Angels; Numbers

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TAMERLANE, OR TIMUR

Tamerlane, or Timur, (ca. 1336–1405 CE), was the last of the great nomadic conquerors and the founder of the Timurid dynasty, which ruled in Transoxiana and eastern Iran (1405–1507). A member of the Turco-Mongol Barlas tribe, Timur was born in Transoxania and rose to power among the Ulus Chaghatay, a nomadic tribal confederation that formed the western region of the Mongolian Chaghadaid khanate. Stories about Timur's early life are rife with legend and share too-striking similarities with those of Genghis Khan; therefore, it is hard to estimate the credibility of the descriptions of his lowly beginnings. He advanced in the tribal arena through personal valor and brigandage, gathering a nucleus of supporters and offering his services to the local rulers. During one of his early battles in Iran, he got the limp that became part of his name (Persian: *Timur-i leng,* "Timur the lame"). His military genius and charismatic personality in combination with his clever manipulation of tribal politics led to his rise first to the leadership of his tribe (1361/1362) and then to the head of the whole ulus (1370). Not being a descendant of Genghis Khan, Timur could not bear the title *khan* and thus was known only as *amir* (commander). To legitimate himself, he married Genghisid princesses, took the title *küregen* (Mongolian; "son-in-law"), and appointed a puppet Genghisid as khan. He also collected a host of princes of the different Genghisid branches, portraying himself as their patron.

Another important component of Timur's legitimation was Islam. Timur respected and patronized Sufi sheikhs and ulama, with whom he often debated, and he built religious monuments. The third facet of his legitimation was his own charisma and success: Timur stressed his intimate connection with the supernatural, consciously imitated Genghis Khan, and used monumental building and court historiography to magnify his name.

From 1370 onward, Timur fought almost imminently at the head of his troops, unwilling to entrust their command to anybody but himself. He started with a series of raids into Moghulistan, the eastern part of the Chaghadaids, and into Iran, and this occupied him between 1370 and 1385. During the next decade, he was active mainly against the Golden Horde Khan and his former protégé Toktamish, in south Russia and Ukraine, achieving his major victory at 1395 when he ruined Sarai, the Golden Horde capital, thereby encouraging the rise of Muscovy. In 1398 and 1399, Timur raided India, inflicting a decisive blow on the Delhi Sultanate. In 1400, he turned westward, defeating the Mamluks in 1401 in Damascus (where he met Ibn Khaldun) and the Ottomans in 1402 at Ankara, capturing their sultan and enabling Byzantium to survive for another fifty years. In 1405, Timur was on his way to attack China, but he died near Utrar before completing his campaign.

Although Timur raided the territory between Moscow and Delhi, he established permanent administration only in Iran, Iraq and Central Asia. These sedentary territories, governed by his sons and commanders, provided him with a rich tax base and a reserve of manpower. Unlike Genghis Khan, Timur did not try to subjugate the nomads whose domains he invaded. While Timur's capital, Samarqand, became a cosmopolitan imperial city that flourished as never before, Iran and Iraq suffered devastation at a greater degree than that caused by the Mongols.

Because Timur's campaigns were a mass of uncoordinated raids, he often conquered one place more than once. However, the constant fighting enabled Timur to engage and reward his troops, thereby preventing them from turning against him. Timur's conquests also consciously aimed to restore the Mongol Empire, and the deliberate devastation that accompanied them was a conscious imitation of the Mongol onslaught. The third aim of the conquests was the

Exterior of Tamerlane's (Timur's) mausoleum. Timurid dynasty. 1405 CE. Credit: Bridgeman-Giraudon/Art Resource, NY. S. Isidro el Real, Leon, Spain.

revival of the Silk Roads, shifting their main routes into his realm, mainly at the expense of the more northern route that passed through the Golden Horde's lands.

Timur's conquests were a high time for Transoxiana, but they weakened—although did not eliminate—nearly all of the Muslim forces of his time (Ottomans, Mamluks, Golden Horde, Chaghadaid Moghuls, Delhi Sultanate). They also led to the spread of the gunpowder weapon back eastward, from the Ottomans to China and India, thereby contributing to the subsequent decline of the nomads.

Timur's empire, which was mainly based on his personal charisma and lacked a strong institutional basis, did not survive intact after his death. However, his descendants, the Timurids, ruled over a smaller realm that was composed of eastern Iran and Transoxania for another century (1405–1501), presiding over a period of cultural brilliance. With the Uzbek conquest of Transoxiana, one Timurid prince, Babur, escaped into India, where he founded the Mughal dynasty (1526–1858), the rulers of which called themselves Timurids. Under the Timurids, Timur had become a source of legitimacy in his own right and was used as such by different rulers in Central Asia and Iran up to the nineteenth century. He was also well known in Renaissance Europe. During the late twentieth century, Timur also became the father of independent Uzbekistan, even though the Uzbeks had expelled his descendants from the territory that later became Uzbekistan.

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See also Architecture, Religious; Architecture, Secular: Civil; Central Asia; China; Genghis Khan; Iran; Iraq; India; Khurasan; Mongols; Mughals; Nomadism and Pastoralism; Raids; Samarqand; Silk Roads; Timurids; Turks; Warfare and Techniques

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TAWHIDI, AL-, ABU HAYYAN

Abu Hayyan ‘Ali ibn Muhammad ibn al-‘Abbas al-Tawhidi was an essayist, philosopher and one of the greatest masters of the Arabic style. According to sources, his name (Tawhidi) probably derives from the variety of date *(tawhid)* that his father traded.

Al-Tawhidi was probably born in Iraq or Fars sometime between AH 310/922 CE and AH 320/932 CE, and he died in Shiraz (Iran) in 414/1023. It is not known whether he was of Arab or Iranian descent or what his mother tongue was, but he did not understand Persian. He spent his childhood in Baghdad, which was rife with clashes between the Sunnite and the Shi‘i populations; despite this, it offered an intellectually rich life. In Baghdad, he studied grammar, law, the Qur’an, hadith (the traditions of the Prophet), mathematics, rhetoric, theology, and Sufism. Al-Tawhidi was familiar with Ismaili doctrines and Greek philosophy, both of which were in vogue in the intellectual circles of the time. One of his masters was in fact the Christian philosopher and theologian Yahya ibn ‘Adi, follower of the famous al-Farabi and translator and commentator of Aristotle, whose lectures he attended in 361/971.

In 350/961, al-Tawhidi decided to dedicate himself to literature and began writing *Insights and Treasures*, which took him fifteen years to complete. This first, rather modest work is an anthology of anecdotes and aphorisms. The didactic aim and its sometimes serious, sometimes humorous style are typical of the adab literature of which al-Jahiz was a master. Al-Tawhidi, inspired by the latter’s writings, adopts his style and later dedicates *In Praise of Jahiz* to him. For a living, he worked as a copyist, a job that was fairly common among men of learning without private means. The influence of this activity is reflected in *On Penmanship,* which talks about different handwriting techniques and tools of the trade and contains the aphorisms and sayings of famous copyists and scribes.

Al-Tawhidi, like many of his colleagues, spent much of his life in search of a patron. For this reason, he twice set out to find his fortune in Rayy (southern Iran), but he did not meet with success. He first presented himself to the Buyid vizier Abu ’l-Fadl ibn al-‘Amid and later to his son, Abu ’l-Fath, who died soon after. In 367/ CE, his successor, the vizier al-Sahib ibn ‘Abbad, who was also a refined man of letters, hired al-Tawhidi as a copyist. Unsuited to life at court and frustrated by his lack of intellectual success, al-Tawhidi reacts badly to the continuous humiliation that his employer inflicted on him; three years later he lost his job. He got his revenge by writing *The Characters of the Two Viziers (al-Sahib ibn al-‘Abbad and Abu ’l-Fadl ibn al-‘Amid)*, a virulent pamphlet that is stylistically brilliant despite its often obscene tone and that portrays al-Sahib ibn ‘Abbad in a very bad light.

On his return to Baghdad, al-Tawhidi was taken under the wing of Abu ’l-Wafa’ al-Muhandis, the mathematician, politician, and man of science, who introduced him to Ibn Sa‘dan, a high-ranking civil servant. With him, al-Tawhidi finally found an intellectual equal who can offer him the type of intellectual relationship he had been looking for. He dedicated *Of Friendship and Friends* to him; this is an anthology of poems, prose, aphorisms, and sayings about friendship which took him thirty years to write. This encounter marks the beginning of a period of intense intellectual activity. Al-Tawhidi became a close friend of the logician Abu Sulayman al-Sijistani al-Mantiq, another philosopher formed at the school of al-Farabi and by whom al-Tawhidi was greatly influenced. The debates held under the guidance of al-Sijistani and Yahya ibn ‘Adi in the circle of intellectuals that al-Tawhidi frequents are reproduced in *Conversations,* which contains 106 conversations about religious, philosophical, ethical, factual, and literary topics. This work is a precious record of the discussions between men of learning of different beliefs and origins, and it is also the main extant source of al-Sijistani’s thoughts.

When, in 373/983, Ibn Sa‘dan became vizier to the Buyid Prince Samsam al-Dawla, al-Tawhidi remained at his court and took part in his cultural evenings. Here, the vizier presented a wide range of

philological, philosophical, and literary topics that al-Tawhidi discussed, often reflecting Abu Sulayman al-Sijistani's viewpoint. This inspired *Delight and Entertainment,* which is a detailed record of these evenings compiled at al-Muhandis' request. The work is a mine of information about intellectual life in Baghdad during the tenth century, especially with regard to the thoughts of the most important philosophers of that period. *Searching [Questions] and Compendious [Answers]* is of similar documentary value and was written together with the Persian philosopher-historian Miskawayh; it is a collection of questions put forward by al-Tawhidi about matters of philosophy, natural science, ethics, and linguistics, and it contains detailed answers given by Miskawayh. After Ibn Sa'dan's death (374/984), al-Tawhidi seeks refuge in Shiraz (central Iran) at the home of the vizier of the Buyid prince, Samsam al-Dawla. Little is known about the later years of al-Tawhidi's life other than that he burns his life works in the throes of a spiritual crisis or perhaps as a result of disappointment in the poor consideration of his writings during the preceding twenty years.

He is undoubtedly a master of style: his crystalline, elegant prose deliberately imitates that of his great predecessor and model, al-Jahiz. His encyclopedic knowledge is reflected in the layout of a brief treatise entitled *Of the Branches of Knowledge,* which deals analytically with the different sciences. Al-Tawhidi does not seem to have followed a specific doctrine, although he showed very obvious sympathy toward Sufism. This is particularly evident in *Divine Intimations,* which was written when he was older and contains homilies, prayers, and some technical references to the doctrine. A follower of the Shafiite school of Islamic law, he was opposed to Mu'tazilism and Shi'ism, but he never explicitly belonged to any theological school of thought. His varied and sometimes controversial beliefs led many Muslims to view him suspiciously: Ibn al-Jawzi (twelfth century) says that al-Tawhidi is an example of *zandaqa* (heresy), and his contemporaries probably ignored him for this reason. This was something that much surprised the biographer Yaqut al-Hamawi (thirteenth century), who describes him as "the philosopher of cultured men and a man of culture among philosophers." During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, scholars rediscovered him and appreciated the variety of his works, the wide range of his interests, and his love of literary activities, which al-Tawhidi saw as having a noble function. Al-Tawhidi's double personality (polyhedric intellectual and refined man of letters on the one hand, hypochondriac and pessimistic on the other) is reflected in the opinions of the scholars: if some consider him to be a worthy representative of humanism, endowed with great intellectual honesty, others consider him to be a disappointed and intellectually embittered courtier as a result of his failure at climbing the social ladder.

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See also Adab; Baghdad; Buyids; al-Farabi; Heresy and Heretics; Ismailis; al-Jahiz; Mu'tazilites; Shi'ism; Sufism and Sufis; Viziers

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TECHNOLOGY, MILLS: WATER AND WIND

Water and wind mills in Islam were part of a general technology involving the transport and use of water in irrigation and for power. Muslim science took great interest in hydraulic technology, particularly mills. This interest reflected the importance of irrigation in the dry climates of many Muslim regions. Reliable irrigation systems and a plentiful supply of hydraulic power were critical, because Muslim agriculture focused heavily on intensively cultivated crops such as dates, citrus fruit, and olives. In addition to structures like mills, Muslims also perfected reservoir technology, dams, above-ground irrigation systems, and underground systems like *qanats* (filtration galleries), which exploited water tables using vertical wells, and *cimbras* (riverbed galleries), which used covered trenches to transport water.

Mills provided an important source of industrial power, both for local agriculture and for more far-reaching trade products. Mill wheels refined important raw materials by grinding them down, and this made them critical machines for several industries, not all of which were food related. They were used to grind wood pulp for paper, sugarcane for sugar, grain and corn for flour, and flax for cloth. The papermaking technology fostered the explosion in Muslim books and libraries during the eighth century. Paper quickly replaced papyrus in the Islamic world and made the creation of relatively cheap and numerous books possible. This revolution was so important in al-Andalus (Muslim Iberia) that, after the

Christian King James I of Aragon conquered Muslim Valencia (with its paper mills) in southeastern Spain in 1238, the Aragonese production of documents increased exponentially.

Sugar mills were an important part of the Meccan trade in early Islam, as were grain mills. Unlike Christian European mills, which were often owned and tightly controlled for lucrative tax purposes by a feudal lord, Muslim mills were privately owned businesses in many areas. However, in al-Andalus, Muslim ownership of mills tended to be communal in nature; the mills were owned and managed by local groups. This system, called a "tribal system," allowed for more local and decentralized control. When power became more centralized in a more stratified society (e.g., in the taifa kingdoms of eleventh century al-Andalus; in the post-conquest Christian kingdoms of the next century), horizontal mills gave way to more efficient mill designs like vertical mills and windmills. This increased production but restricted the benefits of such progress to fewer people in the society.

Also important to Islamic agriculture were windmills, which date back to the time of the caliph 'Umar in the seventh century. These were used for drawing water for irrigation (like norias) and for grinding corn. The sails (six or twelve to a windmill) turned a large wheel inside the windmill house, which then turned the millstone; the system could also be set up with multiple mill wheels. Windmills were built on a height—on top of a hill or on the top of a fortress or substructure—to maximize the availability and power of the wind. Early windmills were built in two stories, with the mill wheels in the top story and the sails attached to the lower story. The sails consisted of bundles of palm leaves and resembled the sails of a European-style windmill.

Mills came in three types based on their sources of power: water-, wind-, or animal-driven. In some agricultural machines, one source was used to gain another. For example, in a noria, an animal drove a cup wheel that transported water from a river or stream to an irrigation tank or channel. Animal-driven mills were most useful in areas that lacked enough water to power a mill and in which a windmill was not feasible. Whatever the power source was, it drove a large hydraulic wheel that turned a millstone that ground raw agricultural materials into refined products. Mills could differ greatly in complexity, depending on how the power was transferred to the wheel. In the simpler horizontal mill, the water drove a current wheel that directly turned the mill wheel. In the more efficient—but also more expensive—vertical mill, the power transferred to the mill wheel via a set of gears. The advantages of the horizontal mill over the vertical were that it could be set on smaller rivers or even irrigation channels, that it was cheaper and easier to build, and that it could be used to drive multiple mill wheels. Also, in Islamic systems, the delivery tank and millrace were separate, so water could be diverted for irrigation before entry into the mill. This shows the importance of water in Islam as an agricultural tool for both harnessing power and transferring water. The separate tanks and the possibility of having multiple mill wheels also facilitated ownership and use by groups rather than individuals.

Despite the clearly industrial uses for power, a primary use was always in agricultural irrigation, of which mills were a major component. Set up on rivers, they were usually connected to a system of irrigation canals and were used to grind the products of that system. Streams or rivers often had multiple mills on them, particularly horizontal mills. The nature of ownership heavily influenced the placement of a mill. In single-owner or post-Islamic feudal systems, the mill came at the head of the agricultural system, getting the first part of the water. In communally owned systems, the mill was built downstream at the bottom of the network of irrigation channels, at a point after the water had been diverted for irrigation use; this maximized the availability of the water for both irrigation and power. Another way to maximize use was to have water schedules in which water was allocated to different parts of the system at different times. This extended to the allocation of water to the mill. In the case of a community mill, co-owners had shares (i.e., rights to use the mill at different times). Attempts to feudalize or otherwise centralize the management of such extensive systems often failed. Their structure was too inherently collective to make centralization practical, and such attempts generated hostility among those working within the older system. When centralization succeeded, older owners found themselves marginalized, losing their collective rights to irrigation and milling.

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See also Agriculture; Andalus; Irrigation; Land Tenure and Ownership

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TEXTILES

Much of the study of early Islamic textiles is overshadowed by the prominence of studies on medieval tiraz textiles that carry inscriptions following an official caliphal protocol, similar to that on coins and other official documents, with historically identifiable content referring to the patrons, places, workshops, and the year of manufacture. Scholars have tended to focus on this group of material, because it is provides a distinct and narrow enough field for historical investigation. This goes hand in hand with a general scholarly focus on Egypt, because most medieval Islamic textiles that are extant today were found there, and many of them were produced there or had been exported there from other parts of the Islamic world. Furthermore, most medieval literary sources discuss the textile industry of early Islamic Egypt rather than that of other parts of the Islamic world. Therefore, the present view of the medieval Islamic textile industry is very much dependent on what is known about Egypt and how its network of trade was linked to the Mediterranean region on the one hand and the Indian Ocean on the other.

Egypt, the Mediterranean, and the Indian Ocean

Studies Based on Literary Evidence

The first serious study of the concept of tiraz is Josef von Karabacek's *Die Arabischen Papyrusprotokolle* of 1908, which links the contents of protocolary inscriptions on papyri to those on coins and textiles.

One of the earliest studies of the literary sources of the Egyptian textile industry is Ali Bey Baghat's "Les Manufactures d'Étoffe en Égypte au Moyen Âge," which was published in 1903. It contains a number of literary references relating to the 'Abbasid and Fatimid periods, and these focus on the products and centers of the textile industry rather than the structure of its administration.

Adolf Grohmann's article about the term *tiraz* in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* of 1934 adopts the concept of tiraz as a protocolary inscription, but he applies it exclusively to textiles. He lists the contents of a large number of tiraz textile inscriptions, but he also introduces an institutional and industrial dimension by using several historical literary sources. As a papyrologist, Grohmann also uses the documentary evidence of papyri to supplement and test the historical information contained in the inscriptions.

Gaston Wiet can be credited with raising tiraz textiles from obscurity to wider scholarly interest. He assembled the massive tiraz collection of the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo and masterminded the publication of approximately 1140 inscribed textiles in the RCEA. In 1935, Wiet also planned a large exhibition of the collection at the Musée des Gobelins. It is to his credit that any significant scholarship of tiraz textiles exists. However, Wiet treated tiraz textiles as historical documents and did not see them as textile products, a methodology that owed debts to a scholarly interest in epigraphy since the nineteenth century and is the basis for a number of related publications (Michele Angelo Lanci's *Trattato Delle Simboliche Representanze Arabiche Della Varia Generazione de' Musulmani Carrateri Sopra Differenti Materie Operati* of 1845–1846; A.R. Guest's series of articles in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* between 1906 and 1931; Kendrick's catalog of the tiraz textile collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum; Carl Johan Lamm's articles about Swedish tiraz collections; Nancy Pence Britton's catalog of the tiraz collection at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts). The early publications of Ernst Kuhnel also show a clear interest in epigraphy and documentation rather than the artifacts themselves.

Two early attempts to study the organization of tiraz institutions were written by Muhammad Abd al-Aziz Marzouk and Etienne Combe. Both authors see textile inscriptions as historical documents without giving any consideration to the fabrics on which they are found. Their studies of the institutions rely almost exclusively on known textual sources; neither use the textile evidence in a convincing manner to support their theses.

Ugo Monneret de Villard has been one of the only scholars to devote a study to the production of court textiles in Palermo under the Normans; this was also largely drawn from literary sources. His study suggests that, until the arrival of the Normans, a tiraz workshop did not exist in Sicily despite a thriving textile industry, which is suggested by the lack of surviving specimens from Sicily, in Egypt, and in Italy and the silence of contemporary literary sources. The Arabic inscription on the coronation robe of Roger II states that it was made in the khizana al-malikiyya, suggesting that, when the Normans took control of the island, they organized a workshop within their palace. By contrast, a recent study based on the evidence of another surviving inscribed fragment from Palermo that stated in Latin that it was made in a royal workshop ("Operatum in Regio

Ergast'') suggests that the Palermitan workshop was ultimately based on the ergasterion (the Byzantine court workshop).

R.S. Serjeant's *Islamic Textiles, Material for a History up to the Mongol Conquest,* reveals an entirely different approach, because it functions very much like a historical source book for textile historians. It draws from histories, administrative works, works of hisba, geographical works, dictionaries (both biographical and geographical), and agricultural treatises. The material is arranged in parts chronologically, geographically, and by subject. Encyclopedic in approach, Serjeant's work covers all main areas of the Islamic world between Spain and India.

Yadida Stillman's doctoral dissertation, *Female Attire of Medieval Egypt: According to the Trousseau Lists and Cognate Material from the Cairo Geniza,* is an important contribution to the current understanding of medieval textile terminology, both in terms of fabrics and materials but also in terms of fashion. Drawn on surviving documents from the Cairo Geniza, it puts into order and defines the meanings of the often very confusing usage of medieval Arabic terms for textiles, and it expands on the previous scholarship by S.D. Goitein.

Maurice Lombard, in his study *Les Textiles dans le Monde Musulman,* also adopts a purely literary approach, albeit with a different aim than Serjeant's work. Lombard presents an interpretative history of Islamic textiles, with particular reference to manufacture, society, and trade. It is divided into sections that deal with the materials and techniques of manufacture, aspects of the administration and patronage, and the social and economic issues of labor and technology. A large section of this work is devoted to Egypt, particularly the textile manufacturers of the Delta region and the structure and role of the textile institutions.

Irene Bierman's doctoral dissertation entitled *Art and Politics: The Impact of Fatimid Uses of Tiraz Fabrics* presents an interpretative study of the court context of inscribed textiles and their political significance, a study that takes tiraz inscriptions beyond their documentary, epigraphic, or semantic value by attempting to establish their semiotics.

Another interpretative work is Gladis Frantz-Murphy's article ''A New Interpretation of the Economic History of Mediaeval Egypt: The Role of the Textile Industry 254–567/868–1171,'' which follows the tradition of scholarship on Egyptian economic and administrative history. Hers differs, however, from these earlier studies in that it focuses on the role of the textile industry in the economic development of Egypt under the Tulunids, a time when taxes were withheld from the central 'Abbasid authorities in Baghdad and reinvested into Egyptian agriculture to boost the production of raw materials and finished products for export.

Studies Based on the Evidence of Textiles

Although their epigraphy, decorative style, and historical and administrative contexts have been studied in some depth, the technical issues presented by tiraz textiles have hardly been addressed. Tiraz textiles have been subjected to taxonomic analysis relatively rarely. The studies by R. Pfister, Carl Johan Lamm, Louisa Bellinger, Veronika Gervers and Lisa Golombek, Mary Ballard, and Georgette Cornu are pioneering works in this area, but their value has been limited by the fact that they have drawn their evidence largely from single collections. This is also the case with Anna Contadini's study of the Fatimid textiles at the Victoria and Albert Museum, which is a relatively small collection. Although Contadini touches on vital questions such as manufacture, administration, and commerce, her findings are not checked against larger samples. Lamm was the only scholar who based his research on several collections.

Lamm's *Cotton in Mediaeval Textiles in the Near East* was one of the first studies that focused on one material that was important during the early Islamic period and traced it through the literary sources as well as the extant textile evidence. He presented a wide range of textiles from Sasanian, Umayyad, 'Abbasid, and Indian importers, most of which were found in Egypt. The material was arranged by decorative method, the technicalities of which were given great attention. A gazetteer of places that produced cotton and relevant textual sources was included as an appendix.

Lamm's contemporary, R. Pfister, was working on a series of articles that were, like Lamm's, novel in their approach and methodology. His two articles, ''Matériaux pour Servir au Classement des Textiles Égyptiens Postérieurs à la Conquête Arabe'' and ''L'Introduction du Coton en Égypte Musulmane,'' were, like Lamm's work, concerned with materials and techniques. The first of the two articles evaluated the Islamic contribution to the development of Egyptian textiles. For this Pfister had the color dyes of a number of Coptic and Islamic textiles analyzed and found that, during the Islamic period, a lac dye was used; this was an insect-based substance that had reached Egypt via the Indian Ocean route from India. In his other article, Pfister linked the introduction of Z-spinning (i.e., twisting the yarn to the left) into Egypt during the 'Abbasid period to the concurrent import of Iraqi cotton textiles. The trade between Egypt and India (another important eastern trading partner of Egypt) has been the basis of a massive

study by Ruth Barnes of the Newberry Collection of medieval Indian block-printed textiles.

The catalog of the tiraz collection at the Textile Museum Washington published in 1952 by Ernst Kühnel and Louisa Bellinger is to this day one of the most comprehensive surveys of early Islamic textiles available. Its trendsetting quality lay in the cooperation of an Islamic art historian with a textile specialist. While Kühnel interpreted the historical data, Bellinger analyzed materials, fabrics, and decorative techniques by using taxonomy; this correlation of historical and technical data allowed for contextualizing. Bellinger showed convincingly the various trends and developments in the making of tiraz textiles from Iran, Yemen, and Egypt, and she was able to distinguish several centers of production and put forward theories about the transmission of materials and techniques from East to West. Lisa Golombek and Veronica Gervers followed Kühnel and Bellinger's approach in their 1977 study, "Tiraz Fabrics in the Royal Ontario Museum." Although Gervers' contribution was largely a reëvaluation of the theories put forward by Lamm, Pfister, and Bellinger, Golombek attempted an interpretation of the sociological implications of materials, patronage, and the uses and significance of tiraz textiles, which were areas that had not been touched upon seriously before. However, rather than taking the literary sources as her stepping stone, Golombek decided to raise questions on the basis of the textile evidence itself. This led her to investigate what kinds of garments could be reconstructed from the textile fragments, the kinds of fabrics used, the degree of foreign influence in Egypt, and who made and ordered these textiles. Rather than providing answers, Gervers' and Golombek's article provides a forum for discussion.

Mary Ballard, a textile conservator at the Freer and Sackler Galleries in Washington, has contributed to the field a technical study of tiraz textiles based on the collection of the Detroit Institute of Arts. By analyzing mostly materials and weaving methods, she documents the technical peculiarities of this sample.

The most recent studies of tiraz have been published by Georgette Cornu. Her study "*Wası* Yéménite des IXe–Xe Siècles au Musée Historique des Tissus de Lyon," published in 1991, presents a new approach, because it traces one particular extant textile type through available textual sources, making constant reference to existing textiles. Perhaps more prominent—but not as ingenious in its approach as her previous article—is Cornu's catalog of the Pfister Collection of tiraz textiles held at the Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana in Rome. Massive in scale, this work continues the approach introduced by Kühnel and Bellinger, although it is less interpretative with regard to the historical implications of technological issues. However, every item in the catalog is meticulously recorded; each entry includes the inscription, technical data, and comparisons. In an appendix, the fabric structures of several textiles are explained with schematic drawings. Cornu's exhibition catalog of 1994, *Tissus d'Egypte, Témoins du Monde Arabe VIIIe–XVe Siècles, Collection Bouvier,* continues this approach.

The recent doctoral dissertation *Tiraz Textiles from Egypt: Production, Administration and Uses of Tiraz Textiles from Egypt Under the Umayyad, 'Abbasid and Fatimid Dynasties* has tried to overcome the existing rift between historians and textile specialists, by approaching the subject in a more unified way, taking into account the interrelationships among production, administration, and use. Rather than relying on one collection (as most previous authors have done), samples from all of the major museum collections are examined here and have been arranged in a database of 1823 items, which made it possible to analyze the properties of textiles taxonomically. By using taxonomic analysis, both material and historical information are combined, and emerging trends are tested against the historical evidence of literary sources. A major discovery lies in how the textile evidence reflects administrative changes in control of the textile industry and the wider administrative relationship between Egypt and Iraq under the 'Abbasids. Despite agreement by both textile specialists and historians that tiraz textiles were produced for court consumption, neither have considered addressing why tiraz textiles were used in burials; graves are the sources from which most surviving tiraz textiles have in fact been recovered archaeologically. This thesis approaches that subject by considering both material and literary evidence and suggests that tiraz textiles were regarded as a source of blessing for the deceased because of the caliphal association recorded in their inscriptions.

Iran

The finds of medieval Buyid silks at Rayy in Iran, which were supposedly made in tombs at Naqqareh Khaneh and Kuh-i Sorsoreh at the foot of the mountain of Bibi Shahr Banu (Aminabad), are what appear to be the only other known major Islamic burial finds of textiles outside of Egypt and have therefore aroused enormous attention from scholars and textile dealers alike. For a long time there existed a controversy about the authenticity of these finds; it is now clear that a good number of textiles that were claimed to have come from Rayy are in fact forgeries, particularly those that came on to the art market after 1930.

Some textiles, however, have been found to be genuine, particularly those that came on the market around 1925, when the tombs were excavated. Many of this latter group are now in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London and have been compared with the scant descriptions by those excavators, dealers, and scholars present in Iran in the 1920s. The Rayy textiles are, however, fundamentally different from those textiles found in Egypt with regard to materials, technique, and historical context. They are compound-woven silks (rather than linen, cotton, or wool like those found in Egypt), and there is very little contemporary literary information about the historical context in which they were produced and used.

JOCHEN SOKOLY

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THEATER

General Features

The answer to the question of whether live theater existed in the medieval Arab world lies in understanding the exact meaning of the terms used to describe various kinds of performances and performing artists during a long process of development.

There were no special buildings for theatrical performances in the medieval Islamic world. Troupes of actors and performing artists were invited to perform with music and dancing during feasts such as the Nawruz, the Feast of the Nile, the month of Ramadan, holy days, mawlids, weddings, and circumcision ceremonies. These performances were held in public places, markets, courtyards, rulers' palaces, orchards, taverns, inns, near the walls of citadels, on top of a hill, or on a platform.

The audience, who took an active part in the performances, would form a circle *(halqa)* around the performers, who were called by various terms in different Islamic regions and centuries (see Performing Artists). The audience would exchange sharp retorts with the performers, slapping them on the neck for amusement and lavishing coins upon them as a sign of approval. Performances took place by day with dancing and music or at night with torches or by moonlight (in medieval Egypt, actors who performed by moonlight were called *samir*). Male and female actors, comedians, and farce players used makeup with kohl on their eyes and facial makeup made of lime, soot, or flour, sometimes wearing masks *(samaja)* or false beards of various colors according to the age of the *dramatis personae*. They either improvised or performed memorized or written texts copied from various writers and poets (a method called *talfiq;* "patching pieces together"). In literary and historical works, few live theatrical plays are mentioned, and fewer still are extant in manuscript, because performers depended mainly on memorizing existing poems and literary works and on improvisation.

The main themes of plays and farces were criticism and the mockery of rivals and religious functionaries, such as Muslim scholars *('ulama')*, judges *(qadi;* pl. *qudat)*, and rulers. Actors and comedians pleased their patrons by censuring their rivals and enemies. Those actors who dared to criticize rulers by mocking their appearance, manner of speech, and behavior were sometimes severely punished, flogged, or banished to another town; some even had their houses demolished. Some comedians, jesters, and buffoons served in rulers' courts, received monthly wages, and were employed in various professions in the household besides being drinking companions to their patrons (see Wine).

Historical Development

The ruins of Greek and Roman theaters around the Mediterranean basin are clear evidence of the

important role that theater played in the region during the Hellenistic period. Its influence was felt not only among pagans but also among Jews, Christians, and later on by the Muslim population in the East. Both Syriac and Hebrew employed the Greek term for theater (*te'atron* and *teatron,* respectively). Arab historians and geographers rarely used the term *tiyatir* and preferred the Arabic term *mal'ab*. On the eve of Islam, impersonators, clowns, and buffoons had replaced the classical theater in the Near Eastern provinces of the Roman Empire. The original significance of the pagan religious dramas had been long forgotten, and they became seasonal folk theater, tending toward parody and mockery of former customs and fertility rituals. Muslim scholars considered them to be ceremonies commemorating legendary or historical events.

Orientalists and Arab scholars have been divided on the issue of whether, after the Islamic conquests, there was an Arab theatrical tradition before the Arabs came into close contact with the European imperialist powers in the Middle East. There are two main schools of thought: (1) scholars who presume that the Arabs must have found their way to an oral popular entertainment with improvised mimicry performed in colloquial Arabic (however, unable to verify the exact meaning of the complicated Arabic theatrical terminology, they fail to give solid proof of the existence of Arab theater before the nineteenth century); and (2) scholars who deny that Arabs had profane live theatre in the sense of a live actor or actors reconstructing a real or legendary incident that occurred in the past, giving the audience the illusion that it is happening in the present. The underlying assumption is that theatrical performance deserves to be considered drama only if it conforms to the conventions of the ancient Greek dramatists and modern European theater. These scholars argue that there are no extant Arabic manuscripts of dramas in classical Arabic literature; that the Arabs knew only popular entertainment such as shadow plays, marionettes, storytelling and the ritual Shi'i theater known as *ta'ziya;* that Islam is a puritan religion that forbids jesting, folly, mimicry, and imitation; that Arabs in the strict sense were Bedouin (i.e., nomadic pastoralists) and theater can thrive only in urban society; and, finally, that Islam, unlike Greek paganism and modern European culture, is a monotheist religion that requires total submission to Allah's will and forbids conflict between man and his Creator—between the believer and his predestination.

During the first century after the rise of Islam, there is evidence—albeit sparse—of Arab awareness of theatrical performances in the Byzantine Empire. Hassan ibn Thabit (d. ca. 674 CE), the poet of the Prophet Muhammad, mentions the "mayamis Ghazza," where *mayamis* seems to be used in the Greek sense of *mimos* rather than alluding to the Hebrew term *meyumase 'Azza*, in the sense of *Maiumas*, the orgiastic festival celebrated on the Syrian coast from ancient times. Further evidence is found in the story of 'Amr ibn al-'As (d. 663), a rich merchant who knew Egypt well during the Jahiliyya (pre-Islamic) period from traveling there with his merchandise. In Alexandria, he attended a Byzantine theatre *(mal'ab)*, and he advised the Caliph 'Umar (d. 644) to occupy Egypt and make it the granary of Islam. There is also the story of the Jewish actor and magician from Jisr Babil near Kufa in Iraq that provides evidence that parody and mimicry continued to be performed during the Muslim caliphate. He was said to have performed "various kinds of magic, illusionistic tricks and acts of buffoonery" during the time of the third caliph, 'Uthman (d. 655), according to the tenth-century historian al-Mas'udi (Moreh, 1986).

Arabic theatrical performance was, in most cases, not based on the use of written texts (scripts), because it was an oral art and in colloquial Arabic, tending toward mockery and jest, a genre that was ignored and despised by Muslim scholars. E.W. Lane (1836), in his *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians,* and other European travelers to the Middle East described theatrical performances that they witnessed as being similar to those played in Europe. A few Arabic theatrical plays are extant in manuscript, although some scholars assign them to narrative and not to theatrical genres. The most famous are the "Play (Hikaya) of Abu 'l-Qasim al-Baghdadi," composed about 1009 or 1010 by Abu 'l-Mutahhar al-Azdi; the "Short Assembly on Fifty Women" *("al-Maqama al-Mukhtasara fi l-Khamsin Mar'a")* by Muhammad ibn Mawlahum al-Khayali (thirteenth century); and "The Discourse of Umm Mujbir" *("Munadamat Umm Mujbir")* by 'Abd al-Baqi al-Ishaqi (d. 1660). Among the most interesting surviving plays are those of Ahmad al-Far, published by Woidisch and Landau (1993) in *Arabisches Voksktheater in Kairo, im Jahre 1909, Ahmad il-Far und Seine Schwanke,* which shed light on the development of Arabic theater since the 'Abbasid period as a result of the terminology used for actors and plays in popular Arabic theater. The actor al-Far is called *Ibn Rabiya* (the son of Rabiyya), a nineteenth-century nickname for actors (pl. Awlad Rabiyya). He performs the role of khalbus (comedian or/and assistant to female dancers, who were known as *'awalim* [sing. *'alima*]). In the introduction of one of these plays, the actor is described as a man who is invited by the Egyptian riffraff to celebrate their sons' weddings. He is accompanied by a band of musicians, such as

a popular drummer and a flautist, and by a torch holder. Later on, the actor who plays the role of *khawal* (male dancer) performs *(yakhruj)* in the role *(sifa)* of a woman and starts dancing.

The Egyptian Sufi scholar of the sixteenth century, ‘Abd al-Wahhab al-Sha‘rani (d. 1565), in his book *Lata’if al-Minan (The Subtle Blessings)*, uses the same terms of *khalbus* and *khawal* (an actor who performs a scene of a live play *[babat al-khayal]*) (1903). These terms suggest the continuity of Arabic live theatre during the sixteenth through nineteenth centuries. According to al-Sha‘rani, the khalbus performs plays *(khayal)* with itinerant actors *(muhabbazun)*. The phrase ‘‘muhabbaz of the Devil’’ is attested in thirteenth-century Egypt by the writer of shadow plays *(khayal al-zill)* Muhammad Ibn Daniyal (1248–1311) when, in one of his poems, Ibn Daniyal curses his wife for forcing him to entertain his child by performing plays and watching actors playing in taverns with pimps and prostitutes.

Although the term *muhabbaz* continued to be used from the time of Ibn Daniyal up to that of E.W. Lane to denote itinerant actors of farces, the earlier terms for actors in medieval Islamic civilization were quite different. The notorious scurrilous poet Ibn al-Hajjaj (ca. 940–1001) used the term *mukhannathun* to denote actors in a period when the term *muhabbazun* had not yet been coined. Since the time of the Prophet Muhammad, live performance had been called *hikaya* (live play or imitation) before the word acquired the restricted meaning of ‘‘story,’’ and only then was it replaced with the term *khayal*. In Arabic literature, the term *mukhannath* was used from the rise of Islam to denote a live actor, musician, dancer, entertainer, or performer on the hobbyhorse *(kurraj)* (see Performing Artists, Arab). In a poem composed by the Umayyad poet Jarir (d. 733) to ridicule his opponent al-Farazdaq, he described him with his moustache looking like a masked actor riding on a hobbyhorse wearing a fur like a monkey, which might be an allusion to a kind of theatrical performance. However, the Prophet Muhammad allowed hobbyhorse performances not as entertainment but as training for combat, despite the fact that the hobbyhorse had originally been used in Persian shamanism to achieve contact with spirits through ecstasy. In Syriac, the Greek term *mimos* is given as *mimas* and *mimsa* with the corresponding Arabic meaning of *al-mukhannath al-muhaki al-maskhari* (the imitating comedian mimic; see Payne Smith, R. *Thesaurus Syriacus,* vol. II, col. 2093. 1879–1901). Another performance of pre-Islamic origin is the *Nawruz* or *Nayruz,* which was celebrated up to the nineteenth century with masks, hobbyhorse, and the play of *Amir al-Nayruz (The Lord of Nayruz)* in carnival processions of the Feast of Fools in Medieval Islam.

Arabic Theater in al-Andalus

The term for hobbyhorse in Maimonides’ (d. 1204) Mishna Commentary is the Arabic *faras al-‘ud* (horse-headed stick) ‘‘with which the players of wind instruments and actors play; it is well known among entertainers’’ (Maimonides, 1903). In addition to actors on the hobbyhorse, Maimonides refers to the actress whom he calls in Hebrew *yotset ha-huts* (‘‘the woman who goes out’’); in Arabic, *takhruju* means ‘‘she sets out’’ (i.e., performs). She performs khayal with masks and live plays using a gown made of fine net fabric for comical purposes, as many actors used to do at this time (Maimonides, 1903). This usage might shed light on the Arabic term *kharijat* used by Ibn Shuhayd (922–1035) in his *Risalat al-Tawabi‘ wa-l-Zawabi‘* (*Epistle of Good and Evil Spirits;* see Moreh, 1986). This is the first highbrow literary work that might have been performed by actors. The author tells us of his rival, Ibn al-Iflili (b. 963), who was so miserly that ‘‘he does not try to bribe students of mosques and actresses who dwell in the caravansary *(kharijat al-khanat)* to perform his poems and plays (*rasa’il*; ‘‘epistles’’) by brackish ponds and heaps of dung’’ as their stage. This hint might indicate that Ibn Shuhayd, a generous and rich man, could employ actresses to perform his own poems and plays in orchards by brimming lakes. Ibn Shuhayd says that, failing to find respectable actresses, Ibn al-Iflili used to perform by himself ‘‘the play of the Jew’’ *(la‘bat al-Yahudi)* and that ‘‘when he hobbled about, slightly advancing, then retreating, with staff in hand and sack on shoulder, he was the most skillful person at performing the play of the Jew.’’ On the other hand, David ben Abraham al-Fasi (tenth century) uses the Syriac term for actor, *mutamaymis* (Greek *mimos*).

Pedro de Alcala’s *Vocabolista Aravigo en Lietra Castillana* (Granada, 1505) contains various Arabic terms for theatrical performance that are still in use in modern Arab world, such as *khiyal*, *mal‘ab,* and *masrah* for theater and *la’’ab* and *mumaththil* for actor; this is a clear indication that Arabic theater existed in Muslim Spain. Moreover, the Andalusian poet Ibn Quzman (d. 1160), who composed a *zajal* (popular Arabic strophic verse) describing troupes of actors performing variety shows, is typical of what Alcala termed in Castilian *representador de comedias/tragedias* and in Arabic *sha‘ir* (‘‘poet’’). Further evidence for the existence of live theater in Muslim Spain is the fact that, after the expulsion of the Jews

from Spain (1492) and their settlement in the territories of the Ottoman Sultan Bayazid II, they played an important role in Ottoman popular entertainment and the Turkish *commedia dell'arte* known as *Ortaoyunu*.

SHMUEL MOREH

See also Dancing; Maimonides; Music; Nawruz; Performing Artists; Shadow Plays; Stories and Storytelling

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THEOLOGY

Islamic theology consists the following: (1) Qur'anic teachings, (2) theological schools, (3) sectarianism, (4) philosophical theology, and (5) Sufi theology. This article focuses on Qur'anic theology and the Sunni theological schools; there are separate articles in this encyclopedia devoted to the Mu'tazila, most sectarian groups, numerous Imami Shi'i theologians, the major philosophers, and the Sufi theologians Ibn 'Arabi and Jami. Those readers interested in the complex origins of Islamic theology should consult W. Montgomery Watt's *The Formative Period of Islamic Thought* (1998).

Qur'anic Theology

Qur'anic theology revolves around a merciful, singular God named Allah who is omniscient, omnipotent, and possesses a host of additional qualities. Allah created the heavens and the earth in six days and created Adam, the first human, as his vicegerent *(khalifa)* on earth out of wet clay. After God "taught Adam the names," He commanded the angels to prostrate to him, which they did, save for Iblis (Satan), who was one of the creatures created from fire (jinn). God allowed Satan to descend to earth and

serve as the "manifest enemy" of humans until the end of time. God also sent prophets, such as Noah, Abraham, Moses, and Jesus, with the same essential message to obey Him, act righteously, and believe in the Hereafter. The "seal of the prophets" is Muhammad, to whom God revealed the Qur'an via the angel Gabriel. The Qur'an informs Muslims that on the Last Day there will be two blasts as the world is destroyed and all humans are brought forth from their graves to be judged by God and sent to either the gardens of Paradise or the blazing Hellfire. There is widespread consensus among Sunnis that the Prophet Muhammad will intercede for members of his community and that none of them will be in the Hellfire eternally, although the Qur'anic support for these beliefs is somewhat ambiguous.

Sunni Theological Schools

The major Islamic theological schools are the Mu'tazila, Ash'aris, Maturidis, and the hadith scholars (traditionalists). Most Imami and Zaydi Shi'is embraced Mu'tazili dogma, whereas most Sunnis considered only the latter three schools as orthodox. The Mu'tazila, Ash'aris, and Maturidis are distinguished from the hadith scholars through their employment of rational argumentation and adoption of philosophical concepts, such as atoms and accidents, that form the theological discourse known as *kalam.* The primary topics addressed by all four of these theological schools concern the relationship between God and His attributes *(sifat)* and between God and human agency *(qadar)*. The general Mu'tazili opinions (rejected by most Sunni theologians) about both of these topics were the denial of essential divine attributes that were "neither God nor other than God" and robust affirmation of each human's ability to create their own actions. Other topics found in theological works include the nature of prophecy, the question as to whether faith increases or decreases according to one's deeds, epistemology, the believers' vision of God in Paradise, and leadership of the community *(imama)*.

The Ash'aris, who derive their name from Abu l-Hasan al-Ash'ari (d. 935), distinguished themselves through the affirmation of seven eternal attributes that are "neither God nor other than God": (1) knowledge, (2) power, (3) life, (4) will, (5) seeing, (6) hearing, and (7) speech. The Maturidis, who derive their name from Abu Mansur al-Maturidi (d. 944), regularly added the attribute of creating *(takwin, takhliq)* to these seven attributes. The popular creed of the Maturidi theologian al-Nasafi (d. 1142) includes the attributes of desiring, doing, and sustaining, and it states that "[God] has attributes from all eternity subsistent in His essence. They are not He nor are they other than He" (Elder, 1950). Later Ash'ari scholars, such as al-Juwayni (d. 1085) and his pupil al-Ghazali (d. 1111), reconciled the dogmatic position of the seven eternal attributes and the prophetic hadiths that enumerate God's ninety-nine names by means of the construction of categories of names, such as those names that signify God's essence or the eternal attributes and those names that relate to actions (al-Juwayni, 2000). The hadith scholar theologians, such as Ibn Khuzayma (d. 923), scrupulously affirmed all of the names and attributes by which God describes Himself in the Qur'an and in sound prophetic hadith while simultaneously insisting that none of these attributes—including God's hands, eyes, and face—is truly anthropomorphic because of the vast gulf between the natures of temporal humans and the infinite deity. Most Ash'ari and Maturidi theologians did not hesitate to apply metaphorical interpretations to Qur'anic verses that mention God's hands, eyes, and face.

Sunni theologians insisted that all human actions are created by God on the basis of the rational argument that God's omnipotence is void if additional creators exist and on the basis of Qur'anic verses such as 6:101–2 and 37:96. They also insisted that humans lack the capacity to perform any action until the action is brought into existence by God. Despite these unwavering dogmatic positions, both Ash'aris and Maturidis argued that humans are responsible for their actions through a form of acquisition, which is called *kasb* (acquisition) by the former school and *ikhtiyar* (choice) by the latter one. Daniel Gimaret (1980) has articulated the three positions adopted by Sunni theologians concerning human acts: (1) "Radical Ash'arisim" in which God creates the individual's power *(qudra)*, will, and the actual act; (2) God creates the power and will in a human, who acts as an agent for the divinely created act; and (3) God creates the act, but man "adds specific qualifications" to the act, which are uncreated. Gimaret identifies al-Ghazali as an advocate of the first position, Fakhr al-Din al-Razi (d. 1209) and the hadith scholar Ibn Taymiyya (d. 1328) as supporters of the second one, and Abu Bakr al-Baqillani (d. 1013) and later Maturidis as champions of the third one. The Hanafi hadith scholar Abu Ja'far al-Tahawi (d. 933) affirmed that "human acts are the creation of God and the acquisition of the human beings" in his famous creed, along with the comment "the principle of predetermination (or predestination) is God's secret" (Watt, 1994).

SCOTT C. LUCAS

See also Al-'Allama; Al-Farabi; al-Ghazali; Al-Hasan al-Basri; Al-Hilli; Al-Jahiz; Al-Kindi; Al-Kulayni; Al-Majlisi; Al-Razi, Fakhr al-Din Afterlife; Al-Shaykh Al-Mufid; Al-Tusi, Muhammad ibn Hasan; Al-Tusi, Nasir al-Din; Angels; Ash'aris; Caliphate and Imamate; Druze; Eschatology; God; Hassan-i Sabbah; Heresy and Heretics; Ibadis; Ibn 'Arabi; Ibn Babawayh; Ibn Hanbal; Ibn Rushd (Averroes); Ibn Sina (Avicenna); Ibn Taymiyya; Ibn Tumart; Ismailis; Ja'far al-Sadiq; Jami; Kharijis; Muhammad al-Baqir; Mu'tazilites; Mulla Sadra; Nusayris; Polemics and Disputation; Predestination; Qur'an; Shi'ism; Shi'i Thought; Sunni Revival; Zaydis

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TIME, CONCEPTS OF

Classical concepts of time confronted philosophers with perplexing paradoxes. Some wondered whether time altogether was nonexistent, whereas others doubted the reality of its divisibility into parts by arguing that the past ceased to be, the future does not yet exist, and the present as a moment/now that is without magnitude (i.e., like a mathematical point is not part of time). In addition, it was unclear whether time progressed smoothly or proceeded by way of discontinuous and divisible leaps.

Although inquiries about the nature of time were integrated within physical theories of motion, their broad cosmological and metaphysical bearings had an impact on speculations about creation and causation. In Plato's *Timaeus* (37d; 38a) time *(khronos)* was pictured as a moving image *(eikona)* that imitated *(mimoumenon)* eternity *(aiona)* by circling around according to number *(arithmos)* and came into existence with the generation of the heavens. In the earliest systemic investigation of the essence and existence of time, which was contained in Aristotle's *Physics* (219b3-4; 220a25-b20; 222b20-23), *khronos* was defined as the number *(metron)* of a continuous *(sunekhes)* motion *(kinesis)* with respect to the anterior *(proteron)* and the posterior *(husteron)*. Rejecting the claim that time was the movement of the whole *(holos)*, Aristotle argued that the circular, uniform, and continuous motion of the celestial sphere *(sphaira)* acts as the measure *(metron)* of time (*Physics,* 223b21). His theory subsequently received numerous responses by Neoplatonist and Hellenist exegetes; these are grouped in a monumental edition titled *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca.* Damascius argued that time was a simultaneous whole, Plotinus grasped it as the changing life of the soul (*Enneads,* 3.7.11-13), and Simplicius defended the thesis of the eternity of the world against doubts raised by the grammarian Philoponus, who adopted a Christian doctrine of *creatio ex nihilo.* As for the author of the *Confessions,* Augustine of Hippo, he noted that *tempus* (time) was created when the world came to be while affirming that the existential reality of time is grounded in the present *(praesens)*, which in itself is what tends not to be *(tendit non esse),* given that only eternity was stable *(semper stans)*.

On the basis of a belief in the linear directionality of time, from Genesis to Judgment, Augustine argued that the present of things past was preserved in memory, the presence of present things was confirmed by visual perception, and the presence of things future was secured through expectation. Accordingly, the reality of time depended on an *anima* who remembers, perceives, and expects events; this is similar to

Aristotle's claim in the *Physics* (218b29-219a1-6, 223a25) that *khronos* required *psukhe* to compute its numbering *(arithmein)*. Ishaq ibn Hunayn's translation of Aristotle's *Physics (al-Tabi'a)* secured the transmission of the Aristotelian conception of *khronos* into Arabic, which subsequently inspired variegated philosophical interpretations of time in Islam. Al-Kindi held that *al-zaman* (time) had a beginning and an end and that it measured motion according to number *(Tempus ergo est numerus numerans motum)*, whereas al-Farabi and Ikhwan al-Safa' affirmed that time resulted from the movement of the created celestial sphere *(al-falak)*. Abu Bakr al-Razi claimed that the *dahr* (perpetuity) was absolute *(mutlaq)*, while taking *al-zaman* (time) to be a flowing substance *(jawhar yajri)* that is bound *(mahsur)* as well as being associated with the motion of al-falak.

In *Kitab al-Hudud,* Ibn Sina defined *al-zaman* (time) as that which resembles the created being *(yudahi al-masnu')* and acts as the measure of motion *(miqdar al-haraka)* in terms of the anterior and the posterior *(mutaqaddim wa muta'akhkhir)*. He also noted that *al-dahr* (supratemporal duration) resembled the Creator *(yudahi al-san'i)* insofar that it was stable throughout the entirety of time. In the *Isharat wa'l-Tanbihat,* he linked time to physical inquiries about motion; in *'Uyun al-Hikma,* he construed it as a quantity *(kamiyyat)* of motion that measures change *(yuqaddir)* and whose perpetuity *(dahr al-haraka)* generated temporality. Time also played a notable role in *Kitab al-Manazir* (*Optics;* II.3, II.7, III.7) by the polymath Ibn al-Haytham, who argued that the propagation of light rays was subject to time and consequently inferred that the velocity of light *(al-daw')* was finite despite being immense in magnitude. Moreover, he held that acts of visual discernment and comparative measure *(al-tamyyiz wa'l-qiyas)* were subject to the passage of time even if not felt by the beholder, and he cautioned that, if the temporal duration of contemplative or immediate visual perception fell outside of a moderate range, it resulted in optical errors. In addition, he listed al-zaman as one of the known entities *(ma'lumat)*, while taking duration *(mudda)* to be its essence *(mahiyya)* and the scale *(miqyas)* of its magnitude *(miqdar)* and quantity *(kamiyya)* that become knowable in reference to the motion of the celestial sphere *(al-falak)*.

Opposing the views of the peripatetic philosophers in Islam, the exponents of kalam (dialectical theology) articulated alternative conceptions of time that rested on physical theories inspired by Greek atomism. Time was grasped by the *mutakallimun* (dialectical theologians) as being a virtual *(mawhum)* phenomenon of changing appearances and renewed atomic events *(mutajaddidat)* whereby a discrete moment *(waqt)* replaced the concept of a continuous zaman. Motivated by this theory—although resisting its thrust—al-Nazzam believed in the divisibility of particles *ad infinitum,* which entailed that a spatial distance with infinitely divisible parts requires an infinite time to be crossed unless its traversal proceeded by way of leaps *(tafarat)*; this echoes the Stoic views regarding the Greek notion of *halma* (leap). When doubting the doctrine of the eternity of the world in *Tahafut al-Falasifa,* al-Ghazali attempted to show that duration *(mudda)* and time *(zaman)* were both created, and he argued that the connection between what is habitually taken to be a cause and an effect was not necessary given that observation only shows that they were concomitant. Consequently, he proclaimed that the ordering relation of an antecedent cause with a consequent effect does not necessarily rest on an irreversible directionality in time.

In defense of causation, Ibn Rushd argued in *Tahafut al-Tahafut* that the refutation of the causal principle entailed an outright rejection of reason while asserting that the eternal *(al-qadim)* was timeless and that the world was subject to the workings of a continuous zaman. Affirming the truth of Genesis, Maimonides asserted in *Dalalat al-Ha'irin* the belief that time was created, given that the celestial sphere and the motion on which it depended were both generated. Although speculations about time continued with scholars of the caliber of Nasir al-din Tusi, Fakhr al-din al-Razi, Mir Damad, Mulla Sadra, Abu'l-Barakat al-Baghdadi, al-Iji, and al-Jurjani, the elucidation of its uncanny reality remained inconclusive.

NADER EL-BIZRI

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TIMURIDS

The Timurids were a dynasty of Central Asian nomadic origin that dominated the Middle East and Central Asia in the AH eighth/fourteenth CE and ninth/fifteenth centuries. The founder, Timur Leng, was a Chagatai Turk of the Barlas tribe in the region of Kish, Western Turkestan. The significant period of his career began in 771/1370, when he embarked on a series of campaigns in Transoxiana that involved the Chagatai khanate in Eastern Turkestan, the Blue Horde, and the Golden Horde. In 782/1380–1301, he began his conquests in Persia, subduing the local dynasties that had assumed power after the disintegration of the Il Khanate, including the Sarbadars in northwestern Khurasan, the Karts in Herat, the Muzzafarids in central and southern Persia, and the Jalayarids centered on Baghdad. He also campaigned against the Mamluk sultanate of Egypt and defeated the Ottoman sultan Bayazid Ilderim at the battle of Ankara in 804/1402.

Timur's conquests brought about the removal of large numbers of artists and artisans to his capital, Samarqand, as a workforce to embellish and enrich his court. The lavish results of this are perhaps most vividly portrayed in the account by the Spanish ambassador, Clavijo, who visited Samarqand and Timur's palace at Aq Sarai in 1404–1406. Timur's legitimacy was established on two bases, apart from conquest and his control of the Chagatai tribes, by his marriage to a Chingissid princess that gave him the concomitant title of *guregen* (royal son-in-law [of the puppet Chingissid khan he installed in Samarqand]) and by his claim to be the true protector and upholder of Islam. It was on this basis that his campaigns in Persia, Iraq, Syria, and Anatolia were justified in contemporary accounts. He made effective use of the Chagatai nomads and their traditional military skills in his campaigns, and initially the areas that resisted him suffered considerably. Like Chingiz Khan, he punished any opposition or rebellion ruthlessly and speedily. For instance, virtually all of the Muzzafarids were executed when one of them, Shah Mansur, attempted to re-establish independent rule. Direct Timurid control of conquered territories in Persia and Khurasan was based on installing military governors (usually Timurid princes) along with garrisons of Chagatai soldiery in various cities and provinces. At the time of his death in 807/1405, Timur was embarking on the conquest of China.

After Timur's death, a series of conflicts broke out between his sons and grandsons that ended with the victory of his son Shah Rukh. The latter did not attempt any fresh conquests and indeed during the war of succession certain peripheral territories, such as those in the Caucasus, were lost. However, the heartlands of the empire remained untouched, and Shah Rukh consolidated his control of the regions of Persia (most of what is now Afghanistan and Central Asia) from his capital in Herat, with a series of Timurid princes and Chagatai khans as governors of the various provinces; the most important of these was his son, Ulugh Beg, who was the ruler of Transoxania throughout his father's reign. Both of these rulers were patrons of the arts, architecture, and literature, and Ulugh Beg was an able mathematician who drew up mathematical tables and built an observatory in Samarqand; likewise, Shah Rukh's wife, Gauhar Shad, who in particular created religious foundations, built the great mosque in Mashad, northern Persia, one of the surviving monuments of the Timurid age. Iskandar b. Umar Shaikh, who ruled Fars and was eventually imprisoned and blinded for his rebellious activities in 816/1413, was a notable patron of painting and the arts of the book. The development of historical writing under the Timurids is one of the most important intellectual aspects of the period. For example, Hafiz Abru employed different approaches to the history of the age. First, he wrote the continuation *(zayl)* of the *World History* of Rashid al-Din Tabib, then a series of provincial histories and dynastic studies, and finally the *Majma,* a general history of which the last section, the *Zubdat al-Tawarikh*, presents a dynastic history of the Timurids, all

comprising a unique achievement of sophisticated and detailed historical literature. Current knowledge about the political history of the period is based on these and other works, such as Sharaf al-Din 'Ali Yazdi's biography of Timur, the *Zafarnama*, the *Matla 'al-Sa'dain* of 'Abd al-Razzaq al-Samarqandi, and the works of Mir Khwand and Khwand Amir.

Shah Rukh died on campaign in Western Persia in 850/1447 and once again conflict broke out between the Timurid princes. Other powers in the region, such as the Turkoman confederacies in Azarbaijan, also became involved in the struggle with the result that the empire was further fragmented and diminished. Timurid rule in the west was effectively ended, and, by the late fifteenth century, Transoxania had succumbed to the advances of the Uzbek Muhammad Shaibani. However, in Khurasan, the Timurid capital Herat enjoyed what was to be a final efflorescence under Sultan Husain Baiqara as a center of learning and the arts. When Shah Ismail Safavi captured the city in 916/1510, the artists of the royal ateliers were transported west to serve the Safavid court, thus perpetuating the artistic traditions that had been developed under the Timurids.

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TITLES

The sudden introduction of the nascent Arab Islamic community to older, more complex societal structures contained in the Sasanian and Byzantine empires of the Irano-Mediterreanean world had a profound effect on Islamic political taxonomies. Ostensibly an egalitarian sociopolitical community that eschewed privilege and rank, the politically naive Muslim umma would undergo considerable transformations as it intermingled with Syriac, Berber, Byzantine, Persian, Turkic, Indian, and Mongol traditions. By the height of the medieval period, Islamic civilization had embraced hierarchy and social stratification, and with this is seen the emergence of a rich panoply of official titles in use by different Islamic states, from Andalusia to India.

Arabic Titles

The oldest and most important of the Arabic political titles was *khalifa* (caliph), which came into use after the death of the Prophet Muhammad. Initially, *khalifa* was understood as successor, or deputy, and the comportment of the first four caliphs—the Rightly Guided ones (Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthman, and 'Ali)—suggests that they did not interpret this title as anything other than this. However, the beleaguered Umayyad dynasty subtly altered this title to confer a sense of "God's Caliph" (khalifat Allah) while also openly circulating their status as *amir al-mu'minin* (Commander of the Faithful). The perception of *khalifa* to signify divine regent on earth was aggrandized by the 'Abbasids as they sought to diminish rival claims from the Shi'is and their veneration of the imams (see Caliphate and Imamate). Likewise, the title of *amir* dates back to the earliest days of Islamic expansion, originally denoting an all-inclusive office *(imarat)* with military and bureaucratic duties. With time, the amir was devolved of most administrative responsibilities and was expected to function solely in a military capacity. This title would develop a sense of sovereignty when 'Abbasid caliphs began conferring amir ships on the various upstart dynasts appearing on the periphery during the tenth and eleventh centuries CE; however, by the thirteenth century, *amir* had lost its sense of political preeminence. Another important Arabic title that emerged in the medieval period was *sultan,* which denoted power or dominion, and it would be the Seljuk dynasty (1038–1194) which embraced *sultan* enthusiastically. Contemporary political theorists and scholars—often in the pay of the Seljuks themselves—understood this to be the most prestigious title possible for a non-caliphal Muslim ruler. Timur would use this Arabo-Islamic title in conjunction with the Turkish *khan* as well as *amir gurgan* (son-in-law), the latter referring to his diplomatic marriage to the Mongol Chingizid line. By the time of the Ottomans' zenith during the sixteenth century, *sultan* denoted absolute political independence, but Salim the Grim dispelled any ambiguity when he decided to appropriate the title of *khalifa* after conquering the holy cities of Mecca and Medina during the early sixteenth century. Likewise, after Mehmed II defeated the Byzantine Greek Palaeologi

and assumed control of Constantinople in 1453, *qaysar* (Caesar) was added to the ever-expanding list of Ottoman appellations. The other Arabic title of note, *malik* (king), was not especially popular among the Arabs during the early centuries, but it would gain currency under the Buyids (932–1062) in western Iran and the Samanids (819–1005) in Transoxiana. The adoption of this particular Arabic title is not surprising considering these dynasties' location and their familiarity with ancient pre-Islamic notions of absolute kingship.

Persian Titles

The most enduring and important Persian title—*shah* (king)—dates back to the Achaemenian and Sasanian periods, as does another related title, *shahanshah* (king of kings). These titles were not appropriated by the Arab caliphs during their initial invasions of the seventh century, but the incorporation of Persian bureaucrats in the 'Abbasid administration and the proximity of Baghdad to former centers of pre-Islamic government allowed for the revival of this title by the Buyid dynasty, specifically Adud al-Daula (d. 983) in his khutba and on his minted coins. *Sultan*, however, was the title of choice during the Turkic and Mongol eras, but *shah* would enjoy renewed importance in the courts of the Timurids, Safavids, Mughals, and Ottomans. A hybrid term—*padishah* (emperor)—was the principal sovereign title for the Timurid Mughal dynasty in India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The other principal Persian title which emerged during the fifteenth century was *mirza,* which was derived from *amir-zada* (son of an amir). This was the appellative term for royal members of the Timurid household (e.g., Shah Rukh Mirza, Mirza Baysanqur), and this practice was continued by the Aq Qoyunlus, Safavids, Mughals, as well as local independent dynasties such as the Kar Kiyas in Lahijan. Interestingly, however, *mirza* was also conferred by Safavid shahs during the sixteenth century on high-ranking Persian viziers (e.g., Mirza Shah Husain Isfahani, Mirza 'Ata Allah Isfahani).

Turkish Titles

The ascendancy of Turco-Mongol political culture during the late medieval period saw an infusion of Turkic titles into Islamic political nomenclature. The most significant of these was *khan*, introduced by the Qarakhanid dynasty (992–1211) and continued by Seljuk and Khwarazmian rulers. *Khan* was also a key titular feature in the Mongol political tradition, and it was appended to the names of those direct descendants of Chingiz Khan who were in control of an ulus (appanage), whereas a derived title of *khaqan* referred to the Great Khan based in Qara Qorum. *Khaqan* would continue to denote imperial sovereignty in the Timurid, Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal traditions, whereas *khan* would lose much of its distinction and was only awarded to Turkic military men of intermediate status. *Pasha,* which is more than likely derived from the Persian *padishah,* was a title of considerable political prestige with the Seljuks and their Ottoman successors. Akin to the Safavid understanding of the title *mirza, pashas* in the Ottoman empire were either military provincial governors or palatial viziers. Lastly, the title *beg*—derived from the Turkish *bäg* and comparable to the Arabic title of *amir*—was introduced by the Qarakhanids and enjoyed healthy representation in the Seljuk empire. Other titular derivations—*beglerbeg* and *atabeg*—would be used consistently throughout the medieval period until the end of the Ottoman and Safavid empires.

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See also Caliphate and Imamate; Political Theory

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TRADE, AFRICAN

With the possible exception of North Africa, the adoption of Islam in Africa was largely as a result of trade networks. For convenience, the Islamic trade network in Africa may be divided into four regions: North Africa, West Africa, The Nile/Red Sea Corridor, and East Africa. Each of these is characterized by certain physical features and possesses a degree of cultural homogeneity expressed either in terms of language, ethnic composition, or historical ties. However, this division should not obscure the fact that there was a large volume of inter-regional trade and also a significant amount of trade with the non-Muslim world, particularly in pagan Africa, medieval Europe, China, and India.

Physically, North Africa may be defined as that part of Africa between the Mediterranean and the Atlas mountains and that contains a mixed Arabic and Berber population. In many ways, the trade network of North Africa continues the pattern established when the region was under Roman rule, with trans-Saharan caravan routes connecting it to West Africa and sea routes linking it into a wider Mediterranean network. As with much of Africa, the trade was dominated by precious metals, particularly gold from West Africa. For example, the power of the Fatimids (tenth and eleventh centuries) was based on the wealth derived from the trade in gold with sub-Saharan Africa, and its conquest of Egypt would have been inconceivable without this financial base. The trade of North Africa was also linked, via Egypt, to the Middle East, particularly during the Umayyad and ‘Abbasid periods, when both regions formed part of a unified political entity. An interesting example of this long-distance trade can be seen in the Mosque of Qayrawan, where polychrome luster tiles made in Baghdad are incorporated into the decoration of the Great Mosque. Historical accounts indicate that marble for the mihrab and teakwood for the minbar were also imported from Baghdad at this time. Although it may be certain that the luster tiles were made in Baghdad, both the teakwood and the marble came from further afield, perhaps from India or Turkey.

For the purposes of this discussion, West Africa may be described as that part of sub-Saharan Africa dominated by the Niger and Senegal rivers and extending northward into the Sahel. The trade of West Africa was always dominated by trans-Saharan caravan routes leading to North Africa, and there is no substantial evidence for sea-borne Atlantic trade. Although it is possible that there may have been a certain amount of Roman trade with West Africa, it is likely to have been small as compared with the volume of trade during the medieval Islamic period. The principal commodity was gold from the Bambuk, Bure, and Akan areas of the rainforest. The gold trade is thought to have provided the impetus toward the development of cities and the formation of states (e.g., Ghana, Mali). The other major commodity was salt from the central Sahara, which enabled the Tuareg to exchange salt for gold, which could more easily be sent by caravan to North Africa. Other important commodities include goods such as hippopotamus teeth, which were imported to Europe via Ifriqiyya and used as ivory in Sicily.

The Nile/Red Sea Corridor links Egypt and the Mediterranean with sub-Saharan Africa, Arabia, and the Indian Ocean. The trade networks of this area are of great antiquity and precede the advent of Islam by many centuries. Despite frequent assertions concerning the difficulty of navigating from north to south in the Red Sea, it is clear that at least some trade was carried on in this way, particularly from Egypt to Yemen. One frequently used trade route involved transporting goods by boat up the Nile and then transferring them to camel caravans, which would cross the desert to one of the Red Sea ports from where they could be shipped elsewhere.

The coming of Islam had major implications for the economy and trade of this region. In the first place, the institution of the Hajj meant that thousands of African pilgrims would annually cross via the Red Sea to Arabia. In addition, the increased importance of Mecca and Medina meant that there was an increased demand for food and other commodities in the Hijaz, which could be supplied from Egypt and other parts of Africa. However, one major difference between this region and other parts of Africa is the presence of Christianity, which acted as a block to the southern extension of the Muslim overland trade networks.

In many ways, the trade of East Africa can be seen as an extension of the Red Sea trade network, although there are significant differences. Whereas the Red Sea is located in the heart of the Islamic world, the Muslim presence in East Africa is restricted to a narrow band of coast and small islands along the coast from Mogadishu in Somalia to Sofala in Mozambique. Also, the East African coast shares a common Swahili culture, which, although Muslim, is distinct from the predominantly Arabic culture of the Red Sea region.

Although Roman ceramics have been identified from as far south as Zanzibar, it is evident that the high point of East African maritime trade was during the Islamic period. East Africa's trade with the Islamic world was not restricted to Egypt and the Red Sea, and there were direct connections with Oman in southeast Arabia as well as more distant places such as Iraq via the Persian/Arabian Gulf and the Muslim communities of India via the Indian Ocean. As with West Africa, one of the principal trading commodities was gold, which came from the region of Zimbabwe in southern Africa. The gold trade contributed to the growth of Muslim trading cities such as Kilwa in southern Tanzania as well as inland non-Muslim settlements like Zimbabwe. Slaves were another highly valued commodity, and it is known that large numbers of East African slaves were imported to work in the marshes of southern Iraq during the 'Abbasid period (eighth and ninth centuries). Other precious export commodities included elephant ivory and spices such as cloves. Imports to East Africa included ceramics from Mesopotamia, Iran (Makran), India (Gujarat), and China. In some cases, these ceramics would be set into the fabric of a building, probably indicating prestige and contacts with long-distance trade.

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A good insight into the workings of Islamic trade in Africa is given in the writings of Ibn Battuta, who traveled extensively throughout Africa.

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TRADE, INDIAN OCEAN

The Indian Ocean during the medieval centuries became drawn into the sphere of Islamic civilization, generating a dynamic economic zone, expanding the faith far beyond its Arab homeland, and consequently producing a tremendous variety of cultural forms. The extension of Islam across the Indian Ocean was a product of commerce and conversion rather than conquest. Some have argued that this area represented a nonhierarchical world system before the fifteenth-century penetration of Europeans into the ocean. The Indian Ocean is commonly thought of as a route between east and west, complementing the transcontinental Silk Road north of the Himalayas. However, routes south along the East African coast and penetrating into Southeast Asia were equally important for long-distance trade and the spread of Islam's religion and cultures. These regions, which encompassed tremendous cultural diversity, nevertheless obtained their unity from constant economic and cultural contact.

The basis for that unity is the monsoon weather system that governs virtually the entire ocean. The seasonal monsoon winds (monsoon is derived from the Arabic *mawsim,* which means season) enabled mariners to travel long distances more efficiently with relatively simple maritime technology. The regularity of the winds also facilitated extensive contact between people of different cultures, because sailors often had to wait in distant ports for the monsoon to shift and carry them homeward. Unity is also evident in the ship technology used there until well past the arrival of European vessels. Although there were a great variety of crafts—as indicated in the description of the fourteenth-century traveler Ibn Battuta—Indian Ocean vessels all shared the characteristic that they were constructed without iron nails, because this metal was unavailable in sufficient quantities; instead, ship planking was "sewn" or "stitched" together with coconut coir rope and caulked with palm shavings, and the hulls were greased with castor or shark oils. These ships carried a large variety of goods, the markets for which bound the ocean's littorals in numerous economic relationships. A few of the commodities of Indian Ocean trade were the following: from southern and eastern Asia, silk, ceramics, sandalwood, black pepper, and other spices; from western Asia, horses, textiles, metal goods, frankincense, and products from the Mediterranean; from eastern Africa, ivory, gold, timber, and slaves. More significantly, beyond these basic features of material life, by the end of the medieval period Islam had touched virtually all of the Indian Ocean's shores. In recent years, researchers have started to investigate more intensively the role of Islam and Muslims in the complex world of the Indian Ocean; although many questions remain unanswered, the broad outlines of medieval Islamic civilization in the Indian Ocean are clear.

Historical sources about the medieval Indian Ocean are varied and include geographies, travelers' accounts, anecdotes and tales, navigational handbooks, and occasional references found in chronicle and documentary sources. Much evidence is in Arabic, but there also exist sources in the languages of the other imperial actors in Indian Ocean history, from Persia to India to China. Conceptions of the Indian Ocean are indicated by the variety of names used to identify the ocean and its parts. In Arabic, it was

called both the Great Sea and the Sea of India, whereas in Persian it was called the Green Sea and in Chinese the Western Ocean. The view from the Indian subcontinent bifurcated the ocean into the Sea of Lar (the Arabian Sea) and the Sea of Harkal/Harikela, or, from tenth-century CE evidence in Bengal, the Sea of Vanga. In the Arabic geographical literature, the ocean was also identified with other adjacent lands: it was known variously as the Sea of Persia, the Sea of East Africa, and the Sea of Ethiopia, reflecting perhaps Arab scholarship's greater familiarity with the western half of the ocean. Further afield, as one would expect, the medieval Arabic conception becomes increasingly vague. To the east, the Indian Ocean merged with the Sea of China, which included what is now called the South China Sea as well as the waters on both sides of insular southeast Asia; beyond the Sea of China as well as to the far south the ocean merged into the Surrounding Ocean, also known as the Green Sea or the Sea of Darkness.

The spread of Islam and developments in medieval Indian Ocean commerce are processes that are difficult to separate. The initial Muslim penetration of the Indian Ocean world was through the expansion of the newly found Islamic empire into Yemen and Oman in the seventh century and Sind in the early eighth century. From these footholds, however, commerce, immigration, and missionary activity became the primary means of the spread of Islam and its resultant cultural forms and the basis for relationships across the Indian Ocean. The impact of the Islamic empire (whose capitals in Damascus and then, starting in the eighth century, Baghdad fueled demand for luxury goods) on the Indian Ocean was matched by the expansion of the Chinese Tang Dynasty (608–907), which generated a burst of commercial activity across the ocean. During the earliest Islamic centuries, the Arabic sources give the impression of direct trade by Muslim Arab and Persian merchants from such ports as Siraf on Iran's Persian Gulf coast and Sohar on the Arabian Peninsula's coast, with south and east Asia ports, most notably Canton (Khanfu), which was known for its large community of foreign traders, including Muslims, who constituted a large enough presence to have pillaged the city in 758. Arabic chronicle sources refer to "the Chinese ships" in Muslim harbors, probably referring to ships with Chinese merchandise. Routes across the ocean are documented as early as the ninth century by the geographer Ibn Khurradadhbih and as late as the fifteenth century in the much more thorough navigational handbook of Ibn Majid, which provided detailed nautical instructions for all the major sectors of the ocean. During the ninth century, the route eastward from such ports as Siraf to the eastern terminus in Canton included stops in Muscat or Sohar (in modern Oman), Daybul (near modern Karachi), and Calicut or Quilon/Kulam Malay on the Malabar (southwestern) coast of India. From here the ships would round the subcontinent and Sri Lanka and head directly across the Bay of Bengal, stopping at the Andaman and Nicobar Islands before passing through the Strait of Malacca (Melaka) into the South China Sea and on to Canton. Alternatively, vessels might sail from Malabar to al-Ma'bar ("the Crossing Place"), corresponding roughly with India's Coromandel (southeastern) coast, either proceeding northward to Bengal or eastward across the Bay of Bengal.

The evidence for this trade is most vividly apparent in the Chinese stoneware and porcelain that litter archaeological sites on the coast of east Africa (e.g., Sofala, Kilwa, Mogadishu) as well as the sites mentioned above in Arabia and Southeast Asia. This transoceanic pattern shifted slightly in 879, when a Chinese rebel general captured Canton and expelled members of the foreign merchant community; the Muslims then established themselves in the Hindu-Buddhist kingdom of Srivijaya in Sumatra. Despite the activity of Muslim merchants in eastern Asian trade, southern and southeastern Asian Buddhists and Hindus probably dominated the carrying trade in the eastern half of the Indian Ocean during the first Islamic centuries. However, Muslim seamen were the primary carriers of long-distance trade in the western half of the ocean, operating between the coasts of Arabia, Africa, and, especially in the eleventh century, the growing number of Muslim settlements on the western coast of India.

The activity of southwest Asian Muslims in the Far East continued until roughly the tenth and eleventh centuries, when trading patterns became oriented around emporia clustered in three interlinking regions: on the coasts of Southwest Asia and East Africa, on the Gujarat and Malabar coasts of west India, and in Southeast Asia's Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula, which formed the edge of an eastern zone of trade north across the South China Sea. This pattern shift may have been encouraged by the entry of the Chinese into Indian Ocean trade when the Sung Dynasty (960–1279) started to promote commerce and established direct trading relations with Sri Lanka. By the following century, Chinese ships dominated the trade of the eastern Indian Ocean. At roughly the same time, the Fatimid Dynasty (in Cairo, 969–1171) established its capital in Cairo and began to sponsor commercial activity in the Red Sea and western Indian Ocean; consequently, Cairo and neighboring Fustat became a dynamic emporium serving as a link between the two trading worlds of the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean, a role the

metropolis continued to hold through the medieval period. The role of Egypt in long-distance trade is vividly documented in the Judeo-Arabic Geniza letters, found in Fustat, which provide numerous details about commerce that extended from the western Mediterranean to India. It is also during this time that the Karimi merchants are first mentioned; these are a poorly defined group of merchants that played a prominent role in the long-distance trade of luxury goods until they seemed to dwindle in importance during the fifteenth century.

Also, starting in the eleventh century, Sunni and Ismaili Muslim communities began to flourish in coastal western India, often in the context of Hindu states, and from here these populations spread to East Africa and to Southeast Asia. Concerning the latter, the Khoja (derived from Persian; "master") community of western India is known to have established extensive commercial contact with East Africa. At about this time, such East African trading centers as Malindi, Mombasa, and Zanzibar became prominent. However, the links were by no means exclusively economic. Until the mid-sixteenth century, the leader of the Ismaili Bohra (derived from Gujarati; "trader") community, also of western India, resided in Yemen; members of the community traveled there on a regular basis for pilgrimage, directed their tithes there, and appealed to the leader for adjudication. Contacts were also established eastward so that, by the thirteenth century, Muslims dominated commercial activity in the eastern Indian Ocean. Although Arab and Persian merchants had been the first Muslims to establish contact with East and Southeast Asia, Indian and Southeast Asian Muslim merchants and missionaries spread Islam into insular Southeast Asia and the Philippines. The establishment of the systems of trading emporia culminated in the fifteenth century with the rise of the Malacca (Melaka) on the coast of the Malayan peninsula from an obscure fishing village to a dynamic commercial emporium. The success of the Sultanate of Malacca (c. 1403–1511) has been associated with the alliance of its Hindu Javanese founder with the neighboring Muslim sultan of Pasai and his subsequent conversion to Islam as well as the growing commercial activity of the Chinese Ming Dynasty (1368–1644). During the first decades of the fifteenth century, the Ming authorities also undertook a series of commercial expeditions, led by a Chinese Muslim named Cheng Ho, across the Indian Ocean to Calicut and then to Hormuz in the Persian Gulf, and a small detachment are said to have ventured as far as Mecca. Although of renowned size—Chinese junks could have as many as four decks and crews of a thousand—this was a foray of ultimately limited impact, because no permanent trading relations were established.

The economic relationships of Asia and the Indian Ocean have been characterized as a net of interlinking systems or, alternatively, as a unitary world system, particularly during the century after about 1250, when the Mongols imposed economic unity across the Asian land mass that may have been integrated into the Indian Ocean system. Political power is central to the notion of a world system, and, in the history of the medieval Indian Ocean, further investigation is needed into the role of states in transoceanic connections. However, it is uncontested that Islam brought to the Indian Ocean cultural hegemony, reinforcing its geographical and economic unity. The impact of Islam established during the medieval period is manifest in the modern world, from Mindanao to Zanzibar. However, this hegemony was far from a uniform and static phenomenon; rather, it engendered the cultural diversity of manifold types of Islam and the syntheses that these created with indigenous cultures.

JOHN L. MELOY

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TRADE, MEDITERRANEAN

During the first century of Muslim domination in the eastern, southern, and western parts of the Mediterranean, freedom of navigation and overseas commerce continued despite the wars and naval raids between Muslims and Christian countries. The Islamic military expansions in the Middle Sea were, however, not destructive and did not create an abrupt

change in the material culture of the occupied countries. Instead, cultural continuity remained discernible in various life aspects for centuries despite gradual Arabization and Islamization processes. Non-Muslim subject populations retained their own socioeconomic and judicial institutions. There is no evidence to prove that the Arabs in the seventh or eighth centuries CE desired to reduce the maritime commerce in the Mediterranean to their territorial domain only. However, to what extent early Muslim merchants were involved in the Mediterranean trade remains vague. All that can be said is that, on the eve of the Islamic expansions, shipping in the Mediterranean regions was primarily controlled by the church, state, rich merchants, and middle-class entrepreneurs, including Jews. For example, the commercial ships of the church of Alexandria sailed eastward to India and Ceylon and westward to Marseilles at the time when the Byzantines still preserved maritime supremacy over the Mediterranean, and the commerce of the Mediterranean world was largely in the hands of Syrians and Egyptians. The patriarch of the church hired sailors, maintained a commercial fleet and a dockyard, and regulated maritime laws. However, written evidence about Islamic maritime trade in the Mediterranean comes from the ninth century CE onward.

The existence of a transcontinental trade, from China to the eastern and western Mediterranean, gave the countries of the Indian Ocean (see Trade, Indian Ocean) an economic unity and brought a new impetus to sea trade. The Arab achievements made it possible to unite the two arteries used since antiquity for the long-distance trade between the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean. The twin routes of the transcontinental trade from Asia—the sea-borne traffic through the Red Sea and the combined sea, river, and overland journey across the Persian Gulf, Iraq, the Syrian desert, and Egypt—were brought under political control of a single authority: first that of the Umayyad caliphs and later that of the ‘Abbasids.

The year AH 212/827 CE constitutes a turning point not only in the naval history of the Mediterranean but also in the history of maritime commerce. The establishment of the Sicilian and Cretan Arab emirates marked a new era in the Christian-Islamic international trade. Meanwhile, the breakup of Islamic Mediterranean territories into fragments motivated the ruling dynasties to found commercial hubs and ports of call to attract local and foreign merchants and expand the interregional and international commerce. Among the major Andalusian seaports on the Mediterranean were Tortosa, Valencia, Denia, Cartagena, Málaga, Algeciras, Seville, Silves, Almería, and Pechina; of western Maghrib they were Ceuta and Badis; for Central Maghrib they were Hour, Dellys, Djidjelli, Bijaya, Bône, and Marsa al-Kharaz; for Ifrıqiyya they were Tabarqa, Bizerta, Tunis, Monastır, Susa, al-Mahdiyya, Sfax, Gabes, and Derna; and for the eastern Maghrib they were Tripoli, Lebda, Surt, Bernik, Barqa, Ra’s al-Tin, and Tubruk. In addition, seaports of Islamic Mediterranean islands, especially those on Sicily—Palermo, Trapani, Mazara, Messina, and Syracuse—linked Christian Europe with most Islamic territories. In these commercial centers gathered together merchants of different races, religions, and languages—indigenous and foreign Muslims, Jews, and French, Italian, Greek, and Slavic Christians—to exchange their views as well as their wares despite the prevalent enmities among the various powers. With a few exceptions, political boundaries never formed an obstacle to the freedom of movement of either persons or goods. Only during wartime and political disturbance were the visits of foreigners limited in time or confined to certain localities. The Mediterranean, divided as it was between a Christian north and a Muslim south, eventually recovered much of its economic unity through the activity of merchants and traders. Although Muslims maintained some sort of superiority at sea, neither they nor Christians could call the Mediterranean *“mare nostrum”* (“our sea”).

The Islamic Mediterranean maintained direct and very frequent commercial relations with Christian Europe. Although Jews played an integral role and acted as intermediaries between Islamic coastal frontiers and Christian seaports, as early as the tenth century CE, Byzantine and Islamic sources indicate that Muslim merchants carried out commercial transactions in Christian Mediterranean trade centers. Traders from the Islamic east, including Arab Christians, were, for instance, a constant feature of the Constantinopolitan landscape throughout the late tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries. Their stay in the Byzantine capital was ordinarily limited to three months, although some of them resided in Constantinople for longer periods. Similarly, foreign merchants entered *dar al-Islam* (the realm of Islam) by virtue of a valid pledge of security *(aman)* and were allowed to conduct commercial transactions in any part of Islamic territories if they carried such a pledge. Sources also show that more than a *masjid* (mosque) had been built in the capital city; one of the earliest masjids was constructed during the reign of Constantine VII (913–959). Meanwhile, their commercial networks exceeded beyond the realm of Byzantium and included the Slavic territories in Eastern Europe.

Geographically, Muslim, Jewish, and Christian merchants operated within separate but overlapping commercial spheres. They all took part in Mediterranean

international commerce and all did business in Syrian, Egyptian, North African, and Spanish markets, but each group was subject to different constraints. It was characteristic throughout the medieval Mediterranean world to find Jews and Christians trading with all regions, whereas Muslim merchants generally restricted their sphere of operation to Islamic markets; Muslim merchants traded freely throughout the realm of Islam. Why Muslim itinerant merchants were absent from the hinterland markets of Latin Europe has been explained by two factors. First, perhaps they found Christian cities uncongenial to their needs in terms of facilities for bathing and eating. Second, Islamic law discouraged them from trading with non-Islamic lands. Third, the hinterland markets of Latin Europe might have been less favorable to Muslim merchants.

The boom of Islamic trade in the Mediterranean was made possible as a result of the innovation of commercial techniques (see Merchants, Muslim) and the establishment of shipping laws and *responsa*. It was during the first third of the tenth century when the *Kitab Akriyat al-Sufun wa-al-Niza' Bayna Ahliha (Treatise Concerning the Leasing of Ships and the Claims Between Their Passengers and Sailors)* was promulgated. Written in the form of *responsa,* the core text of the treatise, as composed by the original author Muhammad Ibn 'Umar al-Kinani al-Andalusi al-Iskandarani (d. 310/923), consists of only nine chapters; an appendix of six jurisprudential inquiries from a later period was apparently supplemented by the compiler Khalaf Ibn Abi Firas or a later Maliki jurist. The first chapter deals with the hiring of sailors on ships. Chapter two treats the leasing of ships, forms of hire, and the freight charges. Problems that may emerge between the parties to the contract after concluding the charter agreement and preventing them from carrying out their transaction and bringing it to completion are discussed in the third chapter. However, the fourth chapter establishes the payment arrangements between the contracting parties if a technical malfunction to a ship should occur in the port of origin, en route, or after docking in the final destination. The fifth chapter is the longest, and it covers jettison, salvage, and contribution. Liability of ship owners for what they carry and for what they are not liable is addressed in the sixth chapter. The author of the treatise devotes the seventh chapter to discussing the procedures of the loading and unloading of goods. Partnership in a vessel is inadequately treated in the eighth chapter. The concluding chapter refers to profit-sharing with the person who operates the vessel. Finally, the appendix, the legal inquiries of which are dated between the second half of the tenth century and first half of the eleventh century CE, concerns itself with the calculation of freight charges, overloading, liability of the shipowner for the transport of fixed goods to the intended destination, collision, and jettison and general average. The *Kitab Akriyat al-Sufun* is, thus, not precisely a collection of maritime laws that treats ownership and possession of ships, methods of acquisition, rights of co-owners, the relations of master and crew, and so on but rather a maritime treatise that exclusively treats mercantile and shipping matters. Despite the substantial legal data that can be derived from this unique treatise, it does not enable economic historians to draw a global view on Christian–Islamic maritime commerce in the Mediterranean region. Additionally, its geographical scope does not cover the entire Islamic Mediterranean; rather, it is confined to the major ports of Egypt, Ifriqiyya, Sicily, and Andalusia. However, the Moroccan, Syrian, and Cretan ports are not mentioned at all.

Mediterranean merchants handled an enormous range of commodities: expensive luxury goods and mundane everyday necessities, raw and manufactured, bulky and compact. Spices, medicinal drugs, aromatics, lac, brazilwood, indigo, dyestuff, and textiles were imported from the East, whereas metals, minerals, timbers, ceramics, leather, furs, and slaves arrived in Islamic ports from Christian Europe.

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See also Navigation; Merchants, Muslim; Trade, Indian Ocean

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TRANSLATION, ARABIC INTO HEBREW

During a period of about three hundred years, from around 1100 to 1400 CE, several dozen translators rendered more than four hundred Judeo-Arabic, Arabic, and Greco-Arabic works of grammar, law, theology, philosophy, medicine, and literature into Hebrew. The translators, who were often refugees from Islamic Spain or descendants of refugees, produced a variety of texts for patrons, students, and colleagues. Jews worked with other Jews and also collaborated with Christians, often producing Hebrew versions of the same texts that they would help render into Latin. The main centers of translation were Toledo, where Avendaut (probably Abraham Ibn Daud) worked together with the Christian Dominicus Gundissalinus; Barcelona, where Abraham Bar Hiyya collaborated with Plato of Tivoli; Southern France (Lunel, Bezier, Narbonne, Montpellier, Marseilles), where Judah Ibn Tibbon, the "father of translators," established a dynasty of translators, followed by his son Samuel, grandson Moses, and great grand-son Judah b. Makhir; and Naples, where a long line of Jewish translators found patronage, from Jacob Anatoli in the thirteenth century to Qalonymus b. Qalonymus in the early fourteenth century.

The first works translated into Hebrew were Jewish works of grammar and theology, including the writings of Isaac Israeli, Dunash b. Tamim, Sa'adyah Gaon, Judah Ibn Hayyuj, Jonah Ibn Janah, Solomon Ibn Gabirol, Bahya Ibn Paquda, Moses Ibn Ezra, Judah Halevi, and Moses Maimonides. Then the translators shifted their attention to Arabic and Greco-Arabic works of philosophy, medicine, and

literature. Among the classical authors rendered from Arabic into Hebrew were Aristotle, Alexander, Themistius, Hippocrates, Galen, Archimedes, Euclid, and Ptolemy; lesser-known authors such as Appolonius, Autolycus, Geminus, Menaleus, and Theodosius; and pseudoepigraphical works of Neoplatonic or Hermetic orientation, such as the *Book of the Apple*, the *Book of Causes*, and the *Book of Istimakhus*. Al-Razi, 'Ali ibn Ridhwan, al-Majusi, Ibn al-Jazzar, Ibn Zuhr, Abu 'l-Salt, Ibn al-Muthanna, Ibn al-Haytham, al-Farghani, Jabir ibn Aflah, Ibn al-Zarqalluh, Ibn al-Saffar, al-Kindi, al-Farabi, al-Ghazali, al-Batalyawsi, Ibn Bajja, Ibn Tufayl, Averroes, and al-Bitruji were translated from among the Arabs, along with popular works such as *Kalila wa-Dimna*, *Bilawhar wa-Yudasaf*, and even al-Hariri's *Maqamat*. The most influential author translated was Averroes, many of whose writings survive only in Hebrew. Avicenna, by contrast, was made available only in his medical *Canon* and *Canticum* and in a late anthology of texts excerpted from the *Najat* and *Shifa'*.

From the very beginning of the translation movement, there were two established approaches: literary and literal. Philosophical and scientific works were generally translated word for word, producing calques and loanwords and following the original text closely even in terms of word order. Literary works, such as *Kalila wa-Dimna* and *al-Hariri,* on the other hand, were translated more loosely, often using paraphrases and replacing citations from the Qur'an and hadith (tradition) with verses from the Bible and rabbinic dicta. However, there was not always this neat division into different specialties and disciplines. Two famous controversies among the early translators helped to shape the development of the different ideologies: both Judah Ibn Tibbon and his son Samuel criticized their rival translators for subordinating meaning to language and style, failing to accurately reproduce difficult philosophical notions in their paraphrastic translations. The Hebrew terminology of the Ibn Tibbon family in particular became the standard language of philosophy and science. Their "Arabized Hebrew," as it has been called, became the accepted terminology used in original compositions as well, even by Jewish scientific authors who did not know Arabic.

The Jewish communities of Europe were changed dramatically by the translations. The traditional yeshivah student, who had previously studied only the Bible and rabbinic literature, now had access to the vast riches of the classical tradition. As a result, science and philosophy influenced every area of rabbinic Judaism. Philosophical commentaries were written about biblical texts and rabbinic legends. Legal codes and commentaries were introduced with theoretical discussions of ethics and political philosophy. Sermons with philosophical and scientific content became a common occurrence in the synagogues, whereas liturgy was framed by philosophical poems praising wisdom and describing the soul's ascent to the supernal realm or conjunction with the active intellect. The translations also stimulated the emergence of a Hebrew scientific tradition, represented by such outstanding philosophers as Gersonides, whose original astronomical investigations were recorded primarily in Hebrew. The translations served as the basis for commentaries, supercommentaries, abridgments, encyclopedias, and original compositions. They satisfied a practical need as well, creating a medical library for aspiring physicians, who were not allowed to enter into the Christian medical schools. In fact, the extensive Hebrew medical library produced during the thirteenth century made Jewish education even superior to Christian and Jewish physicians more highly sought after.

However, not every Jew was enamored of the new sciences made available through translation. From the very beginning of the translation movement, there was opposition expressed by traditional scholars and legal authorities who recognized a danger in a "foreign wisdom" that contradicted religious doctrines and presuppositions. This opposition led to three major communal controversies, which resulted in a ban on the study of philosophy and the public burning of Maimonides' *Guide to the Perplexed*. The opposition to science and translation continued into the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as well, when the Jewish study of Greco-Arabic philosophy in Hebrew translation was even blamed for the persecutions in Spain in 1391 and the expulsion of 1492. However, the reaction to Greco-Arabic science and philosophy during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries led to a renewed interest in translation as well: works of Arabic anti-Aristotelianism such as Ghazali's *Incoherence of the Philosophers* were translated into Hebrew for the first time. During the fifteenth century, Jews began to turn to Latin rather than Arabic sources, not out of scientific curiosity but polemical necessity: to know how to respond to the Christians. Thus, the medieval period of scientific and philosophical renaissance among the Jews began and ended with translation.

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See also Andalus; Aristotle and Aristotelianism; Astrology; Astronomy; Botany; al-Farabi; Geometry; al-Ghazali; Grammar and Grammarians: Hebrew and Judeo-Arabic; Hunayn ibn Ishaq; Ibn Ezra; Ibn Gabirol; Ibn al-Haytham (Alhazen); Ibn Rushd (Averroes); Ibn Sina (Avicenna); Ibn Tufayl; Ibn Zuhr;

Judah al-Harizi; Judah ha-Levi; al-Kindi (Historian); Maimonides; al-Majusi; Maqama; Mathematics; Medical Literature, Arabic; Medical Literature, Hebrew; Medicine; Meteorology; Plato and (Neo)Platonism; Provence; Ptolemy; al-Razi (Rhazes); Sa'adyah Gaon; Sicily; Translation, Arabic to Persian; Translation, Pre-Islamic Learning into Arabic

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TRANSLATION, ARABIC INTO PERSIAN

From the early Islamic centuries onward, translations have played an important role in the interaction between the Arabic and Persian languages and literatures.

Translations of the Samanid Period

The first known translations of Arabic writings into (New) Persian were produced in Eastern Iran and Transoxiana under the patronage of the Samanids (AH 204–395 CE/819–1005), who promoted extensive literary activity in both languages. Among the earliest recorded examples, Abu'l-Fadl Bal'ami (d. 329/940), vizier of Nasr II b. Ahmad (r. 301–331/914–933), translated Ibn al-Muqaffa''s Arabic version of the *Kalila wa-Dimna*, a collection of animal fables, into Persian prose, and the poet Rudaki (d. 329/941–942) rendered it into Persian verse. Some two centuries earlier, Ibn

al-Muqaffa' (d. ca. 139/757) had himself translated the work from Middle Persian into Arabic, and his rendering served as the basis for numerous later versions in prose and verse in both Arabic and Persian.

The most ambitious translations sponsored by the Samanids, however, belong to the reign of Mansur I b. Nuh (350–365/961–976), who commissioned his vizier Abu 'Ali Bal'ami (d. 382–387/992–997, the son of Abu'l-Fadl) to translate the universal history of al-Tabari (d. 310/923) into Persian and also ordered a translation of al-Tabari's Qur'anic commentary. During a period of increasingly tense relations between the Samanids on the one hand and the 'Abbasids and the Buyids on the other, Mansur's initiative was almost certainly intended to strengthen the legitimacy of Samanid rule in the eastern regions. Bal'ami, who added some materials and omitted others, reworked al-Tabari's *History* into a continuous narrative that presents Islamic history from an Iranian point of view. The Persian *Tafsir (Commentary)* likewise omits portions of al-Tabari's work and introduces several elements that are not found in the Arabic original; it was perhaps intended to undermine the teachings of the many heterodox and sectarian groups, especially the Isma'ilis and Karramis, that flourished in Khurasan and Transoxania at the time and to appeal to non-Muslim communities as well. Both "translations" were probably also designed to foster the acculturation of the Turkish military elite created by the Samanids (Daniel, 1990; Meisami, 1999).

Although the Samanid period is associated with the earliest translations from Arabic into Persian, such works continued to appear throughout the premodern period across the Iranian-speaking world and indeed beyond it. For the patrons who commissioned them, translations of Arabic works could enhance legitimacy and confer prestige. At the same time, many translations served practical and instructional purposes. The range of subject matter covered by the recorded translations shows that there was a significant demand among Persian speakers for some access to the scholarship and scientific learning expressed in Arabic. Several Persian translators of the fourth/tenth and fifth/eleventh centuries stated in their prefaces that their purpose was to make their Arabic sources available to the elites and the common people alike (Lazard, 1975; Bosworth 1978–1979).

Translations of Works on Religious Subjects

Despite disagreement among religious scholars about the permissibility of translating the Qur'an, many translations into Persian appeared throughout the medieval period. Interlinear translations were especially common. When Mansur b. Nuh commissioned his translation of al-Tabari's *Tafsir*, he consulted a group of Transoxianan scholars, who declared it permissible for those did not know Arabic to read and write the Qur'anic commentary in Persian (*Tarjuma-yi Tafsir-i Tabari,* ed. H. Yaghma'i. Tehran, 1988. I:5). From the fifth/eleventh century onward, many commentators on the Qur'an chose to write in Persian so as to reach a broader audience.

Although Arabic never lost its status as the preeminent medium for the expression of religious thought and scholarship, Persian rapidly developed as an important secondary language into which works about religious subjects, including jurisprudence, theology, and mysticism, could be translated and in which, eventually, original works were written. The *Sawad al-A'zam*, a catechism formulated by the Hanafi scholar Abu'l-Qasim al-Samarqandi (d. 342/953), was translated into Arabic at the behest of the Samanid ruler Nuh II b. Mansur (r. 365–387/976–997). Among the most popular Persian translations of Arabic works were those that recorded the sayings and speeches of 'Ali, the first imam, those of the later imams, and commentaries on these materials. Arabic collections of the imams' utterances and communications included the *Hundred Words* of 'Ali, compiled in Arabic by al-Jahiz (d. 255/868–869), and the *Covenant of Ashtar*, 'Ali's letter to his governor, al-Ashtar (d. 38/658), itself also contained in the *Nahj al-Balagha*, the anthology of 'Ali's homilies and letters compiled by al-Sharif al-Radi (359–406/970–1016). Numerous Persian translations of these works were produced, including Husayn b. Muhammad Avi's version of the *Covenant of Ashtar* (ca. 729/1329) and the versions of the *Covenant* and of the *Risala al-Ahwaziyya* of Ja'far al-Sadiq, the sixth imam, recorded in the *Adab al-Wulat* of the eminent Shi'i scholar of Safavid times, Muhammad Baqir Majlisi (d. 1111/1699). The establishment of Shi'ism as the religion of the state in Iran under the Safavids stimulated a particularly large number of translations from Arabic, especially of Shi'i works.

By the fifth/eleventh century, Iranian Muslim writers frequently composed works about religious subjects in both languages. Among such bilingual scholars were the Sunni intellectual Abu Hamid al-Ghazali (450–505/1058–1111), the Shi'i theologian and scientist Nasir al-Din Tusi (d. 672/1273), and several Sufi thinkers, such as 'Abdallah Ansari (d. 481/1088), Shah Ni'matallah Wali (d. 834/1431), and 'Abd al-Rahman Jami (d. 898/1492).

Translations of Works on Scientific Subjects

As in the case of the religious sciences, Arabic remained the primary—but not the exclusive—language for the expression of scientific thought in Iran. Ibn Sina (ca. 370–428/980–1037) and Biruni (362–ca. 442/973–ca. 1050) wrote their principal works in Arabic, despite the fact that they spent their lives in Persian-speaking regions. Both scholars, however, expressed a portion of their oeuvres in Persian. Ibn Sina wrote two introductory Persian works: a short medical text, *Andar Danish-i Rag*, and a philosophical anthology, the *Danishnama-yi 'Ala'i*, both composed for his last patron, the independent ruler at Isfahan, 'Ala' al-Dawla Muhammad b. Dushmanziyar b. Kakuya (r. 398–433/1008–1041). As a further illustration of the porous nature of the two literatures even in scientific fields, the *Danishnama* was effectively rendered into Arabic in the *Maqasid al-Falasifa* of al-Ghazali. In the case of Biruni's *Kitab al-Tafhim* (420/1029), which deals with geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, and astrology, it is unclear whether the Arabic or the Persian version of the work appeared first.

Translations of Ethical and Political Works

Among the types of writing that were frequently chosen for translation from Arabic into Persian (and into other languages as well) were works dealing with statecraft, books of advice for rulers, and collections of wisdom literature. Selected sayings of Plato appear in several Persian works. The *Sirr al-Asrar (Secretum Secretorum)* ascribed to Aristotle was translated into Persian. A selection of the *Epistles* of the Ikhwan al-Safa' appeared in Persian translation in a work entitled *Mujmal al-Hikma*. Many Persian translations were made of Aristotle's letter to Alexander; among these translations was that of Muhammad b. Ahmad Zawzani, which was prepared during the fifth/eleventh century. In southern Iran, during the reign of the Muzaffarid Shah-i Shuja' (r. 765–786/1364–1384), al-Raghib al-Isfahani's widely-read treatise the *Dhari'a ila Makarim al-Shari'a* was rendered into Persian, with added counsels drawn from Islamic, Greek, and Iranian materials. In 901/1495, Yusuf b. Hasan Husayni Shafi'i Rumi (d. 922/1516) translated al-Mawardi's famous work on government, the *Ahkam al-Sultaniyya*, into Persian for Rustam Bahadur Aqquyunlu (r. 898–901/1492–1495). In India, the Arabic mirror for princes the *Siraj al-Muluk* of al-Tartushi (451–520/1059–1126) was translated into Persian for the Mughal commander and potentate 'Abd al-Rahim Khan Khanan (d. 1036/1627).

Translations of Works of Historiography

Adaptations of Arabic historiographical works, especially those that concerned Iran, found a ready audience among Persian-speakers. The anonymous author of the *Mujmal al-Tavarikh va-l-Qisas*, compiled around 520/1126, translated some of his materials from Arabic into Persian. In 603/1206–1207, Jarbadhqani produced a Persian translation of the Arabic history of the Ghaznavids, the *Ta'rikh al-Yamini* of 'Utbi (350–427 or 31/961–1036 or 1040). A decade later, Ibn Isfandiyar, journeying in Khvarazm, came across a copy of the *Letter of Tansar*, a Sasanian work reportedly rendered into Arabic from Middle Persian by Ibn al-Muqaffa'; Ibn Isfandiyar translated the Arabic text into Persian and incorporated it into his *History of Tabaristan* (ca. 613/1216–1217). Ibn al-Tiqtaqa (d. ca. 709/1309), author of the two-part Arabic *Kitab al-Fakhri* (701/1301), revised his book after the execution in 702/1303 of its first dedicatee, Fakhr al-Din 'Isa, governor of Mosul; the second, historiographical half of the revised version was translated with significant modifications into Persian around 714/1314 as the *Tajarib al-Salaf* of Hindushah b. Sanjar Nakhjavani and dedicated to the Hazaraspid ruler Nusrat al-Din Ahmad b. Yusufshah (r. 696–730 or 733/1296–1330 or 1333). Avi translated not only the *Covenant of Ashtar* (see above) but also the Arabic *Mahasin Isfahan* as the *History of Isfahan* in 729/1329 under the patronage of the vizier Ghiyath al-Din (d. 736/1336), for whom a number of other Arabic works were translated into Persian. A manuscript dated 789/1387 and entitled *Tajarib al-Umam fi Akhbar Muluk al-'Arab wa-l-'Ajam* purports to be the Persian translation of an Arabic history composed in 75/694–695; it covers the period from Sam b. Nuh to Yazdagird III, and it is said to have been in the possession of a succession of rulers until such a time that it could no longer be read and the ruler of the age had it translated into Persian.

Bilingualism

The exchange between the Arabic and Persian literatures took several forms, not all of which involved freestanding translation–adaptations. Many authors of poetry and prose wrote in both languages; some composed independent works in each language, and

some rendered their own Arabic works into Persian (and, occasionally, vice versa). The literary anthologies of al-Tha'alibi (350–429/961–1038) and his student al-Bakharzi (d. 467/1075) attest to a considerable number of poets and writers in Iran and Transoxiana who wrote equally fluently in Arabic and Persian. Another literary feature of the fourth/tenth and fifth/eleventh centuries are patchwork poems (mulamma'at), which are either Arabic poems that include Persian words or poems in which verses in the two languages alternate. The twelfth-century Khvarazmian poet Rashid al-Din Vatvat (d. 573 or 578/1177 or 1182) composed verses in Arabic and Persian and sometimes employed both languages in a single poem, and the celebrated Persian poets Sa'di (d. 691/1292) and Rumi (604–672/1207–1273) likewise wrote in Arabic as well as Persian.

Authors of prose works display a similarly high degree of bilingualism. Among many other writers, al-Ghazali wrote some works in Persian as well as many in Arabic. Although he composed his vast compendium, the *Ihya' 'Ulum al-Din,* in Arabic, al-Ghazali wrote a modified abridgment of it, the *Kimiya-yi sa'Adat*, in Persian, for the benefit of ordinary people who were unschooled in Arabic. In the *Akhlaq-i Nasiri*, his acclaimed work on ethics and political philosophy, Nasir al-Din Tusi (d. 672/1273) includes a Persian summary of the *Tahdhib al-Akhlaq* of Miskawayh (d. 421/1030), who had himself brought together Greek, Iranian, Arab, and Islamic traditions in his (Arabic) writings. The *Akhlaq-i Nasiri* became a model for later writers, including Davvani (d. 908/1502), whose *Akhlaq-i Jalali* likewise includes a Persian epitome of Miskawayh's treatise.

The sizable number of translations that are known to have been prepared undoubtedly constitute only a small portion of those that were actually undertaken. Moreover, very few works are extant in both their original Arabic and their translated versions, so the relationship of one to the other is often difficult to assess. In some instances, especially when the subject matter concerned religion, precision was essential. In other cases, it seems that translators were not necessarily required to provide complete or accurate versions of the original work but were expected to adapt the text, especially by omitting and adding materials, to suit the needs and interests of the new audience; the surviving translations of historiographical works often display a particularly free relationship with their Arabic sources, and, in several cases, they explicitly incorporate later materials to extend the narrative beyond the period covered by the original. However, the process of translation was only one medium for the reception of Arabic materials in Persian; the high frequency of bilingualism among educated Iranian Muslims facilitated various other forms of interaction between the two literatures, including abridgement in Persian, commentary in Persian, quotation, and compositions involving both languages.

LOUISE MARLOW

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TRANSLATION, PRE-ISLAMIC LEARNING INTO ARABIC

According to the historian and man of letters Ibn Khallikan: "Nobody could have had access to the writings of the ancient Greeks, because nobody among the Arabs knew the Greek language." The same declaration could be made about the Persian legacy in other realms of knowledge, such as mirrors for princes. Presented here are only translations from the Greek legacy.

Several Arabic authors have given accounts at different periods about the knowledge of the Arabs about Greek legacy: al-Ya'qubi (d. ca. AH 292/905 CE) in sixty five pages of his *History;* the Christian physician and translator Ishaq b. Hunayn (d. 299/911) in his *History of the Physicians and Wise Men* (philosophers, above all, before Islam); the Baghdadi logician Abu Sulayman al-Sijistani (d. ca. 375/985) in his *Cabinet of Wisdom*, of which only an abridgment is extant and published; the bookseller and copyist of

Baghdad Ibn al-Nadim (d. 380/990 or 385/995), in his *Index* of books and disciplines; the Corduvan Ibn Juljul (d. c. 354/994), in the *Classes of Physicians and Wise Men;* Sa'id al-Andalusi (d. 462/1070–1071 in Egypt) in his *Categories of Nations,* written in Toledo; the Syrian physician Ibn Abi Usaybi'a (d. 668/1269) in the *Classes of Physicians*, parts of which have been translated into French, German, and English; and Ibn Khaldun (d. 808/1406) in his *Introduction to History*. Information is also found scattered in the huge Arabic biobibliographical productions, in marginalia of manuscripts, in commentaries, and in glosses.

The Syriac-speaking Christians have played a great role as a result of their technical skill in translation of Greek works into Syriac and Arabic. The major translators who flourished during al-Ma'mun's reign include the (probably Melkite) Christian Yahya b. al-Bitriq, who is credited with translating into Arabic Plato's *Timaeus,* Aristotle's *On the Soul*, *On the Heavens,* and *Prior Analytics,* the *Book of Animals,* and the *Secret of Secrets (Sirr al-Asrar)*, an apocryphal political treatise of unknown authorship that was attributed to Aristotle.

However, the great translator of this caliphate was the Nestorian Hunayn b. Ishaq (d. 264/873), who was born in Hira in Iraq and, together with his son Ishaq b. Hunayn, his nephew Hubaysh, his pupil 'Isa b. Yahya, and others placed the translation of Greek medieval and philosophical texts on a sound scientific footing. The chief interests of Hunayn himself were medical, and he translated the complete medical corpus of Hippocrates and Galen. Hunayn and his associates were also responsible for translating Galen's treatises on logic, his *Ethics* (the Greek original of which is lost), and his epitomes of Plato's *Sophist, Parmenides, Cratylus, Euthydemus, Timaeus, Statesman, Republic,* and *Laws,* of which only the epitomes of the *Timaeus* and the *Laws* have survived in Arabic. The logical and ethical writings of Galen played an important role in the development of Arabic thought, and they have influenced moral philosophers from Abu Bakr al-Razi (Rhazes) (d. 313/925) to Miskawayh (d. 421/1030).

Of the works of Aristotle, Ishaq b. Hunayn is responsible for translating the *Categories, De Interpretatione, On Generation and Corruption, Physics, On the Soul, Nicomachean Ethics,* and the spurious *De Plantis,* which was written by the peripatetic philosopher Nicolaus of Damascus (first century). However, the most important Aristotelian treatise to be translated into Arabic during this period is the *Metaphysics,* which is known in the Arabic sources as the *Book of Letters* or the *Theologica* (*al-Ilahiyat*). According to reliable authorities, a little-known translator named Ustat (Eustathius) translated the twelve books (excluding M and N) for al-Kindi, as did Yahya ibn 'Adi a century later. However, Ishaq, Abu Bishr Matta, and others are also credited with translating some parts of the *Metaphysics*.

Equally important is the translation by Ibn Na'ima al-Himsi (d. 220/835) of a treatise allegedly written by Aristotle and referred to in the Arabic sources as *Uthulugia* or *Theologia Aristotelis*. It consists of a paraphrase of Plotinus' *Enneads* IV–VI made by an anonymous Greek author (who could very well be Porphyry of Tyre); together with Proclus' *Elements of Theology,* known as the *Pure Good (al-Khayr al-mahd)* or *Liber de Causis,* it was largely responsible for the whole development of Arab-Islamic Neoplatonism. Al-Kindi is said to have commented on the *Theologia Aristotelis* as did Ibn Sina and others, and al-Farabi refers to it as an undoubted work of Aristotle. A series of other pseudo-Aristotelian works also found their way into Arabic, including *Secret of Secrets, De Plantis, Economica,* and the *Book of Minerals.*

Among other translators of Greek philosophical texts, the Harranean mathematician and astronomer Thabit b. Qurra (d. 288/901) should be mentioned. He translated, among other things, the *Arithmetical Introduction* of Nicomachus of Gerasa (a masterpiece of translation) and Archimedes' *The Sphere and the Cylinder*. He further revised many translations made by others, such as Euclid's *Elements* and Ptolemy's *Almagest*. Abu 'Uthman al-Dimashqi (d. 298/910) translated directly from Greek the *Topics* of Aristotle, which was translated again by Yahya b. 'Adi (d. 363/974), this time from Ishaq b. Hunayn's previous Syriac version. The Syro-Palestinian Greek physician Qusta b. Luqa (d. 300/912) was commissioned for the translation of mathematical and astronomical works, like the *Spherics* of Theodosius, the *Rising and Setting (of Fixed Stars)* by Autolycus, and the *Lifting Screw* by Hero of Alexandria. The Nestorian Abu Bishr Matta b. Yunus (d. 328/940), a skilled logician and the founder of the Aristotelian school in Baghdad, made his translations from Syriac: *The Analytica Posteriora,* with the commentary of Alexander of Aphrodisias and the paraphrase of Themistius; the book *Lamda* of *Metaphysica* with the commentary of Alexander (which was used by Averroes); and the *Ars Poetica*. His disciple the Jacobite Yahya b. 'Adi stands out as the best-known writer about Christian theological questions and ethics in Arabic. He translated logical works of Aristotle and also passages of his *Physics* and *Metaphysics*, with ancient commentaries. His translation of Themistius' paraphrase of *De Caelo* is extant in a Hebraic version. His Christian disciple 'Isa b. Ishaq b. Zur'a (d. 395/1008) was also active in translation. Such was the case also for

Ibn 'Adi's pupil Ibn al-Khammar al-Hasan b. Suwar (d. 407/1017).

CLAUDE GILLIOT

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TRANSOXIANA

The historical core of Central Asia was a region known as *Transoxiana,* a term that was coined by scholars to describe the location of this region beyond the River Oxus as one approached it from the classical world of Iran (more specifically from its northeastern province of Khorasan). The Oxus (or Oxiana) River, a Latinized form of an ancient Iranian word, was known to the Arabs as Jayhun. It is known today as the Amu Darya (the Amu River); this is based on a local variant, *Amu,* and the Persian word for lake or sea, *darya,* borrowed by Central Asian Turkic and with the connotation of river. Beginning east of the Oxus, Transoxiana extended even further eastward to meet the second—although relatively minor—lifeline of Central Asia, the Jaxartes or the Syr Darya. However, despite the connection of the Amu and Syr Darya with the term *Transoxiana* and the enormous significance of the two rivers in sustaining the culture of the region since ancient times, the historical center of gravity of Transoxiana lay elsewhere. This was along a third river called the Zarafshan, which originates far to the east in the Pamir Mountains, flows further to the west through the Turkestan and Zarafshan ranges, and then flows through the central lowlands of present-day Uzbekistan. Although it ultimately appears to head for a junction with the Amu Darya itself, instead it disappears into the sands of the Kyzyl Kum desert. Irrigation derived from the Zarafshan has supported dense agricultural and urban settlements in Transoxiana since antiquity, and existing cities like Samarqand and Bukhara (Uzbekistan) and archaeological sites such as Penjikent (Tajikistan) are only the best-known examples. In addition to the Zarafshan, several smaller streams such as the Kashka Darya also rise in the southern watershed of the Zarafshan range, flowing southwest and westward, somewhat parallel to the Zarafshan, toward the Bukharan oasis but again disappearing before reaching it. The Kashka Darya has, in turn, nourished historical places such as the Timurid Shahrisabz (Kesh) and Mongol Karshi (Nasaf). In cumulative effect, through the combination of pockets of great fertility (oases) created by the Oxus, the Jaxartes, the Zarafshan, and their smaller tributaries, Transoxiana was a fertile and important region—a literal gateway, bridge, and bottleneck—that led to the three fascinating worlds beyond: Greater Eurasia, China, and India.

In addition to demarcating the southern limit of Transoxiana, historically the Oxus River also represented a strong physical border separating Iran from Central Asia; this was a point of concern for all those who desired to cross to the other side, including Alexander the Great, the Sasanian monarchs, the Turks and Arabs, and even the units of the Red Army during the early nineteenth century. It is from this river that the entire surrounding tract, extending from the Amu to the Syr Darya (the Oxus to the Jaxartes), appears to have received its name. It was recorded by Darius in his inscriptions as Sugdam or Sugda, with the Avestan and Greek equivalents as Sughdha or Sogdiana. Likewise, the people who inhabited the area came to be known as the Sogdians, whereas the Zarafshan River itself came to be called the Soghd.

The Sogdians had resided in Transoxiana for several centuries before the Arab conquests. They spoke an Iranian tongue, because Sogdia, like much of Central Asia before these invasions, was an Iranian-speaking region. Although their language (called Sogdian by some scholars) is now extinct, scholars believe that traces of the rich Sogdian culture still survive in the toponomy of the several towns in the region, whose names end in *-kent, -kand, -kat,* or other variants of this Iranian word, which means "town." Appropriate examples are Penjikent, Uzgend, Samarqand, Numijkat (the original name for Bukhara), Tashkent, and Yarkand. In addition, a sizable component of the population of certain pockets of Central Asia still speaks Iranian or speaks both Iranian and Turkic (although some time after the Islamic conquest a shift occurred from Sogdian to Farsi, the language of Fars, a province in southern Persia, which developed into modern Persian). That the Sogdian culture was still intact in the tenth century and to some degree assimilated into the practices and beliefs of Islam is attested to by the accounts of contemporary Muslim geographers who called the country (Sogdiana) the Bilad al-Sughd (Land of the Sogdians) and the Zarafshan river the Wadi al-Sughd (Sogd river). As mentioned earlier, the Arabs used the term Mawarannahr ("that which is beyond the river [Jayhun]"), for the region of Transoxania, also following the same psycholinguistic process. Employing the Syr Darya as a demarcation line marking the northern limit of Transoxania, all of the land that lay outside of this domain was the Turkestan or the Bilad al-Turk—the abode of the Turkic nomads.

If Transoxiana was the geographical and cultural core of Central Asia, then southeast of it lay the historical territory of Bactria, home to a sophisticated urban culture, including several urban foundations established by Alexander the Great. Of these, most prominent was the capital of ancient Bactria (the Balkh of early Islamic centuries), which flourished as an important urban center until its destruction by the Mongols in 1221, briefly recovering only to yield primacy to the funerary sanctuary of Mazar-i Sharif. Today Bactria corresponds to northern Afghanistan, southern Tajikistan, and southeastern Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan.

Northwest of Transoxiana and bordering the Aral Sea lay Khwarazm, comprising the lowermost course of the Amu Darya and its sprawling delta estuary fringing the southern shore of the Aral Sea. Khwarazm had since ancient times been home to a flourishing agricultural and urban civilization, typically Iranian in style and character. Medieval Khwarazm functioned as an important commercial link between Eurasia, the Middle East, and Russia, controlling the most important trade routes between the three worlds and stimulated by the Islamization of Central Asia and the rise of Urgench as the chief city in the region from the tenth century onward.

Two other regions, Ferghana and Khorasan, which also surrounded Transoxiana, should be mentioned here. The Ferghana Valley, located east of the expanded region of Transoxiana, has been a land of an ancient agricultural civilization, colonized early by Sogdian merchants. Today most of Ferghana lies within the easternmost province of the republic of Uzbekistan, except for fringes shared by neighboring Kyrgystan and Tajikistan. To the south of Transoxiana lies the province of Khorasan. In pre-Islamic and early Islamic times, it comprised a large area, including central Turkmenistan and northwestern Afghanistan and the cities of Nisa, Merv, Nishapur, and Herat. By the Middle Ages, several of these cities lay on the Silk Road's trunk routes linking Sinkiang through Samarqand as well as routes going to Bactria, India, Khwarazm, and Russia. Khorasan was the focus of the Arab invasions before Transoxiana, and, in several ways, it set the stage for sociocultural developments elsewhere.

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TRAVEL

By 750 CE, the era of the conquerors and empire builders was over in Islam. A new historical figure, as mobile but more peaceful, began to roam around: the traveler. A multifaceted figure, he may have been a merchant, a scholar, an ambassador, a missionary, or an adventurer. To this, one must add the ritual wanderer, such as the mystic. This new figure was a creation of the cities. He was a city dweller, either by choice or by origin, and, when the city was not his starting point, it became his horizon.

One traveled in the medieval Muslim world by foot or by horse, individually or collectively, by caravan as well as by boat. Some of these medieval travelers seem like true athletes. After finishing their "grand tour" *(jawla)*, they earned—deservedly—the name of "tourist" *(jawwâl)*. Such travelers did not hesitate to seek out physical challenges even if it meant risking their lives. The Iranian Abû Hâtim from Rayy (died AH 277/890 CE), who was destined to a prestigious career as transmitter of hadith, is one such example. In the travelogue transmitted by his son, he narrates: "The first time I traveled, I did it for seven years. I walked for more than one thousand parasangs [5700 kilometers] before I stopped counting. After I left Bahrayn, I walked to Egypt, from which I left on foot to Syria [...]. I did all this when I was not yet twenty years old." One of his contemporaries, an Andalusian who had accomplished a grand tour under the same circumstances, was also proud to repeat to anyone who cared to hear, "All the masters toward whom I traveled, I went to meet them on foot." Touring the central lands of Islam, the Persian philosopher poet Nâsir-î Khusrû reached Jerusalem in 1047, accompanied by his brother and a young slave via the caravan of Hârran. From the third of all holy places of Islam, he decided to go to the first two and undertook the trip on foot in the company of other travelers who shared the same resolve. The group's guide was "an energetic man, good walker, and with an agreeable physiognomy." (Safar-nâma, 106). The trip to Mecca took thirteen days. The Persian scholar seems to have undertaken this walking journey as a challenge. This was not always the case for him or for the other trekkers mentioned earlier. When the same scholar set out to travel by foot across the Arabian Peninsula to go to Basra, that was because he had no other choice; he and his brother did not have enough means to rent two camels. After having paid the guide who was to lead them, they could only afford to pay for one camel: "the Bedouin loaded my books on the camel that my brother would ride, and as for me, I followed on foot" (223). To cover more than eighteen hundred kilometers under such conditions could only make the crossing of desert lands, already perilous in itself, only more arduous: "When we reached Basra, we were in such a state of destitution and misery that we looked like madmen; we had not untied our hair for three months. Who would let us into a bath in the state we were in?" (237).

In vast territories, such as those of Islam, that are covered by some of the world's largest deserts and vast steppes, the camel is the best means of transportation. Travelers who do not depart alone or within a small group travel with a caravan. The caravan is indeed the surest link between cities. Like a city in motion, the caravan has its own emir to guide and manage it and its own troop to protect it, especially against robbers. According to Nâsir-i Khusrû, during the mid-eleventh century, the caravan that left from Cairo for the great pilgrimage (hajj) required so many soldiers that the daily expense to cover their needs and fodder was one thousand Maghribi dinars, not including the twenty dinars spent for each soldier's pay. Multiply these daily thousands of dinars by the twenty-five days it took to reach one's destination (and as many to return), add sixty thousand dinars to cover provisions for pilgrims and travelers, and it becomes clear that a caravan is a vast economic undertaking before being a means of transporting goods from one town to another or from one country to another.

One did not only travel by land, but also by sea. The traveler at times had to use a ship to go from one point to another, although it was the most feared means of transportation. The medieval Muslim world was a land-loving one that kept its back turned to the sea for most of the time. Only a few regions had established maritime traditions, including the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Aden (al-Andalus). Everywhere else, the thought of crossing the sea conjured up images of terror and the throes of a horrible death. The great Iraqi traveler and encyclopedist, Mas'ûdî (d. 345/956) experienced it firsthand with sailors from Oman during his crossing of the Gulf of Aden on his way to Zanzibar: "I sailed on this sea leaving Sinjâr, capital of Oman, in the company of Sirafian captains [from Sîrâf, the main harbor of the Persian Gulf], including Muh. B. Zaydabûd and Jawhar b. Ahmad, also called Ibn Sîra—who later perished with his

entire crew. My last sea crossing, going from the island of Qanbalû [Zanzibar] to Oman, goes back to 304/916. I was on board a ship owned by Ahmad and 'Abd'l-Samad b. Ja'far al-Sîrâfî [...]. These two brothers later disappeared body and soul in the very same sea [...]. I may have sailed on many a sea, the China Sea, the Mediterranean Sea, the Caspian Sea, the Red Sea, and the Sea of Yemen, yet I have known none more perilous than this Sea of Zanzibar'' (*The Meadows of Gold*, I, 94). All those who encountered the fortune of the sea said the same thing about their own place of peril. Thus, the other great traveler of the year 1000, the Palestinian geographer Muqaddasî, said it about the Mediterranean Sea in more apocalyptic terms: ''It is a difficult, tumultuous sea that continually roars, especially during the night of [Thursday to] Friday.'' That is because it was thought that the sea was hostile toward Muslims. This revolt from the sea of the infidels can be explained by the following tradition: ''[...] When He created the sea of Shâm (Syria), God made this revelation: 'I created you, and I will hand you over my servants who, wishing to obtain some favor, will say ''Glory be to God!'' or ''God is Holy!'' or ''God is great!'' or ''there is no other divinity but God!'' 'How will you treat them?'—'Well, Lord, answered the sea, I will drown them!'—'Away from me! In truth I curse you! I will make you less beautiful and less bountiful!' '' (*Ahsan al-Taqâsîm,* 43). All of the medieval travelers who have left behind tales of their ''going into the sea'' have compared it to a cemetery (or, more exactly, to a coffin) from which they miraculously escaped. Yet, despite all of the dread and terror (for one must add to the misdeeds of nature those of men, especially of pirates who hounded each and every sea), the travelers did not hesitate to board a ship; they had little choice if they wanted to go to India or China for commercial reasons. At times they did not hesitate to board infidel ships, as did the Andalusian Ibn Jubayr (d. 614/1217) to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca. The ulemas from al-Andalus had endorsed traveling on board of Christian ships as early as the eleventh century, although one could have gone from al-Andalus to the Orient by way of land, through the Maghreb. The reading of al-Bakrî's (d. 487/1094) *Description,* however, shows the chronic insecurity that ruled over itineraries such as those linking the Maghreb to Egypt, making it clear why the Andalusian geographer's compatriots saw traveling by sea—even aboard infidel ships—as a lesser evil.

This information about traveling during medieval times comes via writings composed mostly by the travelers themselves, especially the most learned ones. The latter, however, took a long time before deciding to write down their travel experiences. This attitude would not change until the end of the ninth century, even if the oldest travel description goes back to 851, it being the work of an Iraqi merchant who was familiar with India and China.

Why is it that the scholars of the eighth and ninth centuries, who traveled often and extensively, did not think of putting their experiences down in writing? One theory is that they did not think that the story was the prime condition of the trip. To travel and to write about it is a motion that took time to develop in Islam. Nonetheless, a look at the great traveling scholars of the ninth century shows that their travel accounts were heavily circulated within their own milieu. A chain of learned solidarity perpetuated the travelers' oral souvenirs from mouth to ear. Here and there, an attempt at literalizing oral narratives was made. Still tentative, this literary shaping borrowed its narrative expression from the khabar. Thus, the Iraqi Abû Khuzayma (d. 243/857) was able to preserve in his *Book of Science* fragments of the travel account from one of the first—if not *the* first—peripatetic scholars of Islam, Mak'hûl (d. 112/730). He had obtained the account from one of his Syrian masters, who himself had acquired it from a direct disciple of the traveler who had died in Syria (this is factually known). Other travel accounts were obtained in a similar fashion, by trusting the scholarly memory or even the family memory.

The travel khabar offers the dual characteristic of being, in its organizing principle, a reported and fragmented narrative in which the author–transmitter is not confused with the traveler–narrator. Because it is in bits and pieces, it must dramatize in a few words or sentences the entire arc of a trip; it therefore must be a story worth telling. To achieve this, it must stir strong emotional feelings that will make up for its fragmentary aspect. Where can such emotions be found? In the realm of the extraordinary and the wonderful. In the same way that the *'aj'ib* (wonders), which were part of the Islamic knowledge, had been feeding the instructive as well as the entertaining literature since the ninth century, the travel khabar ran into their writing since its inception. Moreover, many travel accounts of this type are *'ajâ'ib* (tales of wonder). The 'ajâ'ib found a place in the travel account as processes of the similar and dissimilar rhetoric, because they act as translators of the difference. As figures of the extraordinary, however, they do not imply that one leaves the space of Islam to go experience them and then recover them through travel writing. Similarly, the ancient Greeks did not have to leave their cultural world to go meet with the *thoma* (the wonder-curiosity), nor did the men of the medieval western world to go discover the *mirabilia.* Thus, it is understandable that a travel account that does not include any 'ajâ'ib is

not really a travel account. The medieval Muslim reader always expects from the person who is relating his travels that he will tell about what he has seen and/or heard that was the most ajîb—the most curious, the most extraordinary, the most wonderful. Thus, the pseudo-Shâfi'i tells in his travel story—a work from the tenth century—about his having seen in Yemen conjoined twin sisters united within "the one body of a normal woman who, instead of having one trunk, had two distinct ones, with four hands, two heads, and two faces." After one died, "[her body] was solidly tied, from the top to the bottom, with a rope and thus kept until it rotted away; after which it was cut and buried." As for the "body left alive," she kept on "coming and going through the souks."

By the end of the ninth century, the travel account still had not found a stable and lasting literary frame. It would borrow that of the epistle, a literary genre that appeared toward the mid-eighth century and that would be its host for about two centuries. Unfortunately, the most ancient travel epistles are known to us only through allusions, citations, or fragments snatched out of oblivion and waste by the hazards of the compilation. For example, the epistle written by an Andalusian scholar at the turn of the ninth and tenth century is known only because mention is made of it in the biographical dictionaries of the Muslim west. Of its contents, only one recommendation survived from the writer who had endured many hardships away from his country and that he transmitted to his fictional, or real, addressee: never undertake a long trip! The epistle by a Hamadhan judge from the Seljuq era is also known as a result of a biographical dictionary compiled during the twelfth century. Written in 1040, this epistle allowed its writer to depict what he saw, such as the great mosque of Damascus, and the men he met. Fortunately, some travel epistles have reached us in their entirety. One of them is the epistle that the physician Ibn Butlân (d. ca. 455/1063), a Christian from Iraq, devoted to describing his itinerary from Baghdad to Cairo. Most of these travel epistles articulate their writing around what was seen and heard. The two epistles from Abû Dulaf, who traveled across India and China around 942, are the most representative of this writing with the eyes. An entire trend of travel epistle, however, kept on rendering, as was done in the ninth century, what the traveler–writer had heard. One representative epistle of this trend is that of Ibn 'Abbâd (d. 385/995) to a scholar from his hometown of Rayy, destined as he was to a political career as a vizier. During a studying trip to Baghdad around 958, the young Ibn 'Abbâd frequented the intellectual circles and the literary salons of the 'Abbasid capital. This epistle did not survive in its entirety, but its literary success was such that a contemporary succeeded in reconstituting it by reassembling most of its *membra dijecta.*

When back home in Seville, after his return from the Orient, Abû Bakr b. al-'Arabî (d. 534/1148) wrote a *rihla* (account) and thus started a revolution in travel writing at the dawn of the twelfth century. Born four centuries earlier, the rihla, which had been sheltered until then by the inventory of masters *(mashyaka* or *fahrasa)*, the biographical dictionary (tabaqât), the epistolary narrative (risâla), and the diary *(rûznâmja)*, could finally abandon them and move into a genre in its own name: that of the travel rihla. From then on, the way is paved for the great travel narratives in which the Muslims of the Muslim west would more than excel, from Ibn Jubayr (d. 614/1217) to Ibn Battûta (d. ca. 770/1368).

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TRIBES AND TRIBAL CUSTOMS

Tribal societies have played a continuous and crucial role in shaping Islamic civilization. Not only did

Islam first emerge among the tribal societies of the Arabian peninsula, but also, among others, Berber tribes in North Africa and Turkic tribes from Central Eurasia were instrumental in the founding of important medieval empires. The term *tribe* generally refers to a group or sociopolitical organization claiming descent from a common ancestor and sharing common values, customs, and a sense of identity and solidarity. In medieval Arabic and Persian historical texts, one finds the terms *qawm* and *qabila* frequently used to refer to such groups; the terms *il* and *oymak* are similarly used in Turkic Muslim texts. Anthropologists and historians use the term *tribe* to refer to a diverse variety of social organizations. Although this term is generally associated with nomads, not all tribes were nomadic, and not all nomads were tribal. Furthermore, whether nomadic, semi-nomadic or settled, tribes maintained strong connections with urban areas. For example, Arab tribes participated in trade with the Roman and Sasanian Empires, and Central Asian nomads engaged in long-distance trade along the Eurasian land route.

Despite their diversity, tribal societies share certain common characteristics. Chief among these is a belief in a common line of descent, whether fictional or real. In tribal societies, lineage functioned as a crucial source of identity and a focus of loyalty; kinship ties were political ties. In most tribal societies, wealth was acquired for distribution rather than accumulation. One's position within a tribe was not determined by how much one owned but rather by how much one shared. Wealth was more a source of tribal solidarity than a source of authority. Despite a tendency toward decentralization and egalitarianism, it should be noted that some tribes were more centralized and hierarchical than others and that, over time, tribal societies adapted to changing political and economic circumstances. Tribal nomadic societies maintained rich traditions of oral literature in the form of poetry and epics. Such literature functioned to strengthen kinship ties and provide legitimation for a tribe's social and religious identity. For example, in Central Asia, the common ancestor of the tribe was often recast as the bringer of Islam after the tribe's conversion.

From its inception, there was a close connection and interaction between tribal society and Islam. In the seventh century CE, the Arabian peninsula was largely populated by Arabic-speaking peoples organized into tribes that were themselves composed of smaller clans. Clan loyalty was the paramount principle by which society was organized. Arab tribal society was relatively decentralized, lacking authoritarian structures like jails and courts. Order was maintained largely by familial pressure and, when necessary, blood wit. However, as a result of involvement in global trade, there was an influx of wealth, which led to sedentarization and urbanization, particularly in Mecca, which resulted in increasing economic stratification. Islam arose as an explicit challenge and alternative to an increasingly anachronistic and unwieldy tribal system. Converts to Islam gave allegiance to the Prophet Muhammad and the *ummah* (Muslim community). As a member of the ummah, devotion and allegiance to one God and Islam were to become one's primary source of identity, transcending any existing tribal loyalties.

However, although Islam tended to weaken or subordinate tribal identity, it also incorporated tribal values and customs. The Prophet's success was due in part to his effectiveness within the tribal system. The Prophet Muhammad was born into the respected clan of Banu Hashim of the dominant Meccan tribe, the Quraysh. His lineage provided him protection, especially in the form of support from his uncle Abu Talib, the leader of Banu Hashim. As a young man, Muhammad gained a reputation as a mediator of tribal disputes, earning him the title of al-Amin (the trustworthy). He exemplified the tribal virtues of hospitality, forbearance, and courage, all of which were incorporated into Islam. Even the central religious ritual of the polytheistic Arabs, the Hajj, was ultimately Islamicized. Furthermore, the early Islamic state did not eradicate tribal institutions; initially it brought non-Arabs into the Islamic polity by incorporating them as clients of Arab tribes. Additionally, many of the early conflicts in Islam were rooted in lingering tribal animosities.

Although the earliest Islamic empires were founded by Arabs, from the tenth century onward, Turkic and Turco-Mongolian tribes dominated the political life of Islamic civilization, especially in Eurasia. By the end of the tenth century, the Qarluk tribal union established their regime in Transoxiana, whereas the Oghuz tribal union under the leadership of the Seljuk family established the Seljuk dynasty in Iran and Khurasan during the eleventh century. Another Seljuk dynasty was also established in Anatolia, which was succeeded by the Turkic Ottoman Empire. Similarly, the Safavid Empire in Iran and the Mughal Empire in India were originally founded by members of Turkic tribes.

The Turkic and Turco-Mongol tribes of Central Asia during the medieval period were mainly pastoral, nomadic, or semi-nomadic in background. They were organized into families, clans, and tribes, with each clan claiming descent from a common ancestor. The fifteenth-century *Book of Dede Korkut* consists of earlier oral stories produced by the nomadic Oghuz Turkic tribes, and it provides a vivid description of

their tribal life and customs. In *Dede Korkut,* it is demonstrated that social hierarchies were reflected not in material terms but rather in ideological ones. In other words, one's lineage was the primary indicator of one's status within the tribe. Certain individual qualities such as generosity and military prowess were also sources of authority and status. Tribal leadership emerged from the most prestigious clans. The elders of the tribe stood as arbiters and mediators among the different members or subdivisions within a tribe or among tribes, and their authority depended more on consensus than coercion. Women also had authority and status based on their lineage and played important roles in family and tribal affairs.

Although the political structures of these dynasties initially reflected their tribal backgrounds, once established, they had to deal with the centrifugal tendencies of the tribes from which they came. In Central Asia, for example, the tension and conflict between the ruling khan who represented central state authority and the begs who were the local tribal leaders was crucial. Islamic institutions played an important role in facilitating the sedentarization of nomadic tribes and integrating tribes into the state. Rulers increasingly used Islam to legitimize their authority and to transcend the limitations placed on their power by the decentralizing tendencies of the tribal system. They thus gave increasing attention to Islamic institutions by supporting the Islamic scholars, establishing Islamic schools, constructing Sufi tombs, and seeking the support of the Sufi elite. This balancing act between tribal and Islamic sources of authority in many ways defined the political culture of Eurasian Islam during the medieval period.

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See also Epics, Turkish; Nomadism and Pastoralism; Safavids; Trade; Transoxiana; Turkish and Turkic; Turks

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TULUNIDS

The Tulunids were a semi-autonomous Turkish dynasty that ruled Egypt and Syria from approximately 868 to 905 CE. These rulers served officially as 'Abbasid governors but, in fact, wielded broad authority and sometimes came in conflict with the caliphs whom they claimed to serve. They followed in this manner the example of other semi-independent families of governors, such as the Aghlabids and the Tahirids, who previously ruled in North Africa and Khurasan, respectively.

Ibn Tulun, the founder of this dynasty, came to Egypt in 868 as part of the entourage of his stepfather Bakbak, the 'Abbasid governor of Egypt. He survived the assassination of his stepfather and outmaneuvered his rivals shortly afterward to gain control of the province. He took advantage of disturbances in Syria to create a powerful personal army and campaigns against the Byzantines to extend his authority eastward. His administrative skill, moreover, established firm foundations for his successors at the time of his death in 884.

Ibn Tulun's son, Khumarawayh, who succeeded him, was able to extend the dynasty's dominions to include the Jazira. However, a reinvigorated 'Abbasid caliphate, internal dissension among his ministers, and financial exhaustion undermined his military achievements. Khumarawayh was assassinated in 896, as was his son and successor, Jaysh. Another son, Harun, ruled until 905. The 'Abbasids shortly afterward seized control.

The Tulunids mark the rise of non-Arab groups to power in the Near East and, in particular, a Turkish military elite in Egypt. The family descended from a military slave who served at the court of al-Ma'mun. Turkish military slaves were not only renowned for their fighting skills but were considered very loyal. They owed their position and privileges entirely to the caliph. They lacked the ties of kinship that divided the sympathies of Arabs and Persians.

The decline of the 'Abbasid caliphate allowed the Tulunids to establish themselves. Intrigue at the court, revolts of the Zanj in southern Iraq and the Saffarids in eastern Iran, and general financial exhaustion during this period dissipated the caliphate's energy. Ministers and generals often intervened in caliphal succession by supporting weak candidates for the benefit of their interests. Caliph al-Mu'tamid's brother, al-Muqaffaq, emerged as the predominant force behind the caliph in the 870s, but he remained preoccupied with suppressing the Zanj until the 880s.

The Tulunids posed a fundamental problem for the legitimation of government. Originally protégés of the caliph, they lacked an ethnic and ideological

constituency upon which they could draw immediate support. They countered this weakness by maintaining nominal allegiance to the caliph in Baghdad, allying themselves carefully with local commercial and religious interests and recruiting slave soldiers. They inscribed the name of the caliph on their coinage, appointed important Egyptians to ministerial posts and consulted others, and bought large numbers of Sudanese slaves. In addition, they promoted campaigns against Byzantiun under the auspices of holy war against the infidel.

The quickness with which the Tulunids succumbed to 'Abbasid forces probably resulted from their inherent political weakness. However, although the 'Abbasids eventually recovered and reestablished their authority over Egypt and Syria, the precedent of the Tulunids remained for a later Turkish dynasty of semi-independent governors, the Ikhshidids, who came to power in Egypt in 935.

Egypt and the Levant appear to have prospered under the Tulunids. It has been suggested that this prosperity reflected the expenditure of taxes locally rather than their remittance to Baghdad. Ibn Tulun established an efficient bureaucracy that earned the respect of local Arabs. He also established a new quarter near Fustat, where he erected a famous congregational mosque that still stands today.

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See also Ibn Tulun

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TURKISH AND TURKIC LANGUAGES

Modern Turkish and its predecessor, Ottoman Turkish, belong to the Turkic language family, the speakers of which were and are spread over a wide area of Europe and Asia (Eurasia). Those areas and the Turkic languages spoken in those areas are Turkish and Azeri in the Middle East; Turkmen, Uzbek, Uygur, Kazak, and Kirgiz in Central Asia; Altay, Khakas, Tuvan, and Yakut in Siberia; and Tatar, Bashkir, Chuvash, and various Turkic dialects like Gagauz in East Europe. Some of these Turkic peoples are the dominant population in their own independent countries, including the Republic of Turkey and the Turkic Republics of Central Asia, and others have their own autonomous regions within Russia and China. Other countries with substantial Turkic-speaking populations include Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Bulgaria, and Greece. The total number of speakers within this family may be estimated at between 150 and 170 million, with Turkish speakers making up by far the largest group of about 70 million.

According to the famous Turcologist Wilhelm Radloff, there is no other language family in the world with the same geographical magnitude as the Turkic languages. Despite the immense number of Turkic languages and dialects spread out all over the word, the linguistic difference between these languages is quite amazingly minimal, with the exception of Yakut and Chuvash. For a long time, scholars have been trying to classify the Turkic languages to no avail, because no single classification has yet been agreed on. The difficulty comes from the fact that a tremendous amount of work still needs to be done with regard to collecting and interpreting data from these languages, some of which have only recently been discovered. In addition, vastly different political concerns over the course of time have left their own mark on these efforts as well. For example, a great majority of Turcologists from Turkey still insist on a single Turkic language with numerous "dialects," with Turkish being the "Turkic of Turkey." This argument in many cases evokes an ultra-nationalist and expansionist ideology suggesting the existence of a so-called "Turkic world." In reality, despite the linguistic proximity, the speakers of the Turkic languages of the world enjoy a great diversity of history, cultures, and traditions, and they rarely identify themselves as "Turks" but rather as Tatars, Uzbeks, Kazaks, Azeris, and the like.

Despite the tremendous difficulty of classifying Turkic languages and dialects, one may consider the following picture in future attempts of classification: Turkish and the closely related Azeri and Turkmen form the Oguz group of Turkic languages. The ancestors of those who speak these languages migrated from Central Asia into the Near East beginning in the first half of the eleventh century. By 1300 CE or so, the Osman clan of the tribes had laid the foundation of what would become the Ottoman State (1299–1923). The other Turkic languages fall into several historical and linguistic groups: Karluk (Uzbek, Uygur); Kipchak (Kazak, Kirgiz, Tatar, Bashkir); Uygur (Tuvan, Yakut); and the entirely separate

branch of Turkic, Ogur (Bulgar, Khazar), which is represented by the modern Chuvash.

Beginning already during the eighth century, before Turks had migrated out of East Asia and into Central Asia, several literary languages were formed. The first of these was written in the so-called Runic script and survives in a number of stone inscriptions from Mongolia and South Siberia and also in manuscripts discovered in Western China (modern Xinjiang). During the same period, a distinct literary language called Uygur took shape in the Turfan area of modern Xinjiang. That language was written in Runic, Uygur, Manichaean, and Brahmi scripts. From this language survive texts dealing with the Manichaean, Nestorian, and Buddhist religions as well as with civil and economic affairs, dating from the eighth century up to the fourteenth century, and in some areas into the eighteenth century. Meanwhile, to the west in Central Asia starting in the eleventh century, a related literary language arose. Written in Arabic script, this language came to be called Chagatay and was used by Muslim Turks not only of Central Asia but in a variant form in the Crimea and Volga regions until the twentieth century. After many of these Turkic areas were incorporated into the Soviet Union, their spoken languages became bases of national languages written first in Latin, then in Cyrillic, and today mostly in Latin alphabets again. In the case of the Uygurs of China, the literary language is written in a highly modified Arabic script.

The formation of the Turkish literary language in Anatolia (known as Old Anatolian Turkish) goes back to approximately the thirteenth century, although some so-called ''mixed-language'' manuscripts belong to even earlier centuries. The construction and development of written Turkish in Anatolia cannot possibly be identified and studied without dealing with perhaps the most significant cultural and political change in Turkish history: the acceptance and proliferation of Islam. Institutionalized Islam not only brought a brand new belief system and sedentary social norms to the Turkish-speaking authors but also greatly reshaped the lexical and philosophical vocabulary of their language. After converting to and/or embracing Islam (beginning approximately toward the end of the ninth century), an educated minority of the Turkish-speaking population began to develop a literary language that was enhanced with a compelling amount of borrowings from the Arabic and Persian languages. The construction process of the Old Anatolian Turkish literary language also necessitated the adaptation of the Arabic script. The infiltration of the Arabic script into the writing of Turkish was a religious, cultural, and ideological constraint. The place of the Arabic script in Turkish literary history is undoubtedly most significant, given the fact that, up until 1928, almost every single Turkish book was composed in it. Nonetheless, although the Arabic alphabet was only one among more than a dozen documented writing systems used in scripting Turkic languages throughout the centuries, it was perhaps the most unsuitable of all of them. The script was incapable of representing the phonetic needs of the Turkish language. Although a similar argument later became the foundation for the modernist revolution in Turkey, which successfully replaced the Arabic script with a new Roman-based alphabet, there is little or no doubt among linguists that the modern Turkish writing system is by far much easier to learn, more practical, and more democratic. One can argue that the use of the Arabic alphabet constituted one of the fundamental reasons for the mostly illiterate population of the Ottoman Empire. During its six hundred year lifespan, the Ottoman Empire had a very low literacy rate, due in part to the ''holy script'' with which no more than thirty thousand books were ever printed. It should be remembered that the literary products of the Ottoman elite were transmitted through manuscripts, and, generally speaking, only those who could afford to possess them had access to the classical works in writing.

By the end of the fifteenth century, Old Anatolian Turkish was already a refined literary language. Beginning with the sixteenth century, what is usually called Ottoman Turkish or Classical Ottoman became the Latin of the Turks. Classical Ottoman was not only a peculiar combination of the Arabic, Persian, and Turkish literary lexicons but of a particular grammatical system as well. In some cases, it manifested itself as a mixture of Arabic and Persian words that were constructed according to the Turkish language syntax. It was not used by the common (and, for the most part, illiterate) people, and it survived for hundreds of years as the symbol of the cultivated, learned, and literary members of the glorious Ottoman court. By the end of the seventeenth century, classical Ottoman authors began showing a conscious interest in the Turkification and localization of Ottoman Turkish for use in their otherwise courtly works. Especially during the eighteenth century, developments in this regard were highly significant. The spoken language (and, in some cases, the written language as manifested in thousands of surviving folk manuscripts) of the vast majority of the Turkish-speaking populations in Anatolia was vastly different. However, it should also be mentioned that, since the 1980s, postmodern scholarship on the subject and proponents of various political positions—particularly the Islamist one—have been engaging in a rather different argument regarding this linguistic and

literary dichotomy, basically interpreting it as the "invention" of the modernist ideology of the early twentieth century.

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TURKS

The name *Turks* generally applied to various Turkic-speaking peoples living between Eastern/Chinese Turkistan (Sinkiang) and the Balkans. The first mention of the ethnonym *Turk* may date from Herodotus' (c. 484–425 BCE) reference to Targitas (IV.5), the first king of the Scythians, or to the Iyrcai people (IV.22). During the first century CE, Pomponius Mela refers to the Turcae (I.116) in the forests north of the Sea of Azov, and Pliny the Elder (*Natural History*, VI.19) lists the Tyrcae among the people of the same area. The first definite references to the Turks come mainly from Chinese sources in the sixth century. In these sources, *Turk* appears as *T'u-chüeh* and referred to a diverse group of nomadic Turkic speakers who lived north and west of Chinese territory.

Seventh-century Chinese sources preserve the earliest legends of the origins of the Turks, saying that they were a branch of the Hsiung-nu (Huns) and living near the "West Sea" (perhaps the Caspian) or that they were from the country north of the Hsiung-nu, were descended from a man born of a wolf, and first came to the Chinese border to trade for silk. Modern research tends to indicate that their ancestors indeed lived within the state of the Hsiung-nu in the Trans-Baikal area and that they later, during the fifth century, migrated to the southern Altay.

The Turks first appear in history in 552 CE, when Bumın established the Turk Empire, a kind of tribal state, that stretched from the northern marches of China west to the Central Asian territories of Sasanid Iran. Eventually, this empire and the Sasanids clashed over control of the silk trade. In the 580s, internal strife resulted in a rift between the Eastern and Western Turks. During the first half of the seventh century, both nominally submitted to Chinese authority. In 682, the Eastern (Gök/Blue) Turks established a new empire in Mongolia and attempted to include the Western Turks, but by 711 the latter had broken away. The heartland of the Western Turks was between the Eastern Karatau Mountains and Jungaria. The oldest extant Turkish texts, the Orkhon inscriptions found in Mongolia and dating from the mid-eighth century, shed light on these events.

On the eve of the Islamic penetration of their region, the Western Turks were overwhelmingly nomadic but had a strong interest in trade. Most were probably shamanists, whereas others were adherents of Manichaesim, Nestorian Christianity, or, especially, Buddhism. Having destroyed the Sasanian Empire (see Sasanians, Islamic Traditions) in 642, the Muslim Arab armies reached the Oxus (Amu Darya), the traditional border between Iran and Turan, by 674 and began raids into Central Asia. In 751, these armies reached Talas, near modern Dzhambul, where they defeated a Chinese army and firmly established Islam as the major political and cultural force in the area.

Although initiated by the Arabs, the conversion of the Turks to Islam was filtered through Persian and Central Asian Iranian culture. Most Turks converted through the efforts of missionaries, Sufis, and merchants. At the same time, Turks entered the Muslim world proper as slaves, the booty of Arab raids and conquests. Under the Umayyads, most were domestic slaves; under the 'Abbasids, increasing numbers were trained as soldiers. By the ninth century, Turkish commanders were leading the caliphs' Turkish troops into battle, and the caliphs' Turkish guards were making and unmaking the caliphs themselves. As the 'Abbasid caliphate declined, Turkish officers assumed more and more military and political power. They took over or established provincial dynasties with their own corps of Turkish troops. Ibn Tulun (868–884) made himself virtually independent in Egypt and Syria. This process culminated when the Turkish commander Sebuktigin (977–997), who was born a pagan, established the Ghaznavid Sultanate controlling Afghanistan, eastern Iran, and northern India.

Meanwhile, Islam made great strides among the Turks in Central Asia. Around the mid-tenth century, the Qarakhanids, a Turkish dynasty that arose from a tribal confederation in the ninth century and ruled the region from Eastern Turkistan to Transoxania, became, at least nominally, Muslim. They promoted a Turkish cultural consciousness and the first Muslim Turkish literature. Also around the mid-tenth century, a certain Seljuk, the leader of the Oghuz confederation who came from the steppes north of the Caspian and Aral seas, came to Jand on the Jaxartes (Syr Darya). Subsequently, Seljuk and the Oghuz adopted Islam. In 1040, his grandsons Chaghrı; and Toghrıl defeated the Ghaznavids at Dandanqan near Merv, establishing the Seljuk Empire and opening the Middle East to the first massive immigration of Turks.

Henceforth, until the fall of the Ottoman Empire, almost every major ruling dynasty in the Muslim world was to be of Turkish origin.

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See also Epics, Turkish; Khurasan; Nomadism and Pastoralism; Ottoman Empire; Samanids; Sasanians, Islamic Traditions; Silk Roads; Slavery, Military; Slaves and Slave Trade, Eastern Islamic World

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TUS

Tus is the name of a valley district and a town near Mashhad in Khurasan in northeast Iran. Already in pre-Islamic times, several towns existed. In early Islamic times, the main towns were Tabaran, which changed into the later town of Tus, Nawqan, and Radkan. Nawqan was integrated in the growing village of Sanabad, later called Mashhad, and since 203 AH/818 CE the burial place of the eighth Shi'i imam 'Ali al-Rida. The town of Tus was finally destroyed in AH/1389. The waters that supplied it were diverted to Mashhad, which became, in Safavid times (1501–1736), the capital of the district of Tus and of all Khurasan. However, the name of Tus was mentioned still in the seventeenth centuries on Persian astrolabes.

In the sources about Tus, it is not always clear if the authors are speaking about the district or the town. According to the historian al-Baladhuri, the Sasanian governor of Tus invited the Arab governors of the Iraqi towns Kufa and Basra to Khurasan; Tus was then conquered by the latter one. During Arab and Samanid times, Tus was involved in some civil wars but did not constitute a significant local center. The 'Abbasid Caliph Harun ar-Rashid died during one of these uprisings in Sanabad in 193/809, and he was buried near the tomb of imam 'Ali al-Rida. His tomb has vanished but was still mentioned by the traveler Ibn Battuta in the fourteenth century. The main town in Samanid times was Tabaran. The Arab geographer al-Muqaddasi mentioned in 985 its citadel, main mosque, large market, and subterranean water pipes. According to him, the Muslim people were following the Shafi'i rite. Tus was also mentioned by the later geographers like Idrisi (1154), Yaqut (d. 1229) and Ibn Battuta (fourteenth century), who did visit it.

After 995, the district of Tus became part of the Ghaznavid empire, but after 1030 the Turk Seljuks penetrated into it. Tus was conquered in 430/1038–1039, and, in 1072, it was given as a fief to the Seljuq vizier Nizam al-Mulk, who had been born there. During the second half of the twelfth century, Tus was ruled by a local dynasty, the al-Mu'aiyad family. The Mongols arrived in Tus by 1220 and raided it one year later, killing most of the inhabitants. The Mongol governor of Tus, a Buddhist by the name of Kürküz, ordered the rebuilding of the city in 1239.

In 497, the sources mention a Nestorian bishop of Tus and Abarshahr (Nishapur), but, for Islamic times, there is little information available about the plight of Christianity in that district. Only from the Mongol period is there some news about Christians: the future Jerusalem patriarch Yahballaha visited Tus during his travel to Jerusalem in 1278 and was saved by the monks and the bishop in the cloister Mar Sehyon. One year later, the bishop of Tus was ordained as the metropolitan of China. In 1381, Timur came to Tus. After revolts, the town was ravaged completely by the Timurid Miran Shah in 791/1389, and it is said that ten thousand people were killed. Although the town was ordered rebuilt by Shah Rukh in 1405 (and again by Ulugh Bek in 1407), it never did recover, and it was reduced to a small village. This decline was mainly connected with the uprising of Mashhad as a main pilgrim town for the Shi'is.

The district of Tus was the birthplace of the Persian poet Firdausi. In the town of Tus itself, Nizam al-Mulk, the polymath and astronomer Nasir ad-Din at-Tusi, and also the Shi'i scholar Muhammad bin al-Hasan at-Tusi (d. 1065 or 1067) were born.

The district of Tus was producing wheat, stone vessels, mats, and special striped clothes. It was famous for its special trouser bands, which were regarded as well as the most famous Armenian ones. During the thirteenth century, the stone vessels are

still mentioned, and Idrisi also mentions mines for turquoise, silver, copper, iron, and rock crystal. Only a few archaeological monuments of the town of Tabaran/Tus survived. The city walls made from mud brick enclose an area of approximately one kilometer across, sporting nine gates and more than a hundred towers. North of the city lies the citadel, with twelve towers, and a castle with nine towers inside.

Within the city walls is the tomb of Firdausi (the modern tomb was constructed during the early twentieth century, during the Pahlavi period), and a monument with a central dome and minor cupolas remained, the so-called Haruniya Mausoleum. Its architectural and stucco decoration style recall the Sultan Sanjar Mausoleum in Merv (built 1157).

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See also 'Ali al-Rida; Khurasan; Nizam al-Mulk

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TUSI, AL-, MUHAMMAD IBN HASAN

Muhammad b. al-Hasan al-Tusi, Shaykh al-Ta'ifa (d. AH 460/1067 CE), was a Baghdad-based Twelver Shi'i jurisprudent and compiler of two well-known collections of the imams' traditions, *Tahdhib al-Ahkam (The Rectification of Judgments)* and the later *al-Istibsar fi ma Ukhtulifa Fihi min al-Akhbar (The Consideration on Those Traditions Which are Disputed)*, which, together with al-Kulayni's *al-Kafi* and Ibn Babawayh's *al-Faqih,* have come to be called "the four books" that are the key compilations of the imams' traditions that were compiled after the disappearance of the twelfth imam in 260/873–874.

Despite the tolerance of the Buwayhid regents, during this period Baghdad was experiencing yet another resurgence of Sunni traditionism and, specifically, anti-Shi'i feeling and a wave of Sunni-Shi'i "incidents." At the same time, the small Twelver community itself, one of many contemporary Shi'i groups, was accepting that the Imam's absence (occultation) from the community would be prolonged. Al-Tusi himself had studied with key rationalist and traditionist scholars who, respectively, favored increasingly less and increasingly more reliance on the imams' hadith (tradition) to adjudicate issues of doctrine and practice in the interim (until the imam's return).

Al-Tusi, through these two hadith collections as well as other key works of theology and fiqh, charted a middle course between these two extremes. In the process, he commenced the process of devolving to the *faqih* (the jurisprudent), whom he postulated as trained in both the rationalist and traditionist sciences, and increasing responsibility for a growing number of the imam's theological and practical duties during the occultation. The latter process culminated in the doctrine of *wilayat al-faqih* (deputy-ship of the jurisprudent) as enunciated by the late Ayatallah Khomeini (d. 1989).

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See also al-Kulayni; Ibn Babawayh

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TUSI, AL-, NASIR AL-DIN (1201–1274 CE)

The continuity of philosophical and scientific inquiry in medieval Islam coupled with the material resources offered to it by official patronage owe much to the role and efforts of the Shi'i philosopher, scientist, and polymath Nasir al-Din al-Tusi during the thirteenth century. He defended Ibn Sina from the criticisms leveled against him from the direction of theology (most notably by Fakhr al-Din al-Razi), he made a significant contribution to the acceptance of metaphysical argumentation and terminology in Twelver Shi'i theology, he brought the ethical tradition of Ibn Miskawayh and the philosophers into the center of Islamic ethical discourse, and he had a lasting effect on the study of the exact sciences in Islam through both his original contributions to mathematics and astronomy and the observatory at Maraghah, which the Mongol Khan Hülegü established for him.

Nasir al-Din Muhammad ibn Muhammad al-Tusi was born in Tus in Khurasan in northwest Iran in 1201 into a Twelver Shi'i learned family. Along with his studies in jurisprudence, he developed an interest in philosophy and was attached to the Nizamiyya madrasa in Nishapur, studying with Farid al-Din Damad al-Nisaburi (d. ca. 1221), a thinker whose philosophical lineage stretched back to Ibn Sina. Damad had been a student of Fakhr al-Din al-Razi as well, and so al-Tusi became acquainted with the ideas of the famous Sunni theologian. The Mongol sack of the city in 1221 forced him to move. He proceeded to Mosul, where he studied mathematics, astronomy,

and logic with Kamal al-Din Musa ibn Yunus al-Shafi'i (d. 1242). As a result of his studies, in 1233 he wrote *Asas al-Iqtibas*, a pioneering work of Avicennan logic in Persian. His intellectual and spiritual curiosity and growing renown drew him to the attention of the Nizari Isma'ilis of Quhistan. He attached himself to the court of 'Ala' al-Din Muhammad and wrote major works of Isma'ili theology and mysticism (e.g. *Rawdat al-Taslim, Sayr va Suluk*), a pioneering work of ethics entitled *Akhlaq-i Muhtashami* (later edited and renamed during his post-Isma'ili period), and his influential commentary on Ibn Sina's *al-Isharat wa-l-Tanbihat (Pointers and Reminders)*.

For about twenty years, he remained a faithful follower and contributor to the cause, despite his later allegation that he was held against his will in the fortress of Alamut. The Mongol defeat of the Isma'ilis in 1256 brought this to an end. He became a negotiator and advisor to the Mongol conquerer Hülegü at the sack of Baghdad in 1258 and was later put in charge of religious endowments. At this point, he reverted back to Twelver Shi'ism. The Mongols had a great observatory and library at Maraghah in Azerbaijan built for al-Tusi, where he led a team of scientists and mathematicians. It is clear that immense resources were put at his disposal for this project, where the teaching and study of philosophy went on hand in hand with that of the exact sciences. The codices that have survived from that period testify to the intimate complementarity of philosophy and science in the curriculum and intellectual curiosity of the time. He signaled his change of religious affiliation by writing a critique of the crypto-Isma'ili theologian al-Shahrastani (d. 1153) entitled *Musari' al-Musari' (Wrestling With the Wrestling)* and penned a short but influential metaphysical exposition of Twelver theology, *Tajrid al-I'tiqad (Sublimation of Belief)*. He trained a number of important thinkers, including the illuminationist philosopher and scientist Qutb al-Din al-Shirazi (d. 1310) and the Twelver theologian al-'Allama al-Hilli (d. 1325). He died in Baghdad in 1274, and, in accordance with his wishes, was buried in the precinct of the shrine of the seventh Imam Musa al-Kazim in Kazimayn on the southern outskirts of the city.

He made a wide-ranging contribution to the pursuit of knowledge. His commentary on Ibn Sina's *al-Isharat* was the basis of his philosophical reputation, and it was in part a refutation of the hostile commentary of Fakhr al-Din al-Razi. His major ethical work was a manual that developed from an early draft dedicated to precepts to a major work of philosophical ethics that was divided into three parts: (1) ethics (akhlaq), (2) domestic economics *(tadbir-i manzil)*, and (3) politics *(siyasat-i mudun)*. This scheme set the pattern for subsequent works about practical philosophy in the Islamic tradition. The first part on ethics is modelled on Ibn Miskawayh's *Tahdhib al-Akhlaq (Cultivation of Morals)*, of which the work was initially commissioned to be merely a Persian translation. The sources of the second part about domestic economics are the Arabic translation of Bryson's *Oikonomikos* and a text by Ibn Sina, *Kitab al-Siyasa (Book of Politics)*, whereas the third part, about politics, goes back to al-Farabi's *Kitab al-Siyasa al-Madaniyya (The Political Regime)* and *Fusul al-Madani (Aphorisms of the Statesman)*. The concern with justice and love in this work illustrates his continuing affiliation with and interest in mysticism and Twelver theology.

Throughout his life, al-Tusi was a prolific writer in mathematics and the natural sciences, and he made advances in trigonometry, mathematics, and astronomy. This aspect of his intellectual endeavor was eventually rewarded with the foundation of the Maraghah observatory. The result of the astronomical observations and calculations made there was the famous tables of the Zij-i Ilkhani (in Persian, but also translated into Arabic). The setting up of the observatory and the institutionalization of the rational sciences created a demand for teaching materials; al-Tusi was himself the author of a number of recensions *(tahrir)* of scientific texts as well as summaries and abridgments of theological, logical, and philosophical texts, which were clearly intended to supply this teaching need. Al-Tusi's lasting influence can be seen in the subsequent surge of activity in the rational sciences in the Islamic east as well as in their absorption into religious education, which in turn affected the development of theology, particularly among Shi'i scholars.

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U

'UMAR IBN 'ABD AL-'AZIZ

'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz was the Umayyad caliph who ruled from 717 until 720 CE. His popularity with his subjects and his pious persona make him a unique figure in the Umayyad dynasty. Before becoming caliph, he served as governor in Medina and in Mecca and Ta'if from 706 to 712. Here his leniency toward his subjects brought objections from harsher Umayyad officials, particularly al-Hajjaj ibn Yusuf, the governor of the East. He became a confidant to his predecessor as caliph, Sulayman ibn 'Abd al-Malik, who overturned his father's wishes by naming 'Umar instead of his brother Yazid as his successor. The circumstances of 'Umar's appointment were quite unusual. Sulayman conveyed his deathbed wish to substitute 'Umar for Yazid to his trusted advisor Raja' b. Haywa, who then convinced the assembled Umayyad leaders to accept Sulayman's choice without actually revealing whom he had designated. The peculiar rise of 'Umar has brought speculation that Raja' orchestrated a coup d'état, or that the Umayyad family was uncomfortable empowering the more wanton Yazid.

As caliph, 'Umar instituted significant policy changes. He severely curtailed military operations on the frontiers and abandoned the expensive and unsuccessful siege of Constantinople that was begun by Sulayman. Whether these choices reflect a different philosophy about expansion or a recognition of fiscal realities is debated. 'Umar also restructured the empire's tax regime, lightening the tax burden on new, predominantly non-Arab converts to Islam. His "fiscal rescript" is often cited as evidence of his pious insistence that all Muslims be treated equally, regardless of financial consequences for the treasury. The ambiguity of both the existing taxation system and 'Umar's reform make it difficult to assess the degree of tax relief he provided. Some modern studies suggest that his objective was to standardize and centralize taxation rather than to lessen the burden on new converts.

Although 'Umar's reforms were short-lived, his image as a pious leader continued to grow after his death. Later 'Abbasid historians treated him as the single exception to the Umayyad tendency toward depravity and even elevated him to the ranks of the *Rashidun* (the Rightly-Guided Caliphs). Hints of messianic expectations of 'Umar also appear in the sources; the unusual nature of his rise to power, his uniquely pious persona, and the fact that he reigned during the centennial of the hijra certainly contributed to such speculation.

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'UMAR IBN AL-FARID

Ibn al-Farid is one of the greatest mystical poets of Islam. He was born in Cairo, Egypt, in 1181 CE, and was raised by his father, who was a respected *farid* (an advocate for women in legal cases), hence 'Umar's title *Ibn al-Farid* or "son of the women's advocate." Ibn al-Farid studied Sufism and Arabic literature, and he memorized the traditions of the prophet Muhammad (hadith) with al-Qasim ibn 'Ali Ibn 'Asakir (d. 1203). Like his father, 'Umar was a member of the Shafi'i school of jurisprudence. As a young man, Ibn al-Farid went on pilgrimage to Mecca, where he stayed for about fifteen years. He then returned to Cairo, where he taught the traditions of the Prophet Muhammad and poetry at the al-Azhar congregational mosque.

Ibn al-Farid married and had at least two sons and a daughter. He died in Cairo in 1235 CE. Ibn al-Farid's diwan (collected poems) is composed of more than a dozen poems, including love poems and odes, together with several dozen quatrains and riddles. The spiritual dimension of this verse is suggested by Ibn al-Farid's frequent allusions to God, the Qur'an, the Prophet Muhammad, and Sufi doctrines. His *al-Khamriyya (Wine Ode)* in particular has been regarded for centuries as one of the finest Muslim allegories about mystical love. However, even more celebrated has been Ibn al-Farid's *Nazm al-Suluk (Poem of the Sufi Way)*, also known as the *al-Ta'iyya al-Kubra (Ode Rhyming in T-Major)*, the longest and most famous Arabic mystical poem. Within this poem's 760 verses, Ibn al-Farid addressed a number of religious and, especially, mystical themes centered on the love between human beings and God. Often taking the role as a guide for the perplexed, the poet offers instruction and advice on such matters as unselfish love, spiritual intoxication and illumination, the pains of separation from the beloved, and the indescribable joy of union.

Ibn al-Farid portrays creation as intimately involved with its divine creator. Thus, when seen aright, everything in life reveals a ray of supernal light. This mystical view is mirrored in the refined and sophisticated beauty of Ibn al-Farid's verse, which strongly influenced later generations of medieval Arab poets and led to his veneration as a saint known as *sultan al-'ashiqin* ("the sultan of lovers").

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See also Al-Azhar; Sufism; Schools of Jurisprudence

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'UMAR IBN AL-KHATTAB

'Umar ibn al-Khattab was the second ruler of the Islamic state after the death of Muhammad, reigning from 634 to 644 CE. Before becoming caliph, 'Umar was a close advisor to his predecessor, Abu Bakr. In fact, some sources suggest that he (rather than Abu Bakr) exercised real authority after Muhammad's death. When the ailing Abu Bakr named 'Umar his successor, there was little objection from the community. Some Shi'i sources, however, suggest that Abu Bakr and 'Umar colluded to deprive 'Ali ibn Abi Talib of power.

'Umar's reign was pivotal for the young Islamic polity. With much of the Arabian peninsula subdued during Abu Bakr's reign, 'Umar turned his attention outward, embarking on a series of successful military campaigns against the Byzantine and Sasanian empires. By the end of his reign, Muslim forces had wrested Syria and Egypt from the Byzantines and had taken the Sasanian capital at Cteisphon. 'Umar himself did not lead the troops into battle but instead directed his generals from Medina. His only foray into the field was his visit to Jerusalem in 638, when he accepted the surrender of the city personally. His refusal to pray at the Church of the Holy Sepulcher for fear that his followers would subsequently transform it into a mosque is frequently cited as evidence of his tolerance toward other faiths. Scholars debate the extent to which 'Umar coordinated the conquests. Some argue that 'Umar merely allowed the conquests as an outlet for ambitious tribal leaders to gain spoils; other scholars have found evidence of significant centralized planning, suggesting that 'Umar firmly controlled the Muslim forces.

Regardless of the extent to which 'Umar directed the conquests, the task of administering the newly created empire fell to him. His choices about the disposition of conquered lands and the treatment of non-Muslim subjects shaped the Muslim polity for

centuries to come. Rather than distributing land to the troops as spoils, 'Umar opted to retain communal control over much of the conquered land, using the land's revenue to fund soldiers' stipends. He established the *diwan* (registry) to fix stipends for soldiers based on how early they had converted to Islam. The soldiers were housed in newly established garrison towns (the most notable of which were Kufa and Basra in Iraq) to ensure that the Muslim forces did not disperse and that they remained ready for combat. 'Umar also began to clarify the rights and responsibilities of the *dhimmi* (the non-Muslim natives who had submitted to his authority).

'Umar's reign was cut short when he was mortally wounded by a disgruntled slave. Before succumbing to his wounds, 'Umar selected a committee of six trusted followers to choose his successor. After their *shura* (consultation), they settled on 'Uthman ibn Affan as the next caliph. This process of consultation is cited in modern times as a precedent for democratic institutions in Islam.

Some historical sources suggest messianic undertones to 'Umar's reign, a theme some modern scholars have pursued as well. In particular, his epithet *al-Faruq,* which is similar to the Syriac term for savior, and his visit to Jerusalem have been the focus of such speculation. In addition, 'Umar appears quite frequently in Islamic legal texts as an exemplar. The fact that his conduct—rather than that of Abu Bakr or Muhammad—is often cited as a precedent reflects his role in shaping Islamic law and administration. Whether this is evidence of messianic adoration or simply a reflection of the many new issues he confronted as the leader of a larger and more complex community is difficult to ascertain.

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See also Abu Bakr; Polity (Umma); Consultation (Shura); 'Ali ibn Abi Talib; Dhimma

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UMAYYAD MOSQUE, DAMASCUS

Built between 705/706 and 715 CE, the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus was considered one of the wonders of the medieval Islamic world. The mosque was the epitome of an architectural program sponsored by the Umayyad Caliph al-Walid I (r. 705–715), son of 'Abd al-Malik (r. 685–705), who built the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem (692). The mosque appropriated the site of the Christian cathedral of St. John, which had itself replaced a temple of Jupiter Damascenus; some of the columns reused in the mosque bear inscriptions attesting to different phases of use in temple and church.

Despite frequent fire damage and multiple restorations, the basic details of the eighth-century mosque have been preserved. The church, which probably stood at the center of the pre-Islamic sanctuary, was demolished, but the massive rectangular outer stone walls of the sanctuary were retained, as were its two southern corner towers, which formed the bases of two minarets. Access was via three monumental gates located in the centers of the eastern, western, and northern walls of the sanctuary. The space enclosed by the walls was occupied by a hypostyle mosque consisting of a courtyard surrounded on three sides by a narrow *riwaq* (arcade), which led to a prayer hall about 120 meters long that was built against the south side of the ancient enclosure wall. The façade of the prayer hall was distinguished by a monumental gabled entrance similar to the façades of earlier Syrian basilicas but comparable also to the entrance to the palace of the Byzantine emperors in Constantinople.

The prayer hall consisted of three bays running parallel to the south wall, which was approximately aligned toward Mecca, its superstructure borne on a double arcade. The aisles were bisected at their center by a wide axial nave leading from the courtyard façade to a monumental dome that preceded the *mihrab* (a concave niche). A private entrance by the mihrab led directly into the Umayyad palace, which lay behind the southern wall. The two were also connected by an extensive arcade that led from the Bab al-Ziyada, a gate at the eastern end of the south wall of the mosque that contained a monumental water clock that featured automata.

In its original form, the mosque was lavishly decorated with gilded carved marble, including a famous vine scroll and epigraphic bands. It was embellished throughout with glass mosaics, the surviving portions of which depict pastoral scenes, multitiered buildings,

pavilions, bridges over rivers, and gigantic trees. Their high quality and references in the medieval sources to assistance from the Byzantine emperor have led to speculation about the involvement of craftsmen from Constantinople in the mosaic decorations. Their meaning has long been a matter of contention, with scholars split between a paradisal interpretation and one that sees them as continuing a tradition of topographic representation known from the floor mosaics of Jordanian churches.

The Damascus mosque witnesses a reconfiguration and reformulation of formal and decorative elements drawn from a local Syrian as well as an imperial Byzantine repertoire, continuing a trend begun a generation earlier in the Dome of the Rock. The introduction of common features such as the axial nave, mihrab, dome, and glass mosaics in the mosques rebuilt by al-Walid in Arabia, Syria, and North Africa amounts to the dissemination of an imperial architectural style designed to project both the ascendancy of the new religion and the political aspirations of the Umayyad dynasty.

Even after 750 CE (when the seat of the caliphate moved to Iraq), in places as diverse as Cordoba in Andalusia and Ghazna in Afghanistan, the Damascus mosque provided the standard against which many medieval mosques were measured. Moreover, its characteristic three longitudinal aisles and gabled façade set the tone for medieval mosque architecture in Syria and the Jazira. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the mosque inspired the decoration of a series of monuments built by the Mamluk sultans of Egypt and Syria.

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See also ʻAbd al-Malik ibn Marwan; Damascus; Dome of the Rock, Mosaics; Umayyads; Syria, Greater Syria

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UMAYYADS

The Umayyad dynasty of caliphs ruled all of the lands conquered by the Arab Muslims from 661 until 749/750 CE. Following the overthrow of the dynasty and the killing of several members of the Umayyad family, ʻAbd al-Rahman, a grandson of the caliph Hisham (724–743), established himself as ruler of Islamic Spain (al-Andalus). He became the ancestor of a long line of Umayyad rulers of al-Andalus, who, between 929 and 1027, used the title of caliph.

Origins

According to the Islamic genealogical tradition, the Umayyad family was a part of Quraysh, the clan that dominated Mecca before Islam and to which the Prophet Muhammad and many other prominent early Muslims belonged. The Umayyads descend from a certain Umayya, son of ʻAbd Shams of Quraysh. ʻAbd Shams was the brother and rival of Hashim, the ancestor not only of the Prophet but also of the ʻAbbasid family that seized the caliphate from the Umayyads in 749/750. The Umayyad family had become rich and powerful during the lifetime of the Prophet and was prominent in the Meccan opposition to him. The leaders of the family only submitted to the Prophet and entered Islam toward the end of Muhammad's life, when it had become clear to them that he was going to be victorious.

Muʻawiya, the first of the line, was generally accepted as caliph after the killing of ʻAli in 661. ʻAli, the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet, had himself claimed the caliphate after the murder of the caliph ʻUthman in 656. Like his cousin Muʻawiya, ʻUthman had been a grandson of Umayya, and there are some grounds for seeing him as the first Umayyad caliph, although the historical tradition only begins the line with Muʻawiya. The latter had been governor of Syria since 636, and he refused to accept ʻAli's claims to the caliphate. He put himself forward as having the right to seek vengeance on those who had murdered his cousin, and a period of civil war (the *fitna*) followed the killing of ʻUthman. Muʻawiya and ʻAli fought against each other indecisively, but, when ʻAli himself

Interior view of the Great Mosque. Umayyad caliphate (Moorish). Tenth CE. Credit: Art Resource, NY. Mosque, Cordoba, Spain.

was assassinated in 661, Mu'awiya was best placed to take over the caliphate.

For the next ninety years or so, all of the caliphs were descendants of Umayya, and Muslim tradition contrasts this introduction of the dynastic principle unfavorably with the pre-Umayyad caliphate, when, it claims, caliphs were chosen according to merit and after some consultation. The Umayyad caliphs are divided traditionally into two branches. The first three caliphs (Mu'awiya, his son Yazid I, and the latter's short-lived son and successor Mu'awiya II) are referred to as Sufyanids, after Mu'awiya's father, Abu Sufyan. After the death of Yazid I in 683, another period of civil war saw the caliphate pass into the hands of Marwan I, the leader of a collateral branch of the Umayyad family. All of the remaining Umayyad caliphs were descendants of Marwan and are therefore referred to as Marwanids.

Significance

The Umayyads ruled at the crucial time when important cultural developments arising from the Arab Muslim conquest of the former Byzantine and Sasanid territories were taking effect. Those developments may be summarized as the emergence of Islam as the religion and culture of the region extending from Central Asia through North Africa into parts of southern Europe. That process was certainly not complete by the time the Umayyad caliphate was overthrown, but, in general, the period of the Umayyad caliphate can be understood as one that saw the transition from the world of Late Antiquity to that of Islam.

Essentially, the period saw the formation of a new society with an Islamic and Arabic identity in which

the original separation of Arab Muslim conquerors from the non-Arab, non-Muslim subjects was broken down. Arabs and non-Arabs began to be assimilated so that the majority of people identified as Muslims, and Arabic became the dominant language of both high culture and everyday communication. That did not happen everywhere to the same extent or at the same speed, but by the end of the Umayyad period the process was under way. Its outcome was the emergence of a distinctive Arabic and Islamic civilization, many aspects of which were developed from the preconquest Middle East and the Mediterranean world.

Much of that occurred independently of—and even in contradiction to—the intentions of the Umayyad rulers. Originally the Arab empire had assumed the more or less complete separation of the Arab Muslim conquerors from the subject peoples; the latter were expected to contribute the taxes that would support the Arab elite. Islam was viewed as the prerogative of the Arabs, and it was not expected that many non-Arabs would enter it; however, right from the start, there were some who did.

The mechanism by which they could do so was that of clientage *(wala')*. Islam and Arab identity were so closely tied together that, in order for a non-Arab to become a Muslim, he in effect had to become an Arab. He did that by becoming the client *(mawla)* of an Arab patron and thus acquiring an Arab identity. Both the patron and the client assumed certain duties to one another and obtained certain advantages. For the client, those advantages included protection from the fiscal demands of the Umayyad authorities and employment; naturally that would make the status attractive to those among the conquered who lacked social status and economic power. As the idea grew that Islam should be open to all, regardless of ethnic origin, the attempts by the Umayyads to prevent the movement into Islam of their non-Arab subjects came to be seen as un-Islamic, and that has much to do with the reputation for impiety that they have in the Muslim historical tradition.

Alternatively, the Umayyads did much to establish the conditions necessary for the development of the new Arab Muslim civilization. When Mu'awiya took over the caliphate, Arab rule did not reach much beyond Libya in the west and the eastern parts of Iran in the east, and even much of that territory must have been held only insecurely. By the end of their caliphate, it had been extended, as a result mainly of centrally organized campaigns, from central Asia to the Atlantic. In the armies of the Umayyads, the Arabs were supported by increasing numbers drawn from the non-Arab subjects.

The territories thus conquered were controlled by an administrative system that was centered on governors and tax collectors and that intended to funnel revenues from the provinces to the center. Much of the administrative system had been taken over from the two empires that the Arabs had displaced, but, by the time of the caliph 'Abd al-Malik (685–705) and his son al-Walid (705–715), a significant Arab and Muslim character was evident. It was around that time that Arabic was adopted as the official language of the administration (although the situation did not change overnight), and a new and distinctive Islamic coinage was introduced. Those two caliphates also saw the first major achievements of a new style of architecture, with the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa mosque in Jerusalem and the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina.

Downfall

The Umayyad caliphs saw themselves as the absolute leaders of Islam, subject only to God. The caliphal title for them meant "Deputy of God" *(khalifat Allah)*, and obedience to them was a religious duty. Their opponents, too, usually expressed their protests in religious terms, and both Kharijite and Shi'i rebels rejected the legitimacy of the Umayyads. Their overthrow, which was facilitated by rivalries within the family and factionalism in the army, was brought about by a Shi'i revolt that began in Khurasan in northeastern Iran and that aimed to establish the caliphate in the family of the Prophet. The Sunni tradition of Islam also grew out of circles that had been opposed to the Umayyads. The result, therefore, is that the Islamic historical tradition, which crystallized after the overthrow of the Umayyads, tends to look upon them with disfavor, ranging from the complete rejection of them by the Shi'is to a more ambiguous disapproval on the part of most Sunnis. This attitude has often led to the view that their rule was not a real caliphate but merely a kingship.

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URBANISM

The Muslim conquest occurred in two stages. The first one was led by Arab armies, assisted by Islamized Iranians or Berbers, and began in 635 CE. Within a century, Islam spread all over western Asia (with the exception of Anatolia), reaching the edges of Indian, Chinese, and Turkish territories; it also spread over the whole of northern Africa and the largest portion of the Iberian Peninsula. After 750, the massive quest to expand slowed, and then it stopped for three centuries. The second conquest, led predominantly by Turkish armies, began in about 1040 in Armenia, Caucasus, and Anatolia. It continued for five centuries, alternating between successes and failures, until the sixteenth century, when the Ottoman Empire controlled Anatolia, the Balkans, and the greatest part of the Arab-speaking countries around the Mediterranean Sea (except for Morocco). At the same time, Safavid rule dominated Persia, and the Mughals ruled the Indian Peninsula. Conversely, the Arab and the Jewish populations were driven away from the Iberian Peninsula by the Catholic kings of Castilla.

In this immense Muslim area that stretched from the Atlantic Ocean to the deserts of Central Asia, the climate was relatively homogenous: quite hot and dry. Numerous towns thrived; most of them were more or less devoted to trade. Ancient cities were Islamized or new cities were established by the Muslims; all of these were suitable to the climatic environment and moving toward a model that was unique for the time.

Usually the towns that were grouped together were protected with fortification, with convenient access to water, rivers, underground canals, springs, wells, or tanks. Until the twelfth century, towns were often protected by a great wall, but this was more symbolic than effective against invasions. A green belt of orchards, market gardens, and kitchen gardens irrigated by shrewd hydraulic techniques enclosed most of the urban territory; this ensured city dwellers a large part of their sustenance and offered them a shaded paradise for their leisure time during summer.

The town's layout was haphazard, and the most frequent layout was a great intersection of narrow lanes that crossed at the center of the town, near the Friday mosque. Between these radiating streets, which were often lined by the *souk* (market) stalls, each inside quarter was inhabited by extended patriarchal families living in single-story houses (although occasionally the houses had two or three floors) built around open courtyards. The local community was homogeneous, closely linked by blood, tribal, ethnic, linguistic, or religious relationships. Strict politeness protocols dictated the notables' inter-quarter visits to avoid clashes between passionate youth.

Close attention was paid to a family's honor, the result of a strict endogamy that forbade women to go outside of the close community neighborhood. A wooden screen *(mushrabiyya)* of intricate geometric lattice work on windows allowed a woman inside to see out without being seen. Only dead-end streets with semi-private status led from the main streets inside the quarter; this prevented anyone from crossing the quarter from one radiated lane to another. Thus, one wishing to travel from one quarter to another had to cross through the center of the town.

The inside courtyard, open to the sky, was the domain of women; here grew flowers and ornamental or fruit trees. A pond with fish provided an image of nature in the countryside. A staircase allowed a woman to climb to the flat roof *(sath)*, where she could speak to neighboring females. In the rainy countries, ridge roofs *(saqf)* were often built. In Yemen, high tower houses were devoid of this type of courtyard. In overcrowded harbors (e.g., Eastern Tripoli) and large towns (e.g., Baghdad, Basra, Mamluk Cairo), a lack of space forced inhabitants to build many-storied buildings with independent flats (Egyptian *rab'*).

In the streets, there were no carts; huge bundles were carried on camels from outside to the large khans set up near the doors in the city walls. Donkeys then carried goods from the khans to the shops, stalls, or houses. Although the lanes were tortuous, with reed hurdles, pedestrians could enjoy cool shade, and there was no dusty desert wind. Ancient Roman avenues, broad and straight, were not so suited to this dry and hot climate. As seen by a pedestrian, the city looked like a labyrinth inside blank walls; however, upon ascending a minaret, one could see many open spaces, the courtyards of mosques and houses, and dark green vegetation enveloping nearly every building.

Unlike Italian medieval towns, the street façades outside of the houses of nobles were neither high nor monumental. The owner's fortune was measured by the expanse of the plot, allowing a large family to live with an extensive household staff; this is why a long distance between the main entries of houses on a street was the sign of a wealthy quarter. In these little palaces, there were many courtyards, some being strictly domestic *(haramlik)*, whereas others were open to visitors *(salamlik)*. According to the local supplies and customs, builders used stone, mud, wood, cob, and crude or baked bricks. The frame of the building was fitted more to the comfort of the inhabitants than to an orthogonal, geometric, and symmetric pre-established drawing. Changing with the seasons, furniture (trays used as portable tables, mats, rugs, or mattresses) could be carried easily from

one room to another. Roofed spaces with three walls *(iwan)* gave everyone shelter from sun or wind and opened onto the courtyard, with free access to the view, the light, and the fresh air. On the walls, one could see many kinds of artistic decorations: carved stones or stuccoes, colorful frescoes or ceramic tiles, and sometimes skillful games created with plain building materials.

The vast public square inside a city, around which was organized the Italian medieval town, was generally absent from the Muslim medieval town (apart from the courtyard in the Friday mosque). Outside of the city, near the external walls, the *maydan* was an empty area devoted to military training for the cavalry that was also suitable for the weekly animal markets and to set up camps for the caravans for a few days. This area was often located at the confluence of wadis' valleys; this area was wet and of easy use, unless an unexpected flood devastated everything. During the first centuries of Islam, this danger was sometimes forgotten, and, because of the quick expansion of cities, permanent structures were erected. Arab historians report that hundreds of inhabitants drowned during the first huge rainstorm in this type of suburb.

The nobles' houses were generally in the center, near the Friday mosque. In the souks nearby, one could find Christian or Jewish jewellers or money changers; Muslim manuscript copyists and binders; and merchants of precious goods such as medical drugs, scents, fine leather slippers, and books. In the area of town closer to the external walls, the social status was lower; cheaper goods or objects that were considered unpleasant because of the noise or the stench and pollution linked with their production were offered in these remote souks. Near the city's gates or in the suburbs, one may find prostitutes, rowdies, poor villagers, army deserters, and also Bedouins without tribe or slaves without masters. They lived in huts around large clay courts *(hawsh)* that were used for livestock farming. Near the city's doors, city inhabitants were buried in cemeteries, according to their family, tribal, religious, or Sufi affiliation. The Qarafas (vast areas allocated to the tombs around Fustat and Cairo) were often colonized by provincial families looking for work in the capital. Everywhere, nearby suburbs and cemeteries were built when the growth of the number of inhabitants forced to the walls of the city to come down and urban territory to spread.

The primary duties of a Muslim sovereign were to protect the community from outside enemies and to maintain Islamic law and public order. Alternatively, there were also minimal edilitary duties, such as water irrigation and mending the lanes and the sewage systems, which allowed city dwellers to wash themselves. These duties began to be put in the control of the private sector; the nobles held them financially through the waqf system. Out of their purses, they built schools (*kuttab* for little children, *madrasas* for students), hospitals *(bimaristan)*, convents for Sufis *(khanaqah)*, drinking fountains *(sabil)*, baths *(hammam)* public hostels for travelers, and warehouses for goods *(funduq, khan, wikala)*. In addition, they rented out houses, shops, and gardens to pay the expenses for the waqf's work. Often a waqf monument distinguished itself by having a finely wrought façade and a huge carved wood door. Until recent times, the numerous Zankid, Ayyubid, and Mamluk waqf buildings lent their charm to the ancient town centers in Damascus, Aleppo, and the Arab part of Jerusalem.

From the seventh to the seventeenth century, Muslim towns evolved significantly. During the twelfth century, political power was in the hands of the military. Huge citadels dominated towns and symbolized a new order, violent and unequal. In Cairo, under the Mamluk dynasty (thirteenth–sixteenth century), the palaces of the emirs show a beautiful façade with a high door that one can cross without coming down from his or her horse. The Friday mosque was no longer a symbol of the unity of a city's people; now, even Friday at noon, most male inhabitants prayed in their quarter mosque.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Muslim territories were divided into three major groups. The Turkish Ottoman Empire dominated the Balkans in Europa, Turkish-speaking Anatolia, and all Arab-speaking countries around the Mediterranean Sea (except Morocco). Here the greater mosques were built in stone and covered by high domes that were modeled on the Byzantine tradition. Slim pencil minarets dashed toward the sky; courtyards were external, around the mosque.

The Iranian Sasanian Empire overcame the Persian-speaking territories and some neighboring Turkish-speaking provinces. Here greater mosques were built with mud bricks but decorated with marvelous glazed tiles. Four high pishtaq iwans opened onto a vast inside courtyard. Minarets were as high as the Ottoman ones but quite larger and not so strictly cylindrical.

The Indian Peninsula was for the most part under the rule of the Mughal sultans. In their beautiful mosques, they skillfully mixed Persian and Indian decorating styles. Despite these differences, many of the characteristics of Muslim cities continued throughout the whole of Dar al-Islam until the middle of the nineteenth century.

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See also Primary Schools (Kuttab); Madrasa

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USAMA IBN MUNQIDH

A twelfth-century Syrian Muslim warrior and man of letters, Usama ibn Munqidh was best known for his poetry and, above all, for his autobiographical anecdotes and his observations about the customs of the Frankish Crusaders who settled in the Levant.

Born on July 4, 1095 CE at the family castle of Shayzar in northern Syria, Usama ibn Munqidh (or Usama ibn Murshid ibn ʻAli ibn Munqidh) was the most famous member of the Banu Munqidh, a small Arab clan that became influential in the affairs of northern Syria starting in the middle of the eleventh century. Usama's early years were some of the most momentous decades in Syrian history, a period that saw the arrival of the First Crusade (1097–1099), the consolidation of Seljuk authority, and the spread of the Nizari Ismaʻilis into Syria. These first decades at Shayzar were for Usama his golden years, when he learned to acquire all the manly polish expected of an amir of his day, fighting Muslim and Crusader enemies, hunting, and trying his hand at poetry. Unfortunately, Usama's uncle later exiled Usama from Shayzar in 1131, seeing in him a rival to his plans to place control of Shayzar solidly in the hands of his own sons.

After leaving Shayzar, Usama sought service in the nearby principality of Homs, which was just then under attack by the ambitious atabeg of Mosul, the warlord Zanki (see Zankids). When Homs finally fell to Zanki, Usama was captured, and it appears that he entered the service of the atabeg. In 1137, however, Usama was obliged to return to Shayzar first upon news of his father's death and later in 1138 to help defend his family home from a joint Byzantine–Crusader siege.

It was at this point, after the siege had lifted, that Usama left the service of Zanki and made for Damascus and the court of Muʻin al-Din Unur, the atabeg of the Burid prince Mahmud. One of Unur's principal concerns was establishing a truce with the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem so that he might better focus his resources on the growing threat of Zanki in the north. As part of that goal, Usama and Unur made many visits into Crusader territory, and these form the background of his celebrated observations about the Frankish character in his later "memoirs." Usama eventually found himself caught up in the intrigues of the court in Damascus, however, and, by 1144, he had fled the city for the more sophisticated world of Fatimid Cairo.

Usama's decade of service (1144–1154) to the Fatimid caliphs of Egypt was the pinnacle of his political career. While there, his skills as a soldier, boon companion, and adviser were richly rewarded, and Usama himself experienced a level of personal influence that he had never before tasted. His diplomatic skills were also of use, as in the (failed) Fatimid attempt to enlist the support of Zanki's son and heir Nur al-Din in Damascus to fight a joint war against the Crusaders of Ascalon. However, Usama's rise to power ended in an equally abrupt fall, when, implicated in the plot to murder of the caliph al-Zafir in 1154, Usama fled with his family into the desert, abandoning most of his property to rioting troops in Cairo. After narrowly escaping capture by Crusaders, Usama made his way to Damascus, where he enlisted in the service of Nur al-Din.

In Damascus, Usama found a new patron in Nur al-Din and a position from which to reconstitute his life as best he could. He settled into a new home, served his master on campaign, ransomed captive family members, carried on poetic correspondence with friends in Egypt, and even reopened communications with his cousins at Shayzar, humbly asking them to bury old family squabbles and to have him back. As it happened, however, Usama could never return to Shayzar, because, in 1157, a massive earthquake struck northern Syria and leveled the castle; almost every member of the Banu Munqidh household was killed. Usama, exiled in Damascus, could only mourn for his kin and decry the vicissitudes of fate. In 1164, Usama joined his lord Nur al-Din in a victorious campaign against the Franks and, for reasons that remain unclear, promptly took up with one of Nur al-Din's allies, Qara Arslan, Lord of Hisn Kayfa.

Although next to nothing is known about his time spent under Qara Arslan at Hisn Kayfa, it was during this decade (1164–1174) that Usama produced most of his literary works. For Usama, Hisn Kayfa was a terribly provincial place in far northern Iraq, and his literary activity may have been some attempt to stay connected to the more urbane worlds with which he was more familiar. Of the many works that Usama composed there, only a few have survived. He seems to have specialized in topical anthologies: collections of anecdotes, poetry, hadith, and other lore organized around common themes, such as his entertaining *Book of the Staff,* devoted to famous staves and walking sticks; his *Kernels of Refinement,* a manual of ideal conduct *(adab)*; and his *Creator of High Style*, a manual about poetic criticism. He also composed works (now lost) about women, castles, dreams, rivers, and old age. His massive examination of the erotic prelude in classical Arabic poetry, the *Book of Dwellings and Abodes*, could well be considered his masterpiece.

For modern readers, Usama's greatest fame stems from his collection of poetry and above all his autobiographically inclined *Book of Learning by Example*, often inaccurately called his "memoirs." These he finished at the end of his unusually long life in Damascus, where, in 1174, he returned at the summons of his last patron, Saladin. The book is remarkable by any standards. Ostensibly a reflection upon the inevitability of fate, the work artfully uses examples drawn almost entirely from Usama's long and adventurous life and so is filled with details of daily life, high politics, and witty observations of the men and women of Usama's world. It is a compelling testament of one medieval Muslim's presentation of his world and the manner in which God's will has intersected with it.

Usama ibn Munqidh died in 1188 at the age of ninety-three, and was buried in Damascus.

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USURY AND INTEREST

Usury and interest were initially identified with the levying of exorbitant fees for the borrowing of capital but later included more generally the taking of any unfair advantage in transactions and any unearned gains resulting from chance. These concepts are known in Arabic sources as *ribâ.* Islamic law prohibits it generally, but different jurists interpret the circumstances to which it applies in different ways. Many Muslim merchants engaged in usury or, more frequently, entered into contracts that circumvented the specific legal restrictions while serving the same purpose.

The practice was well established in Mecca during pre-Islamic times. Money lenders often offered the use of their capital at interest rates as high as twenty-five or fifty percent for periods of just a few months. Moreover, they usually forced borrowers to agree to a doubling of the interest if the capital was not repaid in time. Important companions such as 'Uthmân b. 'Affân, 'Abd al-Raìmân b. 'Awf, Khâlid b. al-Walîd, and 'Abbâs b. 'Abd al-Muttalib earned a large part of their wealth in this way.

The Qur'an first criticizes and later bans these practices. In verse 30:39, which dates to the late Meccan period, the Qur'an counsels against usury but does not forbid it. The verse declares, "What you give from usury increases in proportion to people's wealth but does not increase with God. What you give in alms seeking the countenance of God [will

increase]. These are the ones who double their wealth!'' Later verses condemn it unambiguously. In 3:130, which belongs to the Medinan period, the Qur'an declares: ''O You who believe do not consume usury, compounding in doubles! Fear God! Perhaps you will prosper.'' This is stated more strongly in 2:275–80, which also belongs to the Medinan period. The first part of this passage reads, ''Those who consume usury will not stand except like one whom Satan knocks around with that touch....'' It goes on to mention the collection of usury as a pretext for righteous war: ''O you who believe, fear God! Give up what remains of usury—if you are true believers/If you do not, take notice of war from God and His messenger....''

Prophetic tradition contains additional prohibitions. However, many of these are not authentic and, where they are, are imprecise or contradictory. The most famous is in the prophet's ''Farewell Sermon,'' given on the occasion of his last pilgrimage to Mecca. Much of this sermon, however, is of questionable authenticity. Another widely quoted tradition states the following: ''Gold for gold, silver for silver, wheat for wheat, barley for barley, dates for dates, salt for salt, the same thing for the same thing, like for like, measure for measure; but if these things are different then sell them as you please if it is (only) done measure for measure.'' Other traditions prohibit any contract promising an increase over a fixed period, but they differ regarding whether the same increase would be allowable in an immediate sale.

Although they never doubted the general prohibition, jurists disagreed about many of the exact circumstances that qualified as usury. Legal schools differed, for example, with regard to the enumeration and classification of objects that are liable to usury. The Œâhirî school limited these objects to the six enumerated by the prophet; its refusal to accept the principle of analogy did not allow it to speculate further. Other legal schools took the specified objects as representative of categories of objects but differed when it came to the characterization of these categories. Mâliki and Shâfi'î jurists judged them to be precious metals and foodstuffs. Hanafîs and Zaydis described them as objects transacted by weight and measure. Although most legal schools considered the exchange of unequal quantities of the same object to be usury regardless of the term of the contract, this was not always the case. For example, the Mâliki school did not object when the transfer of possession took place immediately.

A significant part of the confusion and difficulties has to do with the fact that various pre-Islamic practices subsumed under usury continued to be an integral part of commerce in the Muslim world for many years after the Prophet. For instance, the use of muzâbana contracts (where unripe fruit on trees is bartered for dried fruit of the same kind) was widespread. Jurists, in fact, tolerated them when they stipulated the exchange of unripe dates on the palm for dried dates. The use of checks or receipts also technically contravened the prohibition against usury, because they gave an advantage to the party that carried the check rather than the goods. Checks, nevertheless, continued to serve as essential financial instruments for many centuries afterward.

Moreover, legal proscriptions became more rigid over time as piety-minded scholars conceived of Islamic law more idealistically. Although they were cognizant of ethical problems, many early discussions show ignorance of specific legal prohibitions for the collection of interest. These scholars sometimes describe contracts where ''nine-tenths of the permitted amount is renounced''; later discussions do not entertain this possibility.

Jurists, in any case, developed numerous legal evasions that allowed merchants to circumvent these proscriptions. They defended them as legitimate, because man, they argued, could not know the divine wisdom behind a specific law; he needed only to observe its letter. The Œâhisrîs were among the biggest proponents of these evasions, although the Shâf'îs and later the Hanîfis and Imâmîs recognized them as well. One of the most popular evasions was the double contract of sale. With this contract, the borrower purchased an article from the lender, agreeing to pay at a future date a sum equal to the cost of the borrowed capital and interest. Simultaneously, the borrower sells the lender the same article for the immediate payment of a sum equal to the capital he wishes to borrow. Mâlikî, Hanbalî, and Zaydî schools, in general, rejected these circumventions.

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‘UTHMAN IBN ‘AFFAN

‘Uthman was the third caliph (644–656 CE). His personality and actions are controversial, and different groups in Islam formed conflicting views of him. He was a descendant of Umayya of the clan of Quraysh, but, unlike most of the other Umayyads, he was an early follower of the Prophet Muhammad and one of the inner circle of the Prophet’s Companions. He became caliph after the deliberations of the small consultative group *(shura)* set up by the previous caliph, ‘Umar, when he was dying.

As caliph, ‘Uthman is best known for two things. First, he is generally regarded as the one who ordered the collection of the revelations made to Muhammad and the establishing of the text of the Qur’an as it has been known ever since. Second, his caliphate saw the beginning of divisions among the Muslims that were to lead to a civil war *(fitna)* upon his death. ‘Uthman was killed by a group of Arab Muslim warriors who came to Medina from the garrison town of Fustat in Egypt with various grievances.

Their immediate grievances probably concerned pay and the allocation of land and booty, but the historical tradition preserves lists of complaints against ‘Uthman of a more general sort. He is accused of favoring his Umayyad relatives when making appointments to governorships and other offices, of failing to apply Islamic law properly, and of the mistreatment of pious individuals like Abu Dharr, who warned of corruption in high places. Even what he did regarding the scripture alienated some.

For the Sunnis, ‘Uthman is one of the Rightly Guided Caliphs *(khulafa’ rashidun)*. He was one of ten of the Prophet’s Companions to whom the Prophet promised entry into paradise, and his death was an unjustifiable murder that warranted his designation as a martyr *(shahid)*. For the Shi‘is, ‘Uthman was an illegitimate caliph who had usurped the office that rightly belonged to ‘Ali and whose personal weakness opened the way for the takeover and corruption of Islam by the Umayyads. For the Kharijis, he was an unrighteous ruler whose killing was entirely justified.

Those views were mainly retrospective ones. Modern historians have argued that ‘Uthman’s policies and personality may have been open to criticism, but he was unfortunate in that he was caliph at a time when the swift conquests achieved under his two predecessors had begun to slow down and frustrations and tensions that had previously been suppressed came to the surface.

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V

VIZIERS

The term *vizier* is derived from the Arabic term *wazir*, the core meaning of which refers to "bearing a load." This is an apt definition, because the viziers were those that headed the administrations of caliphs, amirs, and sultans throughout the continuum of medieval Islamic history. The modern studies of viziers have focused on a number of key questions: the origins of the office and its early duties; the varied roles played by viziers over the centuries; and case studies of important families of viziers ranging from the 'Abbasid period through the Ottoman era. One theme that runs throughout the history of the vizierate in Islamic history is the personal nature of the power dynamics in Islamic administrations. Viziers could rise from humble secretarial posts or even slavery to the extreme heights of wealth and power, only to be removed from office and/or killed by the whims of caliphs or sultans. This "hire and fire at will" nature of the post did not deter many from seeking it for themselves and their family members. As is seen in the examples of the Barmakids and the Banu 'l-Furat of the 'Abbasid period and the Çandarlı and Köprülü families of the Ottoman Empire, the personal nature of the vizierate also helped create dynasties of capable administrators.

The origin of the vizierate in Islam is hard to pinpoint accurately, because the sources are vague regarding the development of early Islamic administration. From the rudimentary structure of the diwan system during the Islamic conquests through the Umayyad dynasty, the officials who helped the caliphs with the running the government were often typified as being freedmen, boon companions, or *aides-de-camp*. It is not until the 'Abbasid period that clear references to the term *vizier* are found; even then key questions remain regarding whether the use of the word stemmed from traditional Persian practices or from other cultures and when exactly the 'Abbasids began to use the term exclusively. By the end of the eighth century, however, viziers were the central component of 'Abbasid administration, taking on the important tasks of overseeing the various ministries (e.g., chancellery, tax, mazalim [courts of justice]). The Barmakids, a Persian family who had converted to Islam from Buddhism, rose to prominence during the late eighth century and played a variety of roles: patronizing scholars, tutoring princes and caliphs, overseeing 'Abbasid affairs, and creating their own cadre of supporters within the government. By the beginning of the ninth century, it appeared that the Barmakids were indispensable elements of the 'Abbasid system, but their famous fall from grace in 803 CE, replete with arrests, confiscation of wealth, and executions, underscored the fact that they, as was true of all government officials, were working at the will of the caliphs. The example of the Barmakids' rise and fall would become a staple in many works written about the nature and duties of the vizierate for centuries to come.

As the 'Abbasid caliphs began to weaken in power during the ninth century, the viziers took stronger roles within the government, often rivaling the caliphs when it came to determining policies or

even succession issues. Such regional dynasties as the Fatimids, Buyids, and Saljuqs, which arose during the tenth and eleventh centuries, had strong vizierates of their own, although the personal power dynamics between the ruler and his viziers in these cases were similar to those of the earlier 'Abbasids. Ibn Killis was a key vizier for the Fatimids during the ninth century, whereas Nizam al-Mulk, who worked for the Seljuk sultans Alp Arslan and Malikshah, would become the most famous vizier in Islamic history. Nizam al-Mulk, who was Persian by birth, was instrumental in developing the administrative structure of the Seljuk system in addition to helping found the state-sponsored madrasa educational institution. His ideas about government and rule are found in his work titled *Siyasat-name (The Book of Government)*, a "Mirror for Princes" guide that is akin to Machiavelli's *The Prince*. Nizam al-Mulk uses historical examples to argue his points on justice, effective rule, and the role of government in Islamic society. After his assassination in 1092 at the hands of assassins, members of his bureaucratic entourage, the Nizamiyya, played key stabilizing roles in the chaos that accompanied the gradual breakup of Seljuk control in Iraq and Iran. Another notable development in eleventh- and twelfth-century vizierial history is that there was a blending of administrations that involved viziers who would work for the revitalized 'Abbasid vizierate at one point and then work for other regional dynasties. Because viziers would often work for a variety of regional powers throughout their careers, the idea of separate or parallel administrations is undermined, whereas the personal, individualized nature of the administrative system is again underscored.

During the Ottoman period of expansion, the roles of viziers remained largely unchanged from the past; they were tutors, administrators, military figures, and confidantes. In addition, the grand viziers would often be linked to the Ottoman family through marriages to Ottoman princesses. This familial tie was not unprecedented, however; numerous examples abound from earlier centuries of viziers marrying into regional dynasties' families. The most famous vizierial families of the Ottoman eras include the Çandarlı family, who aided the fifteenth-century Ottoman sultans until the reign of Mehmed II, and the Köprülü family, who were instrumental in stabilizing Ottoman rule during periods of crisis during the late seventeenth century. Individual viziers also made their mark in history: Ibrahim Paşa rose from slavery to become the boon companion of Suleyman (r. 1520–1566) and eventually to become Grand Vizier until his fall from grace in the 1530s; Sokollu Mehmet Paşa, who at the end of Suleyman's reign attempted to stabilize the government, fought against rival factions within the imperial courts of Suleyman's successors. Their careers and those of the viziers before them clearly show that, however bureaucratized and formalized the system of Islamic administration would become, at its core the nature of the administration and delegation of power and authority from caliphs and sultans was highly personal in nature.

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See also Bureaucrats; Courts; Diplomacy; Madrasa; Mirrors for Princes; Nizam al-Mulk; Political Theory; Scribes; Ya'qub ibn Killis

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W

WAQF

A *waqf* is trust-like instrument created by a Muslim who designates the principle of property that he or she owns as an endowment that henceforth may not be sold, gifted, or transmitted through inheritance, with the result being that the property becomes inalienable in perpetuity. The terms of an endowment are recorded in an endowment deed *(waqfiyya)* that is drawn up with great care in an effort to eliminate any ambiguity; in the deed, the founder announces the purpose of the endowment, specifies the beneficiaries, and makes provisions for its administration. These deeds are important sources for the history of Muslim societies.

Revenues generated by endowment property are distributed among beneficiaries according to the rules specified by the founder in the endowment deed. The beneficiaries are generally of two types: (1) the founder's children and lineal descendants (i.e., a family endowment) or (2) religious institutions (e.g., a mosque or madrasa) or public endowments (e.g., a drinking fountain). Not infrequently, a founder creates a joint or shared endowment in which half of the revenues are assigned to the founder's children and descendants and half are assigned to a religious or public institution. The endowment property itself is placed in the hands of an administrator, whose duties include maintaining the property and ensuring its proper exploitation, supervising repairs, and distributing the revenues to the beneficiaries. If the purpose for which the endowment was created ceases to exist (e.g., the line of beneficiaries comes to an end or the institution to which the revenues originally were assigned is destroyed or ceases to function), the revenues revert to some charitable purpose (e.g., the poor or travelers).

Although endowments are not mentioned in the Qur'an, the Prophet Muhammad is reported to have sanctioned the use of the institution in response to an inquiry from 'Umar ibn al-Khattab relating to valuable land acquired by the latter. When 'Umar asked the Prophet what he should do with the property, Muhammad is said to have replied, "If you wish, sequester its principle and distribute the usufruct as alms." It is believed that 'Umar did in fact create an endowment and that he stipulated that the principle "may not be sold, given away as a gift, or inherited." The revenues were used to support "the poor, kin relations, slaves, the Holy War, travelers, and guests," and guidelines were established for the use of the revenues by the endowment administrator.

The waqf is a distinctive Islamic institution that emerged during the course of the AH first/seventh century CE. It was in large part the creation of Muslim jurists who, drawing on a range of existing customs (e.g., Byzantine, Sasanian, Jewish) relating to both piety and property, brought clarity and order to this area of the law by creating the legal terms and principles that became the defining features of the system. By the end of the first century, the Umayyads had created a central waqf administration that no doubt kept registered copies of endowment deeds. By the middle of the third/ninth century, the system was fully formed, and sophisticated waqf treatises had

been written by scholars such as al-Khassaf and Hilal al-Ra'y.

Endowments are a special kind of *sadaqa* (an act pleasing to God intended to bring the founder closer to Him). A key motivation for the creation of endowments is the founder's concern for salvation. The establishment of an endowment is a two-way transaction: the founder provides a regular source of income for his descendants or the means for the establishment and upkeep of a public institution, and, in return, the beneficiaries of his largesse are instructed to perform certain duties on his behalf (e.g., saying prayers, performing the pilgrimage), the reward for which is credited to the deceased. Thus, these endowments contributed to the memorialization of the founder and to the safeguarding of his or her memory, in perpetuity, by ensuring that good deeds would be performed in his or her name even after death.

The endowment system has many practical functions. By creating a family endowment, a founder removes part or all of his patrimony from the atomizing effects of the Islamic law of inheritance, shields it from taxation and confiscation by the state, and provides a regular income for children and descendants. Beginning during the twelfth century, Muslim rulers such as Salah al-Din, and, later, the Mamluk and Ottoman sultans, used the endowment system to transform the urban landscape of cities like Cairo, Damascus, Jerusalem, and Istanbul by creating madrasas for jurists, khanaqahs for Sufis, hospitals, public kitchens, arsenals, and military fortifications, to name just a few. The assets dedicated to the support of these institutions included both urban properties (e.g., apartments, shops, ovens, food stalls, bathhouses, warehouses, caravansaries) and rural properties (e.g., gardens, orchards, villages [or part thereof]). Rulers also created ribats on the frontiers of the Islamic state in which Sufis and other Muslims worked the land and contributed to the spread of Islam. The waqf system was an important source of income for scholars, Sufis, administrators, workers, and the poor. Slowly but inexorably, the volume of urban and rural properties dedicated to endowments increased greatly; at the time of the Ottoman conquest of Egypt in 1516, for example, fifty percent of Egypt's agricultural resources reportedly had been designated as endowments.

The endowment system was dynamic and diverse, responding to the changing needs of families, communities, and the Muslim state. Although endowment properties are in principle inalienable, Muslim jurists developed mechanisms for the exchange of endowment properties in response to the needs of the market. At any given point in time, large numbers of Muslims were affected by—or benefited from—endowments. The system provided Muslim society with stability; in some cases, endowments created a thousand years ago continue to function today. It also created an important connection between the beneficiaries and employees of a particular institution and the properties that were the source of its revenues.

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WAQIDI, AL-

Born in Medina during the reign of the Umayyad caliph al-Marwan ibn Muhammad (AH 26/744–133/750 CE), just before the 'Abbasid Revolution (130/747), Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad ibn 'Umar was

better known as al-Waqidi, after his grandfather al-Waqid, *mawla* (client) to 'Abd Allah ibn Burayda of the Banu Aslam of Medina. According to Abu Faraj al-Isfahani, al-Waqidi's mother was the daughter of 'Isa ibn Ja'far ibn Sa'ib Khathir, a Persian, and the great granddaughter of Sa'ib, who introduced music to Medina.

These is no information about al-Waqidi's early education. Yaqut tells us that al-Waqidi was appointed judge over eastern Baghdad by the caliph Harun al-Rashid. In around 204/819, al-Ma'mun, son and heir to al-Rashid, appointed him to the position of qadi over the military camp of the prince al-Mahdi at Rasafa. Here he was able to accumulate a considerable collection of books and even to produce a large volume of writing, aided by his well-known amanuensis, Ibn Sa'd (d. 230/845).

Ibn al-Nadim gives a long list of the numerous works authored by al-Waqidi. The majority of his writings are devoted to excerpts from the history of Islam after the death of the Prophet, and, although none of these are extant, quotations from these works have been preserved in the works of later historians: accounts of the murder of 'Uthman are cited by both al-Tabari and Ibn Hubaysh (d. 584/1188) from the *Kitab al-Dar;* accounts from *Ta'rikh al-Kabir,* in which Waqidi listed all of the important events of history in the form of annals up to the year 179/795, have been cited by other scholars. As for his *Kitab al-Tabaqat,* it served as the basis of Ibn Sa'd's biographical dictionary and provided information about the Companions of the Prophet and their descendants.

Al-Waqidi is best known for his compilation, the *Kitab al-Maghazi,* which is his only work that survived. It tells of the last ten years of the Prophet's life and is an important source for the historical writings of al-Baladhuri (d. 279/892) and al-Tabari (d. 310/923), entitled *Futuh al-Buldan* and *Ta'rikh al-Rusul wa-l-Muluk,* respectively. Al-Waqidi wrote his *Kitab al-Maghazi* roughly a generation after Ibn Ishaq had composed his. According to al-Tabari, al-Waqidi had read Ibn Ishaq's biography of the Prophet and had gone so far as to commend his knowledge of the maghazi and ayyam al-'Arab. Nevertheless, al-Waqidi never cites even one of Ibn Ishaq's traditions in his compilation.

Sadly, al-Waqidi was a spendthrift by nature and generous to a fault. He died a pauper during the fourth year of his judgeship at the age of seventy-eight, in Baghdad, in the year 207/822 or 823, and he was buried at the Khayzuran cemetery. It is said that even the shroud for his burial had to be purchased by the caliph al-Ma'mun, whom al-Waqidi had appointed as executor of his will.

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WEATHER

One of the most neglected aspects of medieval Islamic and Middle Eastern history is the role of the physical environment in economic and demographic issues important to the affected societies. In any serious study of the environment, weather and the fluctuations of the weather can be regarded as an obvious issue for the researcher or the analyst. Even the most cursory examination of the chronicles—whether Syriac, Arabic, or Persian—offers ample evidence of the role played by weather events or disturbances in the Near East and in neighboring Islamic lands, such as Spain and North Africa.

The evidence afforded by these sources describes damage or destruction that was wrought by four major types of weather disturbance: (1) damaging winds and/or dust storms; (2) severe cold and/or freezing precipitation in the form of hail, sleet, or snow; (3) rainstorms or inundations; and (4) droughts and excessive heat. The remainder of this article will address the nature and effects of such inclement weather.

Numerous windstorms, occasionally bearing damaging dust, struck at the core lands in the Middle East, such as Iraq, Egypt, and greater Syria, throughout the period from 600 to 1500 CE In some cases, hot, dusty winds withered crops, disrupted cultivation and commerce, and uprooted valuable trees (e.g., in Iraq and Iran in 848–849). In other instances, strong winds even sank boats (e.g., on the Tigris) and destroyed buildings (e.g., Iraq in 1051). The great windstorms thus ruined goods and infrastructure and thoroughly disrupted normal life, even causing apocalyptic reactions (e.g., end of the world or Resurrection fears in Mosul in 931 and in Egypt in 1038) among the affected populations.

Although popular perceptions of the Middle East have focused on desert heat and associated aridity, the fact is that one can find numerous examples of devastating hailstorms, damaging cold outbreaks, and even of snow and sleet (especially in Iraq in 748/49, Iran in 1014, and greater Syria in 682/83). The hailstorms could be especially dangerous, because they destroyed crops, damaged houses, and occasionally killed people and animals. Freezing temperatures and ice or snow wrought havoc on agricultural enterprises (e.g., in the case of ruined vineyards and olive groves in Syria in 748/49), killed

animals, and caused mortality from apparent hypothermia or cold-related maladies (e.g., in Syria in 768).

The rain associated with severe thunderstorms also contributed to loss of life and property. Flooding rains, which could cause tremendous damage, ravaged houses, shops, orchards, and crops. In particularly severe downpours, people were killed by raging waters (e.g., in Khuzistan in 904), collapsing buildings, or even by mud slides (e.g., in Mecca in 894). Water, which was always a precious commodity in the Middle East, became a deadly foe when severe storms battered such areas as Iraq, Arabia, and Egypt. Not surprisingly, the destruction from these storms was compounded by lightning strikes, wind, and hail (e.g., lightning damage in Mosul in 1130).

Less-surprising weather-related disasters in the context of the Middle East were, of course, the numerous episodes of excessive heat and severe drought that swept through the region and occasionally through Andalusia. The most obvious consequence in these instances was food shortage and, in severe cases, famine. Although numbers of people perished at times from heat exhaustion or thirst, the most common form of mortality associated with drought was either outright starvation during famines or mortality associated with epidemics sparked by drought-related food shortages. As is indicated elsewhere (see Secondary Sources below), nutritional deficiencies can be especially dangerous, subverting health and causing sickness or death. In this respect, one sees an important feature of climatic and other disasters: they tend to frequently occur in clusters and in related sequences—the common nexus of drought, food shortage, and famine, followed by disease epidemic.

More than thirty years ago, the French social historian Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie published the seminal work *Times of Feast, Times of Famine: A History of Climate Since the Year 1000,* in which he amply demonstrated the importance of climate and weather disturbances throughout human history. Obviously, much of Le Roy Ladurie's work specifically addressed French climate history and thus had a more limited applicability for Middle Eastern societies. However, it clearly demonstrated the decisive role of environmental conditions in shaping the evolution of human societies, whatever the region.

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WINE

The Arabic word for wine, *khamr/khamra,* is very common in early Arabic poetry and is probably a loanword from Syro-Aramaic *(hamra)*. Arabia and the Syrian desert—as opposed to Palestine and Mesopotamia—are not composed of soil that is fit for the growing of grapes. However, there are some exceptions, such as the Ta'if and several parts of Yemen, and wine is also referred to Medina. Usually wine was imported from Syria and Iraq, and, in early Arabic poetry, the wine trade is chiefly connected with Jews or Christians.

Wine is praised in the Qur'an (16:67): "And of the fruits of the date-palm, and grapes, whence ye derive an intoxicant *(sakar)* and a provision fair. Lo! therein is indeed a portent for people who have sense."

However, the configuration of the poetic genre of the wine song *(khamriyya)* of the Islamic period is believed to have originated in the town of Hira, from such sources as the Christian Tamimite 'Adi b. Zayd. In *The Cheery Companion, On the Prohibition of Old Wine,* the lexicographer al-Firuzabadi (d. 817/1415) collected an alphabetical list of approximately 357 "names of the wine," the majority of which are descriptive or allusive terms, like "golden," "cock's eye," "mother of vices," and a qualification taken from a tradition attributed to Muhammad, "the one which is drunken in the morning."

However, the intoxicant that the Arab of the Peninsula drank most was the *nabidh* (liquor, "spirit of wine"), a designation that does not appear in the Qur'an as a name for intoxicating drinks, several of which were produced in early Arabia from barley, honey, spelt, or different kinds of palms. Muhammad is said to have drunk nabidh, but he put water from the sacred source of Zamzam in it. In modern Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Jordan, and other Arabic countries, the word *nbid* (dialectal pronunciation) is used to refer to any kind of intoxicating drink (especially wine), whereas, in Egypt, *khamr* and *nibid* have the same meaning.

The legal status of wine in the Qur'an has seen an evolution (2:219): "They question thee about strong wine [or strong drink] *(khamr)* and game of chance. Say: In both is great sin, and (some) utility for men; but the sin of them is greater than their usefulness." It is also mentioned in verse 4:43: "O ye who believe! Draw not near unto prayer when you are drunken. . . ." Finally came the absolute prohibition (5:90): "O ye who believe! Wine *(khamr)* and game of chance and idols and divining arrows are only an infamy of Satan's handiwork. Leave it aside in order that ye may succeed." As compensation for abstaining, the believers will enjoy a pure wine in Paradise (83:25): "They are given to drink of a pure wine *(rahiq)*, sealed."

The prohibition of wine did not prevent a members of the higher classes, caliphs, viziers, men of letters, poets, and many others from enjoying it (e.g., in Iraq). The genre of the wine song reached its high point with poets like the Umayyad Caliph al-Walid b. Yazid (r. 125–126/743–744) and, above all, Abu Nuwas (d. ca. 200/815).

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See also Alcohol

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WOMEN, JEWISH

Until the late Middle Ages, most of the world's Jewish population lived in Islamic lands such as Babylonia (Iraq), Persia (Iran), Syria-Palestine, and Egypt, and they also lived in the non-Arab Islamic countries of Spain and Sicily. The major sources of information about their lives in general—and about women's lives in particular—were the Geniza (Storage) documents, which were discovered in 1896 in a synagogue in Cairo. These documents reflect international commercial, intellectual, and family connections throughout the Muslim world. Later documents from Ottoman archives and shari'a court records were added to the various Hebrew preliminary sources, thus expanding modern knowledge of social and family life.

Jews and Muslims in Islamic lands shared a common urban cultural world. Jewish customs were influenced by the frequent social interaction between the two ethnic groups. There was great similarity between Muslim and Jewish wedding ceremonies, and polygamy was practiced by both Muslim and Jews, even being adopted by Ashkenazi and Sephardic Jews who immigrated to Muslim lands during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries from Christian countries where polygamy was outlawed. In addition, both Jews and Muslims kept concubines. Child marriage—especially of young girls—was normal in both cultures, designed to ensure the girl's chastity and for social and economic reasons; however, unlike what was seen in Muslim society, the Jewish *kidushin* (wedding ceremony) was considered a sacred act, and it was very difficult to release a girl from its bonds if a marriage was unsuccessful. Because the commercial character

of Jewish families and their frequent migration, marriages between individuals from different countries, which were contracted to extend and strengthen contacts between business partners, were common. Another phenomenon resulting from the mobility of Jewish society was the voluntary or involuntary neglect of wives. The problem of *agunot* (deserted wives) caused many *halakhic* (legal) discussions throughout the Middle Ages. Alternatively, husbands' absences, which sometimes extended over very long periods of time, enabled women to enjoy relative independence in managing their households and their children's educations. Jewish and Muslim women shared popular customs and beliefs, frequented the same holy places, and practiced the same methods and formulas to ensure safe pregnancy and childbirth.

Unlike those that were seen in Muslim homes, there were no separate quarters for women in Jewish homes. The "Geniza women," as described in Shlomo D. Goitein's monumental works, were expected to look after their young children and do the household chores, but these duties were apparently not very demanding: almost all households consisted of more than one female adult, and most urban middle-class families employed at least one maidservant. Older women were often assisted by their daughters-in-law, because, as was also done in Muslim society, newlywed brides usually moved in with the husbands' families. Women of well-to-do families passed their time sewing or embroidering textiles for their homes. The daily routine of lower-class women included communal cleaning, laundering, cooking, and baking. Accordingly, women's education normally did not exceed the essential domestic skills. Although there are a few examples of women teachers during the Middle Ages, their activities caused personal and halakhic controversies, and they did not represent the norm. A girl's education depended entirely on her father's whim, and, even among the upper classes, most women were illiterate. Among thousands of letters from the Geniza, only a couple of dozen were sent by women; these were probably dictated to a professional scribe or a male acquaintance, and they deal with personal matters.

There is no single document about any spiritual or religious subject written by a woman. In addition to the halakhic restrictions, it seems that the crucial reason for women's illiteracy was the prevailing view that women do not need scholarly education, because they were meant to dedicate themselves to looking after their husbands and homes and to enable their menfolk to study. Halakhic and kabbalistic writings about this matter promised the ideal wife—the "Woman of Valor" (Proverbs 31:31)—a share in the world to come. However, in daily life, women's illiteracy maintained their dependency and ensured men's supremacy.

In external appearance, Jewish women were not distinguishable from their Muslim counterparts. They even wore a veil, in accordance with local customs, although women of the non-Muslim minorities *(dhimmi)* were not required—and were sometimes even forbidden—to do so. According to Jewish and non-Jewish travelers, all women were so heavily draped that even their husbands could not recognize them; the exposure of even a tiny bit of flesh was considered a disgrace.

Alternatively, as revealed by lists of trousseaus, wills, and inventories, middle-class Jewish women had a variety of weekday and Sabbath dresses, as well as gowns, veils, scarves, belts, and jewelry. One gets the impression that the objects were so thoroughly itemized mainly because of their investment value. The beautiful costumes and other items were not displayed outdoors, not only because women were covered with gowns but also for fear of inciting the authorities' attention. During the late Middle Ages, Jewish communal regulations went so far as to forbid excessive extravagance. From time to time, dhimmis—both male and female—were required to wear a distinctive color or sign.

Although modesty was required of Jewish women and women lived in relative seclusion, they were allowed freedom of movement, and they routinely took advantage of it. They worshipped at the synagogue; visited relatives; attended funerals, weddings, and other celebrations; and made pilgrimages to holy sites. Their outings led to many "immoral" incidents, which were often denounced by local sages. Regulations enacted by Jewish communities in Cairo, Damascus, Aleppo, Jerusalem, Safed, and other Jewish centers tried to prevent women from mingling with men on such occasions. A regulation from Jerusalem, for instance, instructed women to leave the synagogue a while before the ceremony ended to prevent them from encountering men on the way out. In Cairo, a pre-Ottoman regulation was reinstated during the mid-sixteenth century: "Men and women embroiderers are henceforth forbidden to sit at the same working table…only older women, aged forty or over, are allowed" (Rabbi David ben Zimra, *Responsa*, III, no. 919).

Usually, aside from philanthropy, women's economic activities in Islamic lands were restricted to money lending and real estate transactions. These financial activities enabled them to preserve both the value of their money and their modesty, and they were common even among the more secluded Muslim women of the Middle Ages. However, Jewish women

were also active in business and commercial transactions outside of their homes. They traded textiles, precious stones, perfumes, spices, foodstuffs, wine, and other items. Those who had no property or money to finance such enterprises took to crafts and other professions, becoming weavers, embroiderers, wine and cheese producers, brokers, cosmeticians, healers, and town criers. The majority of working women, however, were widows and divorcees.

Jewish women were aware that, in some aspects of marital and inheritance laws, the Islamic legal system was more favorable to women than Jewish halakha. For fear that women would seek justice in non-Jewish courts, a regulation (enacted already by the late seventh century) enabled women to receive a divorce upon their request; this procedure was otherwise most difficult according to Jewish law. Over the years, this legal "breach" became more and more popular, especially among upper-class women. Shari'a court records testify that Jewish women applied to the qadi in matters concerning inheritance, divorcing recalcitrant husbands, family disputes, collecting *ketuba* (marriage contract) money, guardianship of children, and ensuring commercial transactions and the priority of a wife as compared with other creditors or debtors. Quite often, these women appeared personally in court to demand their rights.

Goitein described women in the early geniza period as living in a "world within a world," meaning that, within a world dominated by men, there was another, secluded world that was created by women for themselves. As far as Jewish women were concerned, their world was much more complicated: not only were they living as dhimmis in an Islamic traditional society, they were also subjected to Jewish halakhic and moral obligations. There was, however, a gap between theory and reality. It seems that many Jewish women found ways not only to lead a parallel world but also to take an active part in the economy and in social activities and to insist on their legal rights.

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See also Jews; Marriage, Jewish

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WOMEN, PATRONS

Some of the greatest Islamic works of art and architecture were commissioned by women. The most prolific patrons were usually members of the royal family: the mothers, wives, daughters, and sisters of rulers who built handsome mosques and tombs as public signs of dynastic and political power and amassed personal wealth in the form of art objects and coin. Members of the elite class, possessing wealth and social connections, could likewise commemorate themselves and their family members while performing an act of public charity to benefit their community. For relatively well-to-do women, property might

consist of land and a house, a commercial venture, or farmland; at any economic level, it might include household goods such as jewelry, pots, bedding, and especially textiles (the Cairo Geniza documents show that textiles were one of most traded and collected items in the medieval Mediterranean). Although any woman with sufficient funds and autonomy could commission public and private art and architecture, generally the acts of patronage deemed important enough for historic record were those of politically prominent women whose names were inscribed on the works themselves.

The mothers, wives, and concubines of rulers were the most prolific patrons, both because they might have inheritance, state stipends, and gifts and because their construction of mosques, schools, hospitals, and communal fountains was a public demonstration of the ruling family's piety and generosity. Thus, in Ayyubid Damascus and Aleppo, numerous *madrasas* (theological colleges) and *khanqahs* (Sufi convents) were built by the regent queen Dafiya Khatun. In Cordoba, neighborhood mosques and a leper hospital were built by women of the Umayyad house. Because Islamic law protected a woman's right to inheritance and to the ownership of her dowry, in theory any women could own land and buildings and gain income from it by leasing her land or operating a business. Such rental income might go towards a *waqf* (perpetual endowment) for providing a mosque or public institution with support for upkeep and management. Thus, a woman's patronage could take the form of building a structure, collecting valuable objects, or creating endowments for charitable activities that might include building maintenance for a mosque, Qur'an recitation, alms, or providing dowries for orphan girls. Of course, in practice, not all societies within the medieval Islamic world granted women sufficient autonomy to exercise this right.

In regions in which male mortality was high as a result of war (e.g., Ayyubid and Mamluk Egypt), the family wealth was often held by women, because women provided stability and continuity for the transfer of wealth from one generation to the next. Female patronage typically benefited the family more than the women as individuals, and probably some buildings that were attributed to individual women patrons were in fact collaborative enterprises in which the woman's name, as a representative of her family, was more prominent than her actual financial or architectural contribution. This was also true of smaller works of art. For example, the inscription on an ivory game box from tenth-century Cordoba states that it was made for the daughter of 'Abd al-Rahman III. However, the name of the woman is not given, and, because that ruler had numerous daughters, the specific recipient of the box remains unknown. Furthermore, if she received it as a gift, the commission reflected little or nothing of her artistic taste.

In Islamic societies that engaged in diplomatic marriage between parties of equal status, the wife built in her own name, identifying herself by her paternal genealogy. Hence, at the madrasa/mausoleum/mosque complex (completed in 1438 CE in Herat) of Gawhar Shad, the powerful wife of Shah Rukh, the dedication inscription names her as the daughter of her father, a prominent noble from an allied clan. However, in the case of a slave-concubine, a woman might identify instead with her "adopted" family, which gave her status and rank as the mother of sons that would continue the family line. This was the case in the Ottoman Empire, where monumental mosques were typically built by the sultan's mother in her official capacity as *valide sultan* (queen mother). These concubines were not Muslim by birth, because the law forbade the enslavement of Muslims; however, they became politically powerful women, especially when they gave birth to an heir. Although the royal concubine mothers in the Ottoman and Mughal Empires and Umayyad al-Andalus came from ethnic and religious backgrounds that differed from those where they came to live, rarely can any cultural difference be discerned in their built works.

In general, female patronage must be contextualized within familial politics and the diverse cultural milieux in which choices were limited by the skills of the available artisans and the state of architectural technology. However, there are several outstanding instances of women whose patronage was remarkably innovative, evincing unusual personal taste that changed the history of Islamic architecture. For example, the women of the Timurid royal family built a series of diminutive mausolea at the Shah-i Zindeh complex (ca. 1350–1450) in Samarkand with lively tile revetment. Because these were small, quickly built works of individual commemoration, they reflected the various tastes of individuals rather than an official architectural style, and thus they were sites for experimentation in architectural ornament. Perhaps the most innovative early female patron was Shajar al-Durr, who, after the death of her consort, the Ayyubid Sultan Negm al-Din, in 1249, ruled as the legitimate sultan of Egypt for several months. Her major work was the addition of a monumental tomb to the mosque/madrasa complex of Negm al-Din (1250, Cairo). Standing prominently at one end of the façade of this complex, the tomb firmly linked the identity of the sultan with his major foundation, and thereafter the addition of the patron's tomb to an endowed complex became standard practice.

All patronage can be viewed as a reification of family and especially dynastic identity; however, because women and men played distinctly different roles within the family structure, their motivations for commissioning art and architecture differed accordingly.

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See also Family; Women, Muslim; Women Rulers

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Woman writing. Courtier of Abbas I during a picnic. Sufavid mural, 1640s. Credit: SEF/Art Resource, NY. Chihil Sutun (Pavilion of 40 Columns), Isfahan, Iran

WOMEN POETS

Women poets of classical times were far fewer in number than their male counterparts, and their poetic domain was relatively restricted. Women were largely excluded from the "high" poetic genres of panegyric and satire, probably because of their social roles: mandatory seclusion in the case of freeborn women, and the providing of entertainment in the case of slave girls. The majority of extant women's poems are in the genres of elegy *(ritha')* by the former group and of erotic love song *(ghazal)* by the latter. In addition, there are some Sufi poems composed by women and sporadic compositions of nostalgia verses, wisdom verses, and children's lullabies; these last are often in the rajaz meter, which is generally not considered suitable for true poetry. The restriction of genre simultaneously denotes a restriction of form, whereby women's poetic production has usually been in the form of the more informal monothematic *qit'a* (short piece) generally used in elegies and love songs rather than the long, formal, polythematic *qasida* (ode) that is reserved mostly for the panegyric. It also denotes simplicity of language, which is a hallmark of the genres of elegy and love song.

The poetry composed by pre-Islamic women was almost wholly limited to *marathi* (sing. marthiya; elegy). Suzanne Stetkevych (1993, 161–6) argues that this limitation of poetic domain reflects the limitation of the role played by women in the public (which is equated with male) ritual life of the tribe, of which it was the function of poetry to record; this meant that there was limited occasion—the death of a warrior kinsman—upon which free women were allowed public voice. Indeed, at these occasions, it was their obligation to lament their fallen warriors and incite their remaining kinsmen to vengeance *(tahrid)*; it was their duty to shed ritual, poetic tears to redeem their fallen menfolk, just as it was the men's duty to redeem the death of kin by shedding blood.

Al-Khansa' (d. 24/645) was a preeminent mukhadrama poetess (one who straddled the pre-Islamic and early Islamic periods) who excelled in the genre of elegy. She composed more than a hundred short or medium-length elegies in which she elegized her brothers Sakhr and Mu'awiya and incited her tribesmen to take blood vengeance. A large number of her opening lines, and, indeed, the opening lines of most elegies by women, contain the "eyes shedding tears" motif, often in an exhortation by the poetess to herself to weep. The medieval anthologist Ibn Sallam al-Jumahi placed al-Khansa' second within the four great poets of ritha'; she was the only woman to

make it into his ranks of 110 outstanding poets of pre-Islam and early Islam.

Layla al-Akhyaliyya (d. ca. AH 85/704 CE) was an Umayyad poetess whom critics often ranked close to al-Khansa'. Layla composed almost fifty short poems, particularly elegies for her slain kinsman and her lover, Tawba ibn Humayyir. She also composed an elegy for 'Uthman ibn 'Affan. However, "challenging gender-prescribed literary norms" (al-Sajdi, 143), Layla also exchanged some lewd satires with the poet al-Nabigha al-Ja'di and composed a few panegyrics for the Umayyad governor al-Hajjaj and the Umayyad Caliphs Marwan I and 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan. Her panegyric about 'Abd al-Malik is particularly noteworthy for its tripartite nasib-rahil-madih qasida form, traditionally a form that was squarely in the male poetic domain but that was reworked by her into a female version.

The other important genre of women's poetry was the love lyric. During the Umayyad and 'Abbasid periods, there were large numbers of professional singing slave girls (*qiyan*; sing. *qayna*) who often composed the love songs that they sang to the accompaniment of musical instruments. The line between musical and sexual entertainment was not always clearly drawn—singing girls were courtesans—and many eventually became concubines of the ruling elite. In his treatise about singing girls entitled *Risalat al-Qiyan (Epistle of the Singing-Girls)*, al-Jahiz (d. 255/868–869) stated, without referring to composition of poetry, that an accomplished singing girl had a repertoire of more than four thousand songs. Abu al-Faraj al-Isfahani (d. ca. 363/972) composed a different kind of treatise about singing girls entitled *al-Ima' al-Shawa'ir (Slave-girl Poets)*, in which he focused on their poetry. On the basis of this text, Hilary Kilpatrick (1991, 175) explains that three genres of poetry were preeminent among singing girls: (1) love poetry *(ghazal)*; (2) verse-capping competition with fellow poets, particularly other singing girls; and (3) short, informal panegyric verse for their masters. Three early 'Abbasid singing girls were particularly famous for their poetry: 'Inan (paramour of al-Rashid, r. 786–809), al-'Arib (concubine of al-Ma'mun, r. 813–817), and Fa-dl (concubine of al-Mutawakkil, r. 847–861). Additionally, literary anthologies attribute some courtly love poetry (most likely spuriously so) to Layla, who was the beloved of Majnun.

The 'Abbasid princess 'Ulayya (d. 210/825), daughter of al-Mahdi and half-sister of Harun al-Rashid, was also a singer-poet, although her social status was far above that of the singing girls. Her poetry and songs dealt mostly with the themes of courtly love and wine. She was trained by her mother, Maknuna, who, before being purchased by al-Mahdi, had been a professional singing girl. 'Ulayya, in turn, trained singing girls for al-Rashid's palace.

Also said to have had her origins in the world of the singing girl was the famous mystic and poet of Basra, Rabi'a al-'Adawiyya (d. 185/801). She transmuted the love poetry of the singing girls to Sufi love poetry. Rabi'a is believed to have secured her freedom through her sanctity and, from that point on, to have lived an ascetic and teaching-oriented life. Several short pieces of Sufi love poetry are attributed to her.

Almost eight centuries later in the Mamluk period flourished another female Sufi master and poet named 'A'isha al-Ba'uniyya (d. 922/1517). A'isha, who lived in Syria and Egypt, belonged to the 'Urmawi branch of the Qadiriyya order and came from the distinguished Ba'uni family of judges and scholars. She composed more than a dozen books in prose and poetry, and was, according to Emil Homerin, the most prolific woman author before the twentieth century. More than 300 of her long poems have been collected in a yet unpublished anthology entitled *Fayd al-Fadl wa Jam' al-Shaml*. In them, she described mystical states and praised variously the Prophet Muhammad, the founder of her order 'Abd al-Qadir Jilani, and her own Sufi shaykhs. She used technical Sufi terminology and typical Sufi poetic motifs such as wine and love in her poems, sometimes in the strophic form and once in an eminent badi'iyya (long poem in which each verse uses a different rhetorical trope to praise Muhammad).

In addition to the East, women poets also composed love lyrics in the Muslim West. One such Andalusian poet is the Umayyad princess, Wallada (d. 484/1091), daughter of al-Mustakfi (r. 1024–4) and lover of the renowned poet Ibn Zaydun. Wallada was a literary force in Cordoba and hosted an important literary salon. Her extant oeuvre is made up of two short love poems for her lover and several obscene verses of invective addressed to him that were composed after their relationship had ended. Her models are believed to be not Western but Eastern, particularly Abu Nuwas. Anthologies also contain several poems by other Andalusian women, such as the courtesan Nazhun bint al-Qala'i (fifth/eleventh century), the teacher Hafsa bint al-Hajj (d. 585/1191), and the Jewish lady Qasmuna bint Isma'il (sixth/twelfth century); these were written in a similarly popular love-lyrical and satirical vein.

The classical Arabic library features three (extant) anthologies of poetry dedicated to women that provide their biographies and cite their poetry: Abu al-Faraj's above mentioned *al-Ima' al-Shawa'ir*; al-Marzubani's (d. 384/994) *Ash'ar al-Nisa' (Verses by Women;* this volume is partially extant, with works by thirty-eight mostly obscure ancient women); and

al-Suyuti's (d. 911/1505) *Nuzhat al-Julasa' fi Ash'ar al-Nisa' (Recreation for Boon-Companions a propos Poems by Women,* a collection of works by forty "modern" women). The citation of women's poetry in the general medieval anthologies is sporadic and sparse. The earliest anthologists either ignored women poets or made disparaging remarks about them (see Ibn Sallam's upbraiding of Ibn Ishaq for citing women's poetry in his *Sira—Tabaqat Fuhul al-Shu'ara',* vol. 1, 8. Cairo, 1974.). However, most of the later anthologists—such as al-Jahiz, Abu Tammam, Ibn al-Mu'tazz, and Abu al-Faraj in the East and Ibn Bassam and al-Maqqari in the West—do cite some poetry by women. In addition, historians such as al-Tabari, Yaqut, and Ibn 'Asakir cite verses by women—such as elegies for the Prophet Muhammad by his daughter Fatima al-Zahra' and his aunt Safiyya bint 'Abd al-Muttalib—as part of their historical narratives. Most anthologies of classical women poets are modern compilations and rather short. In modern times, Arabic scholars have put together from the medieval sources several anthologies dedicated to women's poetry.

In his introduction to the *Nuzhat al-Julasa'*, al-Suyuti refers to a large (at least six-volume) anthology—now lost—of "ancient" women's poetry by an anthologist named Ibn al-Tarrah (d. 720/1320) and titled *Akhbar al-Nisa' al-Shawa'ir (Accounts of Women Poets)*. It would seem from this that women poets may have formed a more dynamic part of the poetic landscape, at least in the earliest classical period, than is generally believed.

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See also Poetry, Arabic; Elegy; Love Poetry; Concubinage; Singing; Women Ascetics and Mystics; Sufism and Sufis; Mystical Poetry

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WOMEN WARRIORS

In pre-Islamic Arabia, women are said to have customarily taken part in warfare, infrequently as combatants themselves but more often as inciters of the men of their tribes and as providers of succor and aid to the wounded. This situation continued through the early period of Islam. Biographical works document the presence of women on the battlefield during the time of the Prophet, including some of his wives. Ibn Sa'd (d. AH 231/845 CE), in his famous *al-Tabaqat al-Kubra (The Great Generations),* records the activities

of some of these remarkable women, including their martial exploits in some cases, as does Ibn Hisham (d. 218/833) in his celebrated biography of Muhammad. More frequently, the women companions accompanied the men to battle to nurse the wounded and feed the thirsty. For example, Umm Ayman, the nurse and freedwoman of the Prophet, was present at the battle of Uhud in 4/625, at Khaybar in 7/628, and at Hunayn in 8/630, primarily in her capacity as a nurse. The pre-Islamic custom of goading the men to battle, especially by uttering imprecations on the enemy, appears to have been discouraged during the Islamic period. Ibn Sa'd mentions that, when Umm Ayman invoked God's curse on the opposing army, she was gently reprimanded by Muhammad. Several other women companions, such as Umm Sinan al-Aslamiyya and Ku'ayba bt. Sa'd al-Aslamiyya, are mentioned as having been present during a number of battles, primarily to tend to the sick and the wounded. The latter is said to have set up a tent in the mosque at Medina to serve as a makeshift hospital for the wounded.

There were actual female combatants as well: Safiyya bt. 'Abd al-Muttalib, for example, is reported to have descended on the battlefield at Uhud with a weapon in her hand. However, the most famous female warrior of the early Islamic period is the Ansari woman Nusayba bt. Ka'b, also known as Umm 'Umara. She was present at Uhud, al-Hudaybiyya (9/630), Khaybar, Hunayn, and al-Yamama (12/633–34). At Uhud, she valiantly defended Muhammad (along with her mother, according to some accounts) when the tide began to turn against the Muslims. She fought with a sword and a bow and arrow, sustaining severe injuries in the process. Her assailant was a man named Ibn Qumi'a from the opposing Makkan side, who had loudly declared his intention to kill the Prophet. Umm 'Umara would later proudly state that she had managed to strike at Ibn Qumi'a, ruing, however, the fact that "the enemy of God had on two suits of armor." She would later lose a hand at al-Yamama during the battle against the false prophet Musaylima after the fall of Mecca in 9/630.

The early biographers speak approvingly of these heroic women; for example, Ibn Sa'd gives a fulsome and laudatory account of Umm 'Umara's martial feats. The twelfth-century memoirs of Usama b. Munqidh (584/1188), a Syrian notable, contain references to women combatants during his own time, including his mother, which indicates that this practice had not become completely extinct during the later medieval period. However, Mamluk biographers like Ibn Hajar (d. 852/1449) tend to display ambivalence toward the martial activities of early women warriors. Ibn Hajar, in fact, considers the case of an obscure woman companion by the name of Umm Kabsha, who is said to have been denied permission to accompany Muhammad to an unspecified battle, as rescinding the earlier permission given to women to participate in battles, either as active combatants and/or as providers of humanitarian services. Ibn Hajar's opinion is to be regarded as being in accordance with the changed sensibilities of the Mamluk period, which involved a much more circumscribed public role for women.

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YA'QUB IBN KILLIS

Abu 'l-Faraj Ya'qub ibn Killis—statesman, administrator, and intellectual—was born a Jew in Baghdad in 930 CE and died in Cairo in 991. During his youth, his family settled in Ramle, Palestine, where he engaged in commerce, achieving the important post of *wakil al-tujjar* (representative of the merchants). Bankruptcy forced him to flee to Egypt, where he entered the service of the regent Kafur and worked his way up to chief financial administrator. After Kafur remarked that, were Ibn Killis a Muslim, he would be worthy of being vizier, Ibn Killis converted to Islam in 967 and became an avid student of scripture and law. However, his patron's death the following year and the jealousy of the vizier Ibn al-Furat caused him to seek refuge in the Maghreb, where he entered the service of the Fatimid caliph al-Mu'izz. Ibn Killis's firsthand knowledge of Egyptian affairs proved invaluable to the Fatimids, who were planning an invasion of Egypt.

After the conquest and transfer of the seat of Fatimid power to the new capital of Cairo, Ibn Killis reorganized the financial administration of the country. He instituted a highly successful monetary reform that greatly increased state revenues and made the Fatimid dinar the standard currency of the Mediterranean. In 977, he became vizier under the young Caliph al-'Aziz. During his administration, the Fatimid Caliphate reached the height of prosperity and power. On his deathbed, Ibn Killis advised al-'Aziz to keep peace with Byzantium and to eliminate the unruly Bedouin in Palestine; this policy was followed. When Ibn Killis died in February 991, the young caliph himself led the funeral prayers and openly wept.

In addition to being an architect of Fatimid administration, Ibn Killis was a patron of scholarship and the arts. He conceived of making the Azhar mosque into a great institution of higher learning and was himself an expert on Isma'ili jurisprudence.

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See also Al-Azhar; Fatimids; Ikhshidids

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YAQUT

The word *yaqut,* via the Syriac Arabicized Greek *(hyakinthos)*, means corundum. It became the name of at least five well-known Muslim scholars who were slaves that were taken into captivity by Muslims during the Holy War; two of them became famous. The first is Yaqut al-Mu'tasimi (d. AH 698/1298 CE), who was native of Abyssinia or a Greek of Amasia. His "noun of relation" *(nisba)* al-Mu'tasimi, is derived from his master, the last 'Abbasid caliph in Baghdad, al-Mu'tasim, who had him educated; he became a librarian and a famed calligrapher.

The second of these slaves is the celebrated encyclopedist Yaqut al-Rumi al-Hamawi (575–626/

1179–229). He was born in Byzantine territory (hence his ethnic *al-Rumi)*. He was captured as a boy and purchased by a merchant of Hama in Syria, who added to his name the ethnic *al-Hamawi.* Al-Rumi's master sent him to school so that he could help the master in his trade in the Persian Gulf. After his master died, al-Rumi settled in Baghdad and became a bookseller.

Al-Rumi traveled to many lands: Syria, Mosul, Egypt, Khorasan, and others. He benefited also from the assistance of important personalities, like the vizier Ibn al-Qifti in Aleppo. As a result of his journeys, he met a lot of scholars and came across many libraries, and he was very active in the copying of books. Of his numerous works, two should be mentioned. First, *The Dictionary of Learned Men*, which contains, in alphabetical order, biographies of grammarians, philologists, men of letters, poets, and so on. The second one is the *Geographic Dictionary*, which contains not only geographical information but also, under each place name, historical data, a list of eminent natives of the place, and other pertinent information.

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YAZIDIS

Yazidiyya is a syncretistic sect, mainly made up of Kurdish speakers, whose adherents live mostly in Iraq (in the Jabal Sinjar and Sheikhan regions, north of Mosul). Small communities of Yazidis live also in northern Syria, southern Turkey, and Armenia. The size of the sect is estimated to be around two hundred and fifty thousand. Apart from Iraq, the derivation of the sect's name is obscure; the prevalent view among Western scholars is that it is related to Yazid ibn Mu'awiya, the second caliph of the Umayyad dynasty (r. 680–683 CE). Others believe the name to have been derived from the Persian word *yazad* ("divine being").

The Yazidis consider the founder of their religion to be a certain Shaykh 'Adi b. Musafir (of Umayyad descent), who is reported to have settled in the Kurdish mountains of northern Iraq at the beginning of the twelfth century.

Despite some external resemblance to Islam, the Yazidi cult shows no real affinity to Muslim beliefs or rituals. Its terminology and imagery both point to the mainly Iranian nature of this religion. The Yazidis believe in one God, who, after having created the world, delegated it to seven archangels, known also as "The Seven Secrets" *(haft sirr)*, the most powerful of whom is the Peacock Angel *(ta'us-e malak)*. Adversaries of the sect claimed that the latter was identical to the devil; it is from this that the abusive appellation "Devil worshippers" *('abadat al-shaytan)* came to be used by which the sect's opponents.

The syncretistic nature of the Yazidiyya cult is reflected in its rich mythology, which is made up of elements of Iranian, Jewish, Christian, and Muslim origins.

The sacred scriptures of the Yazidis include two major books, the *Mashaf-a Rash* and the *Kitab-i Jilwa.* These texts are commonly believed to have been composed by non-Yazidis who nevertheless relied on Yazidi traditions.

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YEMEN

Yemen's early Islamic history continues to suffer from a dearth of information. During the first two centuries AH (seventh and eighth CE), the administration of Yemen was directly dependent on the central caliphate, first in Medina and then in Damascus and Baghdad. The country was divided into three *mikhlafs* (administrative regions), each of which was overseen by a governor appointed by the caliph (the senior governor was the one appointed to San'a'): the mikhlaf of San'a', which included a large part of highlands from Sa'ada and Najran in the north to al-Janad; the mikhlaf of al-Janad, which included the southern region as well as the coastal plain of Aden and Lahij; and the mikhlaf of Hadramawt, which was limited to the district bearing that name, with Shibam as its principal town.

The weakening of the 'Abbasid caliphate during the ninth century led to the rise of several local and foreign dynasties in Yemen, with conflicting territorial, political, and religious interests. The first of these dynasties was the Ziyadids (819–1012), whose founder Muhammad ibn Ziyad was sent by the caliph al-Ma'mun to quell a rebellion in the Tihama region. There, he founded the city of Zabid, which became his capital and that of his descendants. During the same period, a local dynasty known as the Yu'furids (847–997), which was centered in Shibam-Kawkaban and

occasionally in control over San‘a’, reigned over the territory extending south until al-Janad. However, parts of the northern highlands escaped all control until the arrival of Yahya ibn al-Husayn in 897, who came from Tabaristan at the invitation of several tribes. He chose Sa‘ada in north Yemen as his capital, where he established the Zaydi imamate. However, for several centuries, the authority of his descendants did not go beyond the region of Sa‘ada.

From the beginning of the eleventh century until the middle of the twelfth century, Yemen continued to be fragmented among several competing dynasties. The Najahids (1021–1156), who took over Zabid, were opposed to the Sulayhids (1047–1138), who held close relations with their co-religionists, the Isma‘ili Fatimids of Egypt, and who were able to impose a certain political unity over southern Yemen, the Tihama, and the Hadramawt. Reigning at first from San‘a’ and then from their new capital in Dhu Jibla, the Sulayhids were able to restore commerce between the Orient and the Mediterranean basin, which became a source of prosperity for the country. Thus, the port of Aden, which was run by the Zuray‘ids (1080–1173) in the name of the Sulayhids, became an important center for international commerce. The Sulayhids lost control over San‘a’ at the end of the eleventh century to the sultans of Hamdan, the local tribal leaders of that region; the Hadramawt was ruled by a number of local dynasties of tribal origins (e.g., the Banu Rashid in Tarim, the Banu Daghar in Shibam, and the Banu Iqbal in the port of al-Shihr).

The conquest of Yemen in 1173 and 1174 by the Ayyubids, who were successors of the Fatimids in Egypt, included the Hadramawt, where they succeeded briefly in eliminating the mini states of that region; the inhabitants of the highlands of the north, who were generally loyal to the Zaydis, rebuffed them. The Tihama and the southern parts of Yemen formed a single political unit after their regional dynasties were eliminated. San‘a’, which fell under their hegemony for a while, reverted to the control of Banu Hatim, a branch of the Hamdan, whereas the north continued to be loyal to the Zaydis. Equipped with an efficient army and a competent administration, the Ayyubids introduced numerous reforms, most notably in the fields of agriculture and commerce. They also brought to Yemen the institution of the madrasa, which their successors, the Rasulids, developed further in an effort to counter the Zaydi doctrine. Having arrived in Yemen with the Ayyubid army, the Rasulids (1229–1454) gained control of the country and established their authority as far as San‘a’. They chose Ta‘iz in the southern highlands as their capital, and Zabid became their winter residence. Under their impetus, the capital of the Tihama became a major center for the teaching of the Sunni doctrine.

The weakening of the Rasulids presented the opportunity to the Tahirids, the governors of Aden, to take over and establish themselves as the new rulers of southern Yemen in 1454. They were also keen builders (as were their predecessors), allocating much of their building activity to their capital, al-Miqrana, and to Rada‘, Juban, and Zabid. The Tahirids were equally interested in developing the agriculture of the area, and they established new palm groves in the irrigated regions of the coastal plains. They also tried to extend their authority over the Hadramawt, where political instability continued. Their hold on that region, much like that of their predecessors, was short lived, because they were faced with strong opposition from local dynasties, who would accept only nominal allegiance. Thus, the Al Yamani dynasty that was established in Tarim in 1224 remained on the political scene until the sixteenth century (it ended in 1714) before it was eliminated by the Kathiris. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, a new political power appeared in the region: the Yafi‘is, a large tribe from the northeast of Aden whose influence extended over the ports of Mukalla and Shihr. They created a new sultanate, first under the name of the Qasidis and then under that of the Qu‘aytis, whose seat of power was in Qatn.

After the demise of the last Tahirid sultan in 1517, a group of mercenaries from Egypt, known as the Lewend, became the rulers of lower Yemen during a brief period (1521–1538) before the Ottomans put an end to their presence. The arrival of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea also had strong repercussions throughout the country. Increasingly worried about the security of the Holy Cities of Arabia as well as about maintaining control of the international trade between the East and the Mediterranean, the Ottomans, who had conquered Egypt in 1517, decided to take hold of Yemen in 1538. However, their presence there rapidly provoked revolts, led by the Zaydi imams of the Qasimi dynasty, who were able to liberate the country in 1635; they then extended their control to most of Yemen from Najran to the Hadramawt.

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See also Aden; Arwa; Sulayhids; Rasulids; Zaydis

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Z

ZANKIDS

The Zankids were a Turkmen dynasty, several branches of which ruled in Jazira and Syria between 1127 and 1251 CE. Zanki, the founder of the dynasty, was the son of Aqsunqur, a military slave of the Seljuk sultan Malikshah and ruler of Aleppo between 1087 and 1094. In 1127, Sultan Mahmud made Zanki ruler of Mosul and atabeg (guardian and tutor) for his two sons. In 1129, the sultan appointed him malik (king) of the West. Zanki took advantage of the struggles for succession of the Seljuk sultans and their problems with the 'Abbasid caliphs to solidify his own base of power in Mosul. By 1128, he controlled Aleppo and then campaigned in Syria, attacking the atabeg state of the Burids in Damascus and seizing territory in southeastern Anatolia. He won his greatest fame in 1144, when he conquered the Crusader County of Edessa, which provoked the Second Crusade.

When Zanki was murdered in 1146, his two sons divided his realm. Ghazi took Mosul and the territories in Jazira, whereas Nur al-Din Mahmud took Aleppo and the territories in Syria. Zanki's most renowned descendant was Nur al-Din, in whom he inspired a Sunni religious zeal against both the Shi'is and, especially, the Crusaders. In 1154, Nur al-Din captured Damascus, putting an end to the Burids and uniting most of Syria against the Crusaders. His army entered Egypt several times, and, in 1169, its commander, Shirkuh, became vizier to the greatly weakened Fatimid caliph. Shirkuh's nephew Saladin abolished the Fatimid caliphate in 1171 and acknowledged the authority of Nur al-Din. Around the same time, Nur al-Din conquered Jazira and established suzerainty over Mosul. He died in 1174 at the height of his power.

Nur al-Din's state did not long survive him. Saladin immediately invaded Syria and took Damascus. By 1183, he had conquered all of the Zankid territory in Syria. The descendants of Ghazi managed to retain Mosul somewhat longer. Saladin attacked Ghazi in 1175–1176, and he invaded Jazira in 1182–1183 and 1185–1186. This fragmented the Zankid territory into five principalities that acknowledged Saladin's suzerainty. Saladin's Ayyubid successors maintained supremacy in that region. In 1209, his brother al-'Adil annexed part of Jazira. In 1211, Mas'ud II became atabeg of Mosul. Mas'ud's father had chosen a military slave, Badr al-Din Lu'lu', to serve as regent. Badr al-Din eventually became so powerful that he could depose the Zankid atabegs while keeping the Ayyubids in check. In 1233, the last Zankid claimant to Mosul died, and the caliph recognized Badr al-Din as the new ruler of that city. Minor branches of the Zankids at Sinjar and Jazirat Ibn 'Umar fell under Ayyubid dominion in 1220 and 1251, respectively. The branch at Shahrazur was destroyed by the Mongols in 1245.

The Zankids did much to encourage the economic and cultural revival of Jazira and Syria. They rebuilt cities, established such institutions as hospitals and madrasas, ensured the supremacy of Sunnism over Shi'ism in their territory, and played a critical role in repelling the Crusaders.

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See also 'Abbasids; Ayyubids; Fatimids, Jihad; Muslim–Crusader Relations; Seljuks; Shi'ism; Slavery, Military

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ZAYD IBN THABIT

Zayd ibn Thabit was a Medinan, born in 611 CE, who served as the Prophet Muhammad's scribe after the Hijra. Since he was only eleven years old at the time of the Hijra, he must have become Muhammad's scribe while he was a mere teenager. Zayd gained this prestigious position in part because of his knowledge of Hebrew and/or Syriac script.

Zayd played a particularly important role in the collection and codification of the Qur'anic text. Reports vary in their descriptions of when the Qur'an was first collected and committed to writing. Some reports assert that the impetus to create a standard, written text came after the death of many of the qurra' in the battles of the Ridda wars after Muhammad's death. Abu Bakr and 'Umar feared that the divine revelation would be lost if too many of those who knew it were killed in battle; they therefore urged Zayd to collect and compile the revelation. Other accounts place the establishment of a standard Qur'an text earlier, during the last year of Muhammad's life, when he edited a final copy of the Qur'an that Zayd had written down. Still other reports suggest that there was not an agreed-upon text until the reign of 'Uthman, when the caliph assigned Zayd and three other companions to collect variant readings and establish a canonical text. In each of these versions of the compilation and codification of the Qur'anic text, Zayd ibn Thabit was the central figure.

During the strife at the end of 'Uthman's reign, Zayd was one of the few prominent Medinans (Ansar) to remain loyal to the caliph and to refuse to support 'Ali ibn Abi Talib. He had been a loyal servant to Uthman and remained loyal to his kinsman Mu'awiya after he came to power in 41/661. Various reports indicate that Zayd served as a qadi, as head of the treasury, as keeper of the diwan, and in other capacities. He was also recognized as an expert in the distribution of inheritance *(fara'id)*, which required both a familiarity with Qur'anic rules and considerable mathematical skill.

Zayd's young age and the prestige associated with his position as Muhammad's scribe made him a particularly important hadith transmitter. He had many students, and the veracity of his hadith transmissions was not questioned by later commentators. This is to be expected, because questioning his competence as a muhaddith implicitly cast doubt upon the veracity of his recording of the Qur'an itself. Even pro-'Alid sources do not malign Zayd's compilation of the Qur'an, although some explain his loyalty to Uthman as a consequence of the considerable wealth he accumulated while serving the caliph. Zayd's death date is uncertain, but it is likely sometime between 42/662 and 56/675.

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ZAYDIS

Zaydi is a branch of Shi'i Islam that emerged in support of the abortive revolt of Zayd ibn 'Ali in Kufa against Umayyad rule in 740 CE. Unlike the Twelver or Imami Shi'is, Zaydis do not unconditionally condemn the first three caliphs who preceded 'Ali ibn Abi Talib to the leadership of the Muslim community after the Prophet's death, and they do not consider Sunni Muslims to be infidels. As such, they are often considered moderates. In political terms, however (and again unlike the quietist Twelvers), the Zaydis are militant and insist on armed rebellion against unjust Sunni rule as a religious obligation. They also seek to establish righteous rule under a qualified *imam* (supreme leader) from the Prophet's

family *(ahl al-bayt)*. Thus, the Zaydi doctrine of the imamate is one of the group's most distinctive features, and their history is dominated by a number of hugely influential imams.

Zaydi law has set a number of rigorous qualifications for the imamate, the most important of which are religious knowledge *(ijtihad)* and descent from either of 'Ali ibn Abi Talib's two sons, al-Hasan or al-Husayn. Zaydis hold that 'Ali was the most excellent of men after the Prophet and that he and his two sons were designated by the Prophet as his legatees. After al-Husayn, the imamate could only be established through a summons to allegiance *(da'wa)* and the armed rising *(khuruj)* by a qualified candidate. Over the course of time, Zaydis were able to establish several states in two distinct geographical locations: (1) in the Caspian regions of Tabaristan, Daylam, and Gilan; and (2) in the highlands of Yemen. The Zaydis do not follow the legal teachings of the imam after whom they are named (i.e., Zayd ibn 'Ali) but rather those of certain later imams, two of whom established states. In matters of theology, Zaydis are antideterminist and anti-anthropomorphist. In the Caspian, the first Zaydi state was established in 864 by al-Hasan ibn Zayd, and the last ended in 1526–1527 in eastern Gilan with the conversion of its ruler to Twelver Shi'ism. Here two rival schools of law emerged: the *Qasimiyya* (followers of al-Qasim ibn Ibrahim [d. 860]) and the *Nasiriyya* (followers of al-Nasir al-Hasan ibn 'Ali al-Utrush [d. 914]). These were ultimately reconciled doctrinally through the adoption of the principle that all mujtahids were correct regardless of their differences.

It is in the Caspian that Zaydi scholars developed a theology that was heavily influenced by Mu'tazilism, and, through their close connections with the Zaydis of Yemen, they were able to transmit these to the latter community. In the Yemen and at the invitation of the local tribes, Imam al-Hadi Yahya ibn al-Husayn (d. 911; grandson of the aforementioned al-Qasim b. Ibrahim) established a state in Sa'da in 897, and this lasted, under varying conditions of expansion and contraction, until 1962, with the emergence of the modern republic of Yemen. Al-Hadi's teachings in law became dominant among the Zaydis of Yemen and ultimately even among the Caspian Zaydis. During the reign of the last great Zaydi state, the Qasimis (1635–1850s), dynastic rule became the norm, and a group of influential Sunni-oriented reformist scholars emerged under Qasimi patronage, causing a Sunnification of the religious and political environment. The most prominent Sunni-oriented scholar who helped effect this change was Muhammad al-Shawkani (d. 1834).

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ZIRYAB, ABU 'L-HASAN 'ALI BIN NAFI'

Abu 'l-Hasan 'Ali bin Nafi' Ziryab was an Iraqi musician born around 790 CE who died in Cordoba (Al-Andalus) in 852. His figure became the embodiment of the Andalusi classical musical style, and he was allegedly the arbiter of fashion in Cordoba under the reign of the Umayyad Emir 'Abd al-Rahman II (r. 822–852). He is historically better known by his nickname *Ziryab* ("Jay") than by his full name.

Extant sources tell us that Ziryab was forced to flee Baghdad after his musical mentor Ishaq al-Mawsili became jealous of him when Caliph Harun al-Rashid showed the young musician an esteem that might jeopardize al-Mawsili's position in the court. Ziryab subsequently settled down in Qayrawan, Tunisia, where he served the Aglabid rulers until he fell in disgrace. He then gained the Spanish shores and entered the service of the Umayyad emir (the *de facto* independent ruler) of Muslim Iberia, 'Abd al-Rahman II. Sources indicate that, until Ziryab's death and that of the emir himself (which occurred in the same year), the Andalusi sovereign treated Ziryab with the highest consideration.

Ziryab has traditionally been credited with introducing the refinements of the Oriental metropolis of Baghdad to Cordoba. He is said to have influenced the spread of cooking, clothing, hairdressing, and other arts and crafts fashions by introducing Eastern styles to the western Islamic world. However reliable this account is, it is true that a whole array of culture and etiquette principles that formed the bulk of Andalusi (and, later, North African) sophistication are ascribed to his merit. Modern scholarship has contested Ziryab's real influence, identifying later figures as initiators of the practices and styles that have been previously attributed to Ziryab's influence.

Ziryab is said to have founded a music-teaching institution in the Andalusi capital, Cordoba, where he taught the principles of the Baghdadi school to his sons and daughters. His songs were apparently collected in *Kitab fi Agani Ziryab (Ziryab's Songbook)*,

which is no longer in existence. Ziryab endorsed several innovations that had an effect on the fundamental instrument of Arab music, the lute *('ud)*. He is reported to have added a fifth, red-colored string to the lute; this string would correspond with the soul, following the Arab idea that each string influences *(ta'thir)* a particular organ of the human body. (It has also been claimed that the philosopher and humanist, al-Kindi, as well as Ziryab's mentor, Ishaq al-Mawsili, introduced the five-stringed lute.)

Ziryab's alleged novelties include exchanging the traditional wooden plectrum used for plucking the lute for a vulture quill. He is also said to have made the two lower strings of his instrument out of wolf gut, and he may have introduced a new way of cleaning the silk of the higher strings. He claimed that his lute weighed a third less than most other lutes.

More importantly, Ziryab assumed the continuity of Oriental musical practices in the Islamic Occident. His performances began with a measured song with an unmeasured recitative. He closely followed the modes of the East; his songs increased in lightness and tempo in lyrics and tune, thereby favoring the consolidation of the *nawba* (vocal suite) genre, which later became the paramount Andalusi musical genre.

More than anything else, it is the Andalusi/Maghribi *nawba* that justifies the musician's fame. As previously mentioned, tradition credits Ziryab with the composition of the integral collection of Andalusi nawbas. One must bear in mind that a compilation featuring all eleven of the Moroccan nawbas requires a total of seventy three compact discs.

Historical reality does seem to have evolved rather differently, according to French musicologist Christian Poché in his work on Andalusi music. A thirteenth-century work by al-Tifashi (1184–1253) gives an account of the evolution of the so-called classical Arab music through the portrayal of its greatest performers. According to his report, the main figure who helped this type of music to acquire its structure was the twelfth-century Andalusi philosopher Ibn Bajja (Latinized as *Avempace)*. Ibn Bajja was the first to merge the singing techniques of the East with those of the western Islamic world. In Al-Andalus and North Africa, a diatonic scale is used; this is in opposition with the musical practice of the Orient. Moreover, Andalusi and Maghribi music does not include the quarter tones that are featured in Eastern styles. Ziryab seems to have historically been used as a narrative excuse rather than with any regard for his actual historical integrity.

A nawba is a highly structured vocal and instrumental piece based on a principal mode *(tab')*, along with some secondary ones. It fuses Arabic rhythms with ancient Greek music modes. Each nawba adopts a suite structure, usually in a binary or ternary form, thereby allowing little scope for rhythmic variation as compared with music from the East. Every two movements are linked with a brief musical phrase that is called *kursi* (chair) in Arabic. A vocal solo can be substituted for this instrumental link; this style allows the singer to sing alone and demonstrate his or her vocal ability. The singer can also take this moment to move emotions in the audience by interpreting the most beautiful poetic passage of the lyrics.

A certain mystical content has traditionally been associated with the Andalusi nawba; this has led to the idea that each nawba is linked to a certain moment of the day. Thus, there may be twenty-four nawbas, one for each hour of the day. Subtle disparities can be found between the modern musical genres of Morocco's tarab al-a'la, hawzi, and malhun; Algeria's maluf, gharnati, and sana'a; and Tunisia's maluf; however, they can all still be recognized as branches of the single musical form of the nawba.

JESÚS DE PRADO PLUMED

See also 'Abd al-Rahman III; Aghlabids; Al-Farabi (Alfarabius or Avennasar); Al-Kindi; Al-Maqqari; Andalus; Harun al-Rashid; Ibn Quzman; Mystical Poetry; Music; Nawruz; Performing Artists; Poetry, Arabic; Qayrawan

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ZOROASTRIANISM

Designations

Medieval Zoroastrians referred to their religion by the Middle Persian or Pahlavi phrase *den i Mazdesn* (religion of Mazda), because they regarded Ahura Mazda (Wise Lord) as the Creator. The expression *Zardushtig den* (Zoroastrian religion) was also used,

because they regarded their devotions as having originated from the preachings of a devotional poet named Zarathushtra (Middle Persian: Zardukhsht, Zardusht; New Persian or Farsi: Zardosht). Therefore, they called themselves *Mazdesnan* (Worshipers of Mazda) and *Zartoshtiyan* (Zoroastrians).

Medieval Muslims writing in Classical Arabic and New Persian designated all Zoroastrians as *al-Majus* (Magians) on the basis of the technical term for Zoroastrian priests or magi (Middle Persian: maguk, mowbed, mowmard; New Persian: mobed). Zoroastrian acts of worship customarily were conducted in the presence of fires on altars inside fire temples (Middle Persian: atakhshkadag; New Persian: ateshkade), so the New Persian term *atashparast* (fire worshipper), picked up from Christians, become an insult directed by Muslims at Zoroastrians, despite the latters' protesting that their actions were similar to Muslims facing prayer niches and the Ka'ba. Another New Persian designation that came to be used by Muslims to deride Zoroastrians as nonbelievers in God was *gabr* (hollow, empty, one lacking faith, infidel), despite the latter sect's claim that their scripture—the Avesta—was a holy book just like the Bible and the Qur'an.

Conversion to Islam, Minority Status, and Doctrinal Interaction

The Arab Muslim conquest of Zoroastrian Iran and overthrow of the Sasanian dynasty (224–651 CE) during the seventh century came to be associated with apocalyptic and prophetic expectations. Zoroastrian apocalypticism alluded to doom and the final days of humanity. Islamic prophecy highlighted triumph, presenting the Prophet Muhammad (ca. 570–632) and the Muslim caliphs as successors to Zarathushtra and the Sasanian monarchs. Because people believed those statements, they acted on their beliefs. Many despondent Zoroastrians, concluding that a true deity would not have forsaken them or their religion, chose to accept the faith that had demonstrated its ascendance through political victory. Urban Irani Zoroastrians adopted Islam between the eighth and tenth centuries CE, and that faith spread among rural folk from the tenth through thirteenth centuries CE. As residents' confessional alliance shifted to Islam, there was a diminishment of contributions to pious foundations that supported the magi. Consequently, many Zoroastrian ecclesiastical institutions, such as fire temples and *herbedestans* (seminaries), were either transformed into Islamic mosques and Sunni madrasas, respectively, or abandoned and destroyed by the fourteenth century. The *chahar taq* (four arch) style of the Zoroastrian fire precinct, with its domed roof, passed into Muslim architecture as domed mosques.

Zoroastrianism initially represented the dominant faith numerically—although no longer politically—in those regions of the Islamic empire that were seized from the Sasanians and the princes of western Central Asia. To facilitate peaceful governance, medieval Muslim scholars drew upon hadith (traditions) attributed to Muhammad and caliphs like 'Umar I (d. 644) and 'Ali ibn Abi Talib (598–661) for incorporating Zoroastrians into the ahl al-dhimma (protected communities). Not all Muslims recognized Zoroastrians as a dhimmi community, but the Umayyad (661–750) and 'Abbasid (750–1258) caliphates did.

Because dhimmi status provided at least nominal safety to the Zoroastrians as a religious minority, magi facilitated the Zoroastrian claim to that position by making copies of the Avesta and its Zand (exegesis). Zarathushtra's hagiography was augmented to reshape him as a Near-Eastern prophet who had preceded Muhammad. Ahura Mazda was gradually transformed into the Zoroastrian God. Angra Mainyu (Angry Spirit), who had originally been Ahura Mazda's spiritual opposite, became the Devil. Zoroastrianism influenced Islam as well, with Iranian traditions of afterlife—including the imagery of a bridge leading to a heaven filled with pleasure and notions of an apocalypse at the end of time, followed by an eschaton—entering both Sunnism and Shi'ism.

Medieval Migrations

The Arab Muslim conquest of Iran triggered migrations by Zoroastrians. Some Zoroastrians, especially Sasanian nobles and military personnel, immigrated to China. Zoroastrians survived in China as late as the middle fourteenth century, after which time they were completely assimilated into the local population. The situation proved different for those who went to India in the tenth century and formed the Parsi (Persian) community there.

The Zoroastrian migration to India is recorded as the Parsi community's founding legend, known as the New Persian *Qessa-e Sanjan (Story of Sanjan)*. According to that text, during the reign of the Samanid kings (892–1005), groups of Zoroastrians left the northeastern Iranian province of Khorasan to avoid forced conversion to Islam. Their descendents finally reached Gujarat in western India via the sea in 936. About five years after their arrival, the Parsis consecrated an *ātesh behrām* (victory fire, the highest level of ritual fire), called Iran Shah (King of Iran), which

remained their main flame for more than eight hundred years. Most religious rituals were performed using *dadgah* (hearth) fires. The *jizya* (poll tax) was imposed on Parsis in 1297, when the Delhi Muslim sultanate conquered Gujarat. Economic hardship created by payment of the jizya, plus the stigma of designation as dhimmis, resulted in the conversion of portions of the Parsi population to Islam. However, the community persisted in their beliefs and praxes, with the result being that early European travelers began to encounter them; for example, in 1350, the Dominican friar Jordanus commented on the exposure of Parsi corpses. When their Indian religious stronghold at Sanjan was sacked by the Muzaffarid Sultan Mahmud Begath (Begada; r. 1458–1511) around the year 1465, Parsi magi transferred the Iran Shah atesh behram to a mountain cave for twelve years to ensure that it continued to burn unhindered by Muslims. Eventually, in 1479, the flame was moved to the Parsi city of Navsari to once again become the main locus of Zoroastrian piety in India.

Medieval Iran

Between the eighth and fifteenth centuries, the lives of Zoroastrians as members of a dhimmi community were governed by religious tenets and by a sectarian society dominated by Muslim men. Realizing that cross-communal contacts threatened the traditional way of life, magi outlawed sex, marriage, and most forms of interaction by Zoroastrians with Muslims unless such contact was vital for a Zoroastrians livelihood or safety. Likewise, Muslim jurists such as Malik ibn Anas (716–795) ruled that Zoroastrians should not be permitted to marry Muslims unless Islam was adopted. However, intermarriage across confessional boundaries became increasingly frequent, with Zoroastrian spouses experiencing rejection from their co-religionists. In response to this, they adopted Islam and raised their children as Muslims. Because Zoroastrians were regarded as unclean, Muslims initially were not supposed to eat food prepared by Zoroastrians. Traditions attributed to various early caliphs, including ʻAli and an ex-Zoroastrian companion of the Prophet Muhammad named Salman al-Farisi (d. 656), developed to overcome that barrier, eventually resulting in Muslim jurists such as Ahmad ibn Hanbal (780–855) decreeing that meals prepared by Zoroastrians could be consumed by Muslims.

Such social interactions between Muslims and Zoroastrians notwithstanding, their minority status resulted in considerable hardship for followers of Zoroastrianism. For example, the powerful Seljuk vizier Nizam al-Mulk (d. 1092 CE) enjoined that Zoroastrians, like other dhimmis, should not be appointed to positions of authority over Muslims, and he even equated them with Muslim groups that he regarded as heretical. Even more problematic was that Zoroastrians' standing under Islamic law was secondary to members of the majority confessional group, thereby affecting the equitable resolution of commercial and social disputes. The jizya was usually collected by community leaders rather than paid directly to Muslim officials by each Zoroastrian; here, too, however, there was an impact of legal inequality. Mahmud ibn ʻUmar al-Zamakhshari (1075–1144), an important Muslim theologian, suggested that Zoroastrians be publicly humiliated each time the jizya was paid. After 850 CE, Zoroastrians were required to wear yellow caps, shawls, belts, and badges so that Muslims could easily identify them, and the use of horses and saddles by Zoroastrians was forbidden by Muslim authorities.

Conquest and rule of Iran by the Mongols (1219–1256), Ilkhanids (1256–1335), and Timurids (1370–1507) resulted in violence against urban Zoroastrians residing in city quarters that had been specifically designated for them. Those seeking to avoid harm often sought protection through reaffiliating their faith to Islam. Those Zoroastrians who survived sought refuge by moving to out-of-the-way locales within the Fars, Yazd, and Kerman provinces of Iran. There the magi attempted to maintain Zoroastrian rites and beliefs by compiling religious literature known as the *Pahlavi Books* in Middle Persian and the *Revayats (Treatises)* in New Persian.

JAMSHEED K. CHOKSY

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INDEX

A

'AAud al-Dawla, 461
Abagha Ilkhan, 541
Aban al-Lahiqi, 229
Abaqa, 63, 383, 574
Abarshahr, 838
Abazir, 767
'Abbada 'l-Mukhannath, 600
'Abbadid Court, 355
'Abbas, 521
'Abbas I, 63, 401, 530, 587, 687, 725–727
'Abbas II, 63, 687
'Abbasid(s)
  adab under, 13
  astronomy by, 77
  black banners used by, 178s
  civil war among, 2
  clothing worn by, 161
  Commercial Revolution under, 497
  concubines owned by, 169–170
  court system, 178–179
  eclecticism, 587
  in Egypt, 224–225
  espionage by, 240
  glass mosaics, 516
  "Golden Age" of, 1
  ideology, 392
  Iranians' role in, 141
  in Khurasan, 438
  mosques, 520
  Nafs al-Zakiyya and, 552–553
  name origin of, 1
  palaces of, 62, 711
  Persian societal influences, 1
  revolution, 131
  ruling period by, 131
  scholars, 700
  slave-soldiers used by, 2
  spying by, 240
  thrones used by, 272
  viziers, 855
'Abbasid al-Mu'tasim, 769
'Abbasid caliphate, 518, 834
'Abbasid caliphs
  Abu Tammam's interactions with, 11
  decentralization of, 304
  establishment of, 484
  extermination of, by heirs of Genghis Khan, 281
  gardens built by, 328
  Harun al-Rashid, 51, 838
  Ma'mun, al-, *See* Ma'mun, al-
  Mansur, al-, 131, 468
  Mongol execution of, 1
  Mustadi', al-, 690
  Qarakhanids, 142
  titles of, 1
'Abbasid Dynasty
  Arabs during, 59
  backgammon during, 89
  chess during, 148–149
  court dress during, 178–179
  description of, 1
  diplomacy during, 207
  eunuchs in, 243
  fay' during, 598–599
  Hijaz during, 54
  housing during, 330–331
  judges during, 424
  love poetry during, 455–456
  Nawruz during, 559
  performing arts during, 599–600
  Silk Roads in, 746–747
  Translation Movement during, 336
  Yamama during, 55
Abd Abdillah al-Mazeri, 374
Abd Abdillah Muhammad ibn Abdillah ibn Tumart, *See* Ibn Tumart
'Abd al Karim, 752
'Abd al Latif, 752
'Abd al-'Ali al-Karaki, 505
'Abd al-Gani al-Nabulusi, 23
'Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulusi, 201
'Abd al-Hamid, 506, 658
'Abd al-Hamid al-Katib, 66
Abd al-Hamid ibn Badi, 677
'Abd al-Haqq, 206
'Abd al-Jabbar, 107
Abd al-Jabbar Ibn Ibn Hamdis, *See* Ibn Hamdis
'Abd al-Karim, 141
'Abd Allah, 302, 776
'Abd Allah al-Ma'mun, *See* Ma'mun, al-
Abd Allah bin Ali, 95
'Abd Allah I, 720
'Abd Allah ibn al-Zubayr, 54
'Abd Allah ibn As'ad al-Yafi'i, 413, 463
'Abd Allah ibn Buluggin, 361
'Abd Allah ibn Burayda, 859
'Abd Allah ibn Jud'an, 204
'Abd Allah ibn Lahi'ah, 474
'Abd Allah ibn Mubarak, 452, 715
'Abd Allah ibn Wahb, 476
'Abd al-Latif ibn Yusuf al-Baghdadi, Muwaffaq al-Din abu Muhammad, 2–3, 611
'Abd al-Majid, 676
'Abd al-Malik, 206, 213, 415, 450, 514, 590, 593, 631, 639, 682, 692, 848
Abd al-Malik ibn 'Attash, 317
'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan, 3, 50, 57, 77, 131, 162, 212, 316, 866

'Abd al-Mashi ibn 'Abdallah ibn Na'ima al-Himsi, 610
'Abd al-Mu'mim Bin 'Ali, 308
'Abd al-Mu'min, 37
Abd al-Qadir Abu 'l-Mafakhir, 413
'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani, 98, 152, 413
'Abd al-Qadir ibn Ghaybi al-Maraghi, 534
'Abd al-Qahir al-Jurjani, 680
'Abd al-Qays, 94
'Abd al-Rahman, 43, 176, 425, 593, 846
'Abd al-Rahman al-Kawakibi, 677
'Abd al-Rahman bin 'Ali Abu 'l-Faraj Ibn al-Jawzi, 679
'Abd al-Rahman I, 176, 328, 720
'Abd al-Rahman II, 176, 722, 875
'Abd al-Rahman III
  biographical information about, 3–4
  Cordoba under, 176
  death of, 4
  description of, 608, 720, 864
  gardens built by, 328
  Madinat al-Zahra', 4
  military achievements of, 4
'Abd al-Rahman Jami, 824
'Abd al-Ra'uf al-Singkili, 466, 665
'Abd al-Razzaq, 482
'Abd al-Razzaq al-Qashani, 385
'Abd al-Razzaq al-San'ani, 166, 701
'Abd al-Razzaq Lahiji, 531
'Abd al-Salam al-Qazwini, 451
'Abd al-Wahhab al-Sha'rani, 80, 807
'Abd qinn, 599
'Abd Shams, 846
Abdallah al-Hasan, 551–552
Abdallah al-Ma'mum, 315
'Abdallah Ansari, 824
'Abdallah ibn 'Abbas, 199
Abdallah ibn Tahir, 402
Abdu l-Muttalib, 157, 525
Abdul Latif, 620
Abdul Qadir al-Suhrawardi, 773
'Abdu'l Qadir Jilani, 773
Abdulhaqq Dihlawi, 674
'Abdullah al-Mahdi, 250, 404–405
Abdullhamid II, 581–582
'Abdulmu'min al-Kûmî, 374
Abgineh, 297
Abi, al-, 335–336, 426
Abimelech, 29
Abjad system, 567
Ab-Ja'far Muhammad ibn Jarar al-Tabari, *See* Tabari, al-
Abode of Islam, 596
Abode of Knowledge, 450, 452
Abode of Wisdom, 450–451
Aboo-Zeyd, 229
Abrabam Ibn Ezra, 618
Abraha, 525
Abraham, 29, 192, 429, 431, 546
Abraham Abu'l-Afiyan, 547
Abraham Ibn Ezra, 710
Abraham ibn 'Ezra, 301
Abram Abu Rabi'a he-Iasid, 547
Abridgment on the Physician's Science, 489–490
Absolute Truth, The, 460
Abu 'Abd Allah al-Jaihani, 692
Abu 'Abd Allah Ja'far ibn Muhammad Rudaki, 693
Abu 'Abd Allah Mas'ud ibn 'Abd Allâh al-Jawi, 463
Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn 'Abd Allah ibn Idris al-'Ala bi-Amr Allah, *See* Idrisi, al-
Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad ibn 'Umar, 858–859
Abu 'Abd al-Rahhman al-Nasa'i, 440
Abu al-'Ala' Salim, 506
Abu al-Fadl Ahmad ibn al-Husayn al-Hamadhani, *See* Hamadhani, Badi' al-Zaman
Abu al-Fadl Bal'ami, 121
Abu al-Fadlk Muhammad al-Bal'ami, 692
Abu al-Faraj, 617, 866
Abu al-Faraj al-Isbahani, 534
Abu al-Faraj al-Isfahani, 13, 866
Abu al-Fath al-Iskandari, 312
Abu al-Fazl Baihaqi, 605
Abu al-Futuh Yusuf, 744
Abu al-Hasan 'Ali ibn al-Husayn al-Mas'udi, 138
Abu al-Hasan 'Ali Sayf al-Dawla, 313
Abu 'Ali al-Hafiz al-Nisaburi, 537
Abu 'Ali al-Hasan ibn al-Haytham, *See* Ibn al-Haytham
Abu 'Ali al-Hasan ibn Sina, *See* Ibn Sina
Abu 'Ali al-Jubba'i, 453, 701
Abu 'Ali ibn al-Hasan al-Hatimi, 543
Abu 'Ali ibn 'Ali al-Tusi Nizam al-Mulk, *See* Nizam al-Mulk
Abu 'Ali Muhammad, 121
Abu al-Ibar, 600
Abu al-Qasim 'Ali ibn al-Hasan ibn 'Asakir, *See* Ibn 'Asakir
Abu al-Qasim al-Qushairi, 562
Abu al-Rayhan Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Biruni, 140
Abû al-Wahîd Muhammad ibn Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Rushd, *See* Ibn Rushd
Abu Bahkr, 23
Abu Bakir Muhammad ibn Ahmed al-Shashi, 374
Abu Bakr
  in Cyprus, 188
  description of, 59, 72, 130, 168, 171, 625, 844
  Fatima bint Muhammad's dealings with, 248
  Khalid ibn al-Walid and, 435
Abu Bakr 'Abd al-Qahir ibn 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Muhammad al-Jurjani, *See* Jurjani, al-
Abu Bakr al-Baqillani, 809
Abu Bakr al-Baydhaq, 80
Abu Bakr al-Razi, 772, 827
Abu Bakr al-Turtushi, 469
Abu Bakr ibn 'Abd al-Malik, *See* Ibn Quzman
Abu Bakr ibn Abi Quhafa, 5, 39, 109
Abu Bakr ibn al-'Arabi, 832
Abu Bakr Ibn Quzman, 260–261
Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn 'Ali al-Madhara'i, 590
Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn Zakariyya' al-Razi, *See* Razi, al-
Abu Bakr Muhammed, 13
Abu Bishr 'Amr ibn 'Uthman ibn Qanbar, *See* Sibawayhi
Abu Bishr Matta, 68
Abu Bishr Matta ibn Yunus, 827
Abu Dawud, 307
Abu Dhabi, 94
Abu Faraj al-Isfahani, 859
Abu Fazl, 773
Abu Firas, 616
Abu Hafs, 309
Abu Hafs 'Umar al-Balluti, 494
Abu Hamid al-Andalusi, 287
Abu Hamid al-Ghazali, 679, 824
Abu Hamid Muhammad al-Ghazali, *See* Ghazali, al-
Abu Hamza al-Khariji, 54
Abu Hanifa, 44, 207, 402, 552, 660, 715

Abu Hanifa al-Nu'man
biographical data, 5–6
daily routines of, 5–6
death of, 6
doctrines by, 6
writings by, 6
Abu Hanifah, 165
Abu Harun, *See* Moses Ibn Ezra
Abu Hatim, 830
Abu Hatim al-Razi, 108, 671
Abu Hayyan al-Tawhidi, 333
Abu Himyar Saba' ibn Ahmad al-Sulayhi, 70
Abu Hurayra, 171
Abu Ibrahim Ahmad, 19
Abu 'Inan Faris, 352, 479
Abu 'Isa al-Warraq, 349
Abu Ishaq al-Mu'tasim, 92
Abu Ishaq Yequti'el ibn Isaac ibn Hasan, 355
Abu Ja'far al-Khazin, 32
Abu Ja'far al-Mansur, 92
Abu Ja'far al-Tabari, 94, 701
Abu Ja'far al-Tahawi, 809
Abu Ja'far Ibn Sa'id, 308
Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn 'Ali, *See* Muhammad al-Baqir
Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Jarir al-Tabari, 140
Abu Kalijar, 123, 522
Abu Kamil, 31–32
Abu Khuzayma, 831
Abu 'l-Abbas, 309
Abu 'l-'Abbas al-Saffah, 552
Abû l-'Ala' Ahmad ibn Abd Allâh al-Ma'arri, 6–7
Abu l-'Ala' al-Ma'arri, 268, 452
Abu l-Darda, 714
Abu 'l-Fadl, 798
Abu 'l-Fadl al-Bayhaqi, 8–9
Abu 'l-Fadl 'Allami, 24
Abu 'l-Fadl Ibn al-'Amid, 452
Abu 'l-Faraj al-Isfahani, 600
Abu 'l-Faraj Ya'qub ibn Killis, *See* Ya'qub ibn Killis
Abu 'l-Fath, 798
Abu 'l-Fazl 'Allami, 9
Abu 'l-Hasan 'Ali, 479
Abu 'l-Hasan 'Ali bin Nafi' Ziryab, *See* Ziryab
Abu 'l-Hasan 'Ali ibn Muhammad ibn Habib al-Mawardi, *See* Mawardi, al-
Abu 'l-Hasan 'Ali ibn Musa ibn Ja'far al-Sadiq, *See* 'Ali al-rida
Abu 'l-Hasan Ibn Sudun, 260
Abu l-Hudhayl, 544
Abu l-Husayn Shahid, 671
Abu 'l-'Ibar, 600
Abu l-Mawahib al-Tunisi al-Shadhili, 385
Abu l-Mutarrif Ibn Futays 'Abd al-Rahman, 452
Abu 'l-Qasem Ferdowsi, *See* Ferdowsi
Abu 'l-Qasim, 383
Abu l-Qasim 'Abdallah ibn Ahmad al-Ka'bi, 671
Abu 'l-Qasim al-Balkhi, 377
Abu l-Qasim al-Ka'bi al-Balkhi, 701
Abu 'l-Qasim Ubaydallah ibn Abdallah, *See* Ibn Khurradadhbih
Abu 'l-Quasim al-Shari'I, 2
Abu 'l-Rabi' 'Amir ibn Sulayman al-Zawahi, 70
Abu 'l-Rayhan al-Biruni, 483, 698
Abu Mansur 'Abd al-Malik al-Tha'alibi, 705
Abu Mansur al-Maturidi, 809
Abu Mansur Muhammad ibn Ahmad Daqiqi, 693
Abu Ma'shar, 75
Abu Muhamad Qasim al-Hariri, 312
Abu Muhammad al-Bashir, 374
Abu Muhammad al-Hasan, 312
Abu Nasr al-Farabi, 534
Abu Nasr Hibat Allah Ibn Musa Ibn Abi 'Imran ibn Da'ud al-Shirazi, *See* Mu'ayyad fi al-Din, al-
Abu Nu'aym, 401–402, 409
Abu Nuwas, 10, 27
Abu Qurra, Theodore, 393
Abu Rakwa, 311
Abu Sa'd al-Tustari, 497
Abu Sahl al-Kuhi, 289
Abu Sa'id, 384, 541, 588
Abu Sa'id 'Uthman, 308
Abu Shama, 10–11, 80
Abu Shuja' Fanna Khusraw, *See* 'Adud al-Dawla
Abu Shujâ' Fâtik 'Azîz al-Dawla, 7
Abu Sulayman al-Khattabi, 427
Abu Sulayman al-Sijistani, 826
Abu Tahir al-Qurmuti, 54
Abu Tahir al-Silafi, 31, 716
Abu Talib, 228, 526
Abu Talib al-Makki, 316, 679
Abu Tammam, 11, 229, 543, 616
Abu 'Ubayd 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Bakri, *See* Bakri, al-
'Abu 'Ubayd al-Qasim ibn Sallam, 476
Abu 'Ubayda, 551
Abu 'Ubaydah, 707
Abu 'Umar Muhammad ibn Yusuf al-Kindii, *See* Kindi, al-
Abu 'Uthman al-Dimashqi, 827
Abu 'Uthman Al-Jahiz, 46
Abu 'Uthman 'Amr ibn Bahr ibn Mahbub al-Kinani al-Fuqaymi al-Basri al-Jahiz, *See* Jahiz, al-
Abû Ya'qûb, 328
Abu Ya'qub al-Sijistani, 405
Abu Ya'qub Yusuf, 38, 720
Abu Ya'qub Yusuf al-Sakkaki, 680
Abu Yayyan at-Tawhidi, 377
Abu Yusuf
Abu Hanifa's influences on, 6
description of, 206, 598, 626, 702
Abu Yusuf Ya'qub, 450, 479
Abu Yusuf Ya'qub al-Kindi, 610
Abu Yusuf Ya'qub al-Mansur, 38
Abu Zakariyya', 309
Abu Zayd, 462
Abu Zayd 'Abd al-Rahman Qali al-Din al-Hadrami, *See* Ibn Khaldun
Abu Zayd Ahmad ibn Sahl al-Balkhi, 671
Abu Zayd al-Qurash, 260
Abu Zayd al-Sirafi, 286
Abu Zayn Kahhal, 490
Abu'l 'Abbas Ahmad ibn 'Ali ibn Yusuf al-Buni, 795
Abu'l-Abas al-Mursi, 546
Abu'l-Fadl Bal'ami, 823
Abu'l-Faraj Harun, 433
Abu'l-Faraj Ibn Asad, 709
Abu'l-Fath Jalal al-Din Muhammad Akbar, *See* Akbar
Abu'l-Fath 'Uthman Ibn Jinni, 543
Abu'l-Fazl, 20
Abu'l-Hasan al-Ash'ari, 640
Abu'l-Hasan 'ali ibn Abi'l-Hayja' Sayf al-Dawla, 542
Abu'l-Hasanal-Shadhili, 546

Abu'l-Hayyan al-Tawhidi, 114
Abu'l-Ma'ali Rukn al-Din Abd al-Malik ibn Abdullah al-Juwayni, *See* Juwayni
Abu'l-Misk Kafur, 543
Abu'l-Qasim, 824
Abu'l-Qasim az Zahrawi, 783
Abu'l-Qasim Mahmud, *See* Mahmud of Ghazna
Abu'l-Qasim Muhammad ibn al-Hasan, 500
Abu'l-Tayyib Ahmad ibn al-Husayn al-Ju'fi al-Mutanabbi, *See* Mutanabbi, al-
Abulustayn, 102
Abu'l-Walid, 710
Abu'l-Walid Ibn Janah, 318
Abyssinia, 12–13
Academic degrees, 201–203
Academy of Gundishapur, 451
Accounts of China and India, 548
Accounts of Women Poets, 867
Aceh, 465–466
Achaemenid Empire, 60
Acheh, 665
Active Intellect, 299
'Ada, 187
Adab
  commentary on, 167
  definition of, 13, 332, 346
  description of, 172
  displays of, 13
  hippology references, 326
  Ibn al-Muqaffa' works regarding, 346
  as mannerliness, 13
  phases of, 13
  requirements for, 13
Adab al-katib, 66
Adab al-Katib, 13, 364
Adab al-Muridin, A Sufi Rule for Novices, 13
Adab al-Wulat, 824
Adal, 12
Aden, 871
  commercial importance of, 15
  conquests of, 14–15
  political history of, 14–15
  topography of, 14
  urban growth of, 15
  Zuray'id, 14–15
Adhan, 109
'Adi ibn Zayd, 641, 861
Adib, 13
'Adid, al-, 250
Adigranth, 275
'Adil, al-, 84
'Adil Shahi dynasty, 108
Adilla al-Rasmiyya fi al-Ta'abi al-Harbiyya, al-, 558
Adnanis, 59
Adolescence, 150
Adornment of the God-fearing, The, 460
Adriatic Sea, 556
'Adud al-Dawla, 16, 123, 296
Adulis, 12
Adultery, 16–17, 280, 646–647
Adventures of Amir Arsalan, 628
Advice for Kings, 507
Adviya-i Mufrada, 492
Adygei, 155
Aegean Sea, 556
Aegineta, Paulus, 783
Aesthetics, 103
Afawih, 767
Afdal, al-, 70, 252
Affection, 279
Affliction, 771
African trade, 815–816
Africanus, Leo, 562
Afterlife, 18–19
Agape, 280
Age of decadence, 200
Agha Cafer Mosque, 189
Aghlabids
  description of, 19, 744
  in Qayrawan, 650
  revolution brought by, 19
  ulama, 19
Agra Red Fort
  additions to, 20–21
  description of, 20
  Shah Jahan's work on, 21
Agra-Lahore Road, 569
Agriculture
  alcoholic beverages derived from, 26
  botany, 117–118
  in Cordoba region, 175
  description of, 22–23
  floods' effect on, 259
  income from, 472
  Nile's importance for, 561–562
Ahambra, 62
'Ahd al-umma, 596
Ahiqar, 62
Ahkam ahl al-dhimma, 363
Ahkam al-Mulukiyaa fi Fannal-Qital fi l-Bahr wa-l-Dawabit al-Namusiyya, al-, 557
Ahkam al-Mulukiyya wal-Dawabit al-Namusiyaa fi Fann al-Qital fi al-Bahr, al-, 558
Ahkam al-Sultaniyya, al-, 132, 486, 507, 825
Ahkam al-taklifiyya, al-, 449
Ahkam al-wad'iyya, al-, 449
Ahl al-dhimma, 173, 205
Ahl al-Qur'an, 659
Ahl al-shawka, 626
Ahl-i Haqq, 444
Ahl-suffa, 632
Ahmad al-Akhal, 744
Ahmad al-Far, 806
Ahmad al-Mansur al-Dhahabi, 450
Ahmad al-Mukarram, 70, 777
Ahmad al-Sharafî al-Safâqusî, 686
Ahmad Amin, 677
Ahmad Badlay, 12
Ahmad ibn Abi Da'ud, 411, 473
Ahmad ibn Abi Ya'qub al-Ya'qubi, 138
Ahmad ibn al-Mu'adhdhal, 203
Ahmad ibn al-Mu'tasim, 441
Ahmad ibn al-Salt, 6
Ahmad ibn Buya, 92
Ahmad ibn Hanbal, 17, 165, 782, 878
Ahmad ibn Husain ibn Ali Katib, 666
Ahmad ibn Majid, 287
Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Qasim al-Sulayhi, 70
Ahmad ibn Nasr al-Khuza'i, *See* Khuza'i, Ahmad ibn Nasr
Ahmad ibn Sa'di, 394

Ahmad ibn Tulun, 224, 517, 591
Ahmad Khwari, 78
Ahmad Muharram, 230
Ahmad Shah, 290, 589
Ahmed I, 407
Ahmed ibn Hanbal, 676
Ahmet III, 330
Ahsan al-taqasim fi ma'rifat al-aqalim, 158
Aim of the Sage, The, 60
A'in-i Akbar, 24
A'in-i Akbari, 9, 773
'A'isha, 5, 131, 279, 600
'A'isha al-Ba'uniyya, 866
'A'isha bint Abi Bakr, 23–24
'A'ishah bint Yusuf al-Ba'uniyah, 203
Aiya' al-Din Ibn al-Athir, 229
'Aja'ib, 831
'Aja'ib al-Buldan, 651–653
'Aja'ib al-Hind, 548
'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat, 548
'Aja'ib al-makhluqat wa ghara'ib al-mawjudat, 139, 651–652
Ajânib, 267
Ajaztuhu, 202
Ajnabi, 267
Ajnad, 590
Ajnadayn war, 59
Ajodhan, 275
Ajurrumiyya, 300
Akbar, 24, 585, 589, 629, 752
Akbarnama, 9, 24
Akham al-sultaniyya, 780
Akhbar al-Nisa' al-Shawa'ir, 867
Akhbar al-Sin wa'l-Hind, 151, 548
Akhbar al-Zaman, 483
Akhfash al-Awsat, al-, 741
Akhiyat al-Fityan, 305
Akhlaq, 241
Akhlaq-i Jalali, 826
Akhlaq-i Nasiri, 826
Aksaray, 62
Aksum, 12
Al Yamani, 871
'Ala al-Dim Muhammad, 142
'Ala al-Din, 666
'Ala' al-Din Ibn al-'Attar al-Dimashqi, 680
'Ala al-Din Kayqubad I, 63
'Ala' al-Din Khalji, 751
'Ala al-Din Muhammad, 208, 663
'Ala Ibn al-Hadramia, al-, 558
'Ala'-al-Din Da'ud, 2–3
'Alai Gate, 663
Alaim-i djarrahin, 783
'Alam al-jabarut, 431
'Alam al-malaha fi 'ilm al-filaha, 23
'Alam al-malakut, 431
'Alam al-mulk, 431
'Alamum li-l-sa'a, 416
Alamut, 383
A'laq al-khatira fi dhikr umara' al-Sham wa'l-Jazira, al-, 368–369
Alarcos, battle of, 38
'Alawite Sharifs, 54
Alchemy, 25–26
Alcohol, 26–27
Alcoholic beverages, 106
Aleppo
  Ayyubids' rule of, 28
  citadel at, 65
  description of, 27, 192
  earthquakes in, 219
  Hamdanid rule of, 27
  Hawrawi, al-, in, 313
  madrasas in, 28
  Mamluk defeat at, 788
  Mongols' rule of, 28
  Muslim conquest of, 27
  Ottoman occupation of, 28–29
  Saladin's rule of, 27
  Zanki's rule of, 27–28
Alexander of Aphrodisias, 2
Alexander the Great, 29, 172, 243, 555, 604
Alexandria
  Arab rule of, 30–31
  Catechetical School in, 172
  Christianity in, 30
  Coptic Church in, 30
  ethnic diversity of, 31
  founding of, 30
  during Middle Ages, 30–31
  Persian capture of, 30
  Pharos Lighthouse, 30
  port uses of, 30
  Roman rule of, 30
Alf Layla wa-Layla, 548, 575
Alfarabius, *See* Farabi, al-
Alfonso I, 595
Alfonso VI, 594
Alfonso X, 683
Alfonsus, Petrus, 683
Algebra
  al-Khwarizmi's work in, 31
  word origin of, 31
Algeciras, 295
Algiers, 581
Alhambra, 278
Alhambra/al-Qasr al-Hamra'
  description of, 32–33
  Fountain of the Lions, 34
  inscriptions, 33–34
  Marinid Marocco and, 34
  Palace of Charles V, 32
  Palace of the Generalife, 33
  Palace of the Lions, 33
  Palace of the Myrtles, 33
  Tower of the Infantas, 32
Alhandega, 4
'Ali 'Abd al-Mustansir, 70
'Ali 'Adil Shah, 108
'Ali al-Hadi, 569, 737
'Ali al-Qummi, 701
'Ali al-Rida, 35–36, 438, 473, 737, 838
'Ali al-Tabari, 107
Ali Baba, 577
'Ali Ber, 764
Ali Bey Baghat, 801
Ali Dede Bosnevi, 97
'Ali ibn 'Abd Allah, 777
'Ali ibn Abi Bakr, 313
'Ali ibn Abi Bakr al-Harawi, 614

'Ali ibn Abi Talib
  as caliph, 37
  as companion of the Prophet, 36–37
  description of, 1, 24, 36, 131, 500, 600, 613–614, 629, 736, 844, 874, 875, 877
  Fatima bint Muhammad's marriage to, 248
  intellectual legacy of, 37
  spiritual legacy of, 37
'Ali ibn Abu Talib, 381
'Ali ibn al-'Abbas al-Majusi, *See* Majusi, al-
'Ali ibn al-Hasan ibn Qudayd, 440
'Ali ibn al-Husayn Zayn al-'Abidin, 505
'Ali ibn Buya, 124
'Ali ibn Hilal, 134–135
'Ali ibn Muhammad al-Samarra'i, 501
'Ali ibn Muhammad ibn 'Ali, 776
'Ali ibn Muhammad ibn Ja'far al-Sabbah, 316
Ali ibn Muhammad Shah ibn Pahlavan, 666
'Ali ibn Nafi, 534
'Ali ibn Rabban, 716
'Ali ibn Rabban al-Tabari, 496
'Ali ibn Rasul, 668
Ali Ibn Rudhwan, 314
'Ali Mughayat Shah, 766
'Ali Qapu Palace, 589
'Ali Rida, 394
Ali Tegin, 694
Ali Zayn al-Abidin ibn al-Husayn, 737
Alidade, 73
'Alid-Hashmiyya, 553
Alids, 736
'Alim, 700
Al-Isharat ila Amakin al-Ziyarat, 614
Al-Khatib al-Baghdadi Abu Bakr Ahmad ibn 'Ali ibn Thabit ibn Ahmad ibn Mahdi al-Shafi'i, *See* Khatib al-Baghdadi, al-
Allahabad, 194
Allahu akbar, 636
'Allama al-Hilli, al-, 573, 840
Almagest, 77, 167, 247, 370, 485, 647
Al-Maqqari Ahmad ibn Muhammad Abu 'l-Abbas Shihab al-Din, *See* Maqqari, al-
Almería, 593
Almohads, 37–38, 295, 302
Almoravids
  Cordoba rule by, 176
  description of, 38–39, 105
  hypostyle mosques, 520
  Seville invasion by, 356
  Yusuf ibn Tashfin, 595
Alms, 145
Alp Arslan, 40, 469, 476, 539, 565, 718–719, 782, 856
Alpago, Andrea, 348
Alphabets
  Coptic, 172
  description of, 40–41
Alphonse VII, 720
Alp-Takin, 142
Alptigin, 293
'Alqama Ibn Mujazziz, 558
Altan Debter, 667
Alteration of the Eye, The, 578
Alwa, 771
Alwah al-'Imadiyya, al-, 384
Aly Bahgat, 273
'Amal, 187
'Amal ahl al-madina, 703
Aman, 267, 595
Amanat Khan, 793
Amazigh, 104
Ambassadors, 207–208
Ambergris, 601
Amin, al-, 2, 10, 526, 600, 633
Amir, al-, 250, 778
Amir al-bahr, 558
'Amir al-Khattab, 70
Amir al-Mufaddal al-Himyari, 777
'Amir al-Mufaddal ibn Abi 'l-Barakat ibn al-Walid al-Himyari, 70
Amir al-Mu'minin, 130
Amir al-Nayruz, 807
Amir Hasan Sijzi, 152, 564
Amir Khosrow, 621
Amir Khusraw, 42, 563–564, 619
Amir Khwurd, 152
Amir Nawruz, 643
'Amirid dynasty, 593
'Amiriya Madrasa, 589
Amir-zada, 814
'Ammar al-Mawsili, 578
Amr bi al-ma'ruf wa al-nahy 'an al-munkar, al-, 164, 374
'Amr ibn al-'As, 30, 224, 273, 435, 806
Amr ibn As, 59
'Amr ibn Bahr al-Jahiz, 93–94, 260
'Amr ibn Dinar, 71
'Amr ibn Sa'id al-Asdaq, 3
'Amr ibn 'Ubayd, 544
'Amr mosque, 273
Amu Darya, 828
Amuli, al-, 42–43
Anadolu Hisar, 65
Analytica Posteriora, 68
Anan ben David, 433
Anandpal of Waihind, 458
Anas ibn Malik, 5
Anatolia
  description of, 40, 102, 330, 836
  Manzikert in, 476–477
  Saljug conquest of, 521
  Seljuk sultanate of, 588
Anatolios, 117
Anbiya, al-, 318
Ancients, 392
Andalus, al-
  Abu al-Mu'mim's occupation of, 38
  Almoravid rule of, 38
  Arabic theater in, 807–808
  astrolabes from, 74
  Cordoba, 175–176
  definition of, 43
  description of, 4
  ethnic rivalries in, 105
  horticultural stations in, 328
  Ibn Gabirol in, 355
  Ibn Naghrela, 361
  Jewish cultural activity in, 302
  music in, 534
  poetry in, 616
  Romance language in, 43
  Seville, 720–722
  singing in, 753

slave trade, 760
territorial limits of, 43
Andalus, al-, Emir, 720–721
Andalusi Arabic, 57
Andalusia
astronomy in, 78
Hebrew studies in, 710
Karaites in, 433–434
literature, 4
Sufism in, 545
Andalusiyyin, al-, 382
Andar Danish-i Rag, 489, 825
Angels, 44–45
Animal husbandry, 45–46
Animal-driven mills, 800
Annals, 232
Ansar, 228
'Antar, 153
'Antara ibn Shaddad
as historical character, 46–47
as poet, 47
Antioch, 539
Anushirvan, 604
Anushtakin al-Dizbiri, 591
Aphorisms, 114, 488
Aphorisms of the Statesman, 248, 840
Apocalyptic works, 237–238
Apologia, 672
Apology for the Christian Faith, 393
Apostasy, 47–49, 183
Apprentice
definition of, 49–49
social privileges for, 49
Apprenticeship, 49–49
Aq Sarai, 812
Aqalim, 158
'Aqd, 597
Aqide, al-, 375
'Aqila, 183
Aqmar, al-, 480
Aqsa, al-, 50, 212, 415
Aqueducts
in Balkan countries, 52
Bekir Pasha, 52
in Cyprus, 52
definition of, 50–51
Hadrian's building of, 51
in Istanbul, 51
Maglova, 51–52
Magra–El-Oyon, 51
Mazul Kemer, 51
noria used in, 51
pre-Islamic, 51
renovation of, 51
in Roman period, 51
Sinan's building of, 51–52
Süleyman the Magnificent's building of, 51
Uzun Kemer, 51
Aqwal al-Dhahabiyya, al-, 442
Arab(s)
during 'Abbasid Dynasty, 59
in Ajnadayn war, 59
Assyrians and, 58–59
circumcision practices by, 157
classification of, 59
coinage, 162–163
during Umayyid dynasty, 59
word origin of, 58
Arab 'Aribah, 59
Arab ba'idah, 59
Arab Baqiyyah, 59
Arab Musta'ribah, 59
Arabia, 596
'Adnan group in, 52
camel domestication in, 135
Hijaz
during Abbasid dynasty, 54
during Ayyubids dynasty, 54
description of, 53
during Fatimids dynasty, 54
during Mamluks dynasty, 54–55
during Umayyads dynasty, 54
inhabitants of, 52–53
Islam in, 53
location of, 52
migrations from, 53
provinces of, 53–54
Qahtan group in, 52
Yamama, 55
Arabian Peninsula, 596
Arabic
Andalusi, 57
calligraphy, 132–134
classical, 56–57
definition of, 56
history of, 602
linguistics, 454–455
Middle, 58
neo-, 57
population that speaks, 58
pre-classical, 56–57
proto-, 56
script used in, 57
Semitic language family, 56
sounds used in, 57
structure of, 57
translations of
into Hebrew, 821–823
into Persian, 823–826
vowels in, 133
Arabic archives, 66
Arabic epics, 231–232
Arabic literature, 657–659
Arabic poetry, 229–230, 616–617, 657, 683
Arabic prose, 658
Arabic titles, 813–814
'Arabiyya, 57
Arabization, 590
Aragon, 594, 595
'Ara'is al-majalis, 645
Aral Sea, 829
Aram, 60
Aramaeans, 60
Aramaic, 61
Aramaye, 60
Arap Ahmet, 189
'Aras'is al-majalis, 645
Arbab al-'ama'im, 180
Arbab al-aqlam, 162
Arbab al-suyuf, 162

Arbab-i qalam, 606
Arbab-i saif, 606
Arbitrary despotism, 172
Archimedes, 32, 289
Architecture
  Dome of the Rock, 154, 212–214
  in Isfahan, 400–401
  military, 64–65
  Ottoman influences, 189
  palaces, 61–62
  Sasanian, 698–699
Archives, 65–66
Ardashir I, 62
Areia, 319
Arghun Aqa, 540
Arghun Ilkhan, 541
'Arib, al-, 866
Aristotelianism, 67–69, 612
Aristotle, 67–69, 117, 232, 247, 335, 344, 366, 441, 502, 504, 579, 610, 670, 810–811
Arjumand Banu Begam, 792
Armaye, 60
Armenia, 504
Armenian Church, 172
Arrangement of Bodies for Treatment, The, 491
ar-Rusâfa, 328
Ars Poetica, 827
Arsacids, 397
Arslan Khan Muhammad, 121
Art
  divination in, 210
  women as patrons of, 863–865
Artaxerxes, 604
Artaxerxes II, 604
Artha, 549
Arwa, 70
Asabi', 532
Asabi' Zaynab, 204
'Asabiyya, 359, 595
Asad al-Din Shirkuh, 225
Asad Ibn al-Furat, 494
Asad ibn Saman, 141
Asadi, 234
Asceticism, 71–72
Ascetics, 71–72
Asfar al-Arba'a al-, 531
Ashab al-akhbar, 591
Ashab al-aqbiyya, 179
Ashab al-darari, 179
Ashab al-mushahada, 299
Ash'ar al-Nisa', 866
Ash'ari, al-, 678
Ash'aris, 809
Ash'arism, 241, 350
Ash'arite Virtues, 351
Asher Son of Judah Spoke, 618
'Ashr maqalat fi 'l-'ayn, al-, 578
Ashraf, al-, 74, 471, 619, 743
Ashraf Barsbay, al-, 226
Ashraf Khalil, al-, 226, 541
Ashraf Khalil ibn Qalawun, al-, 102
Ashraf Qansuhb al-Ghuri, al-, 226
Ashraf Qaytbay, al-, 226
Ashrafi, 163
Ashtar, al-, 824
Ashura, 196
'Asida, 204
Asik poetry, 251
'Askar, al-, 129
Askia Dawud, 764
Askiya Muhammad, 770
Askiya Muhammad Touare, 72
Asliha wa-'l-Atfal, al-, 230
Asma' al-husna, al-, 209
Asma' bint Shihab, 70
Asna al-Mafakhir fi Manaqib 'Abd al-Qadir, 413
Asrar al-Balagha, 426
Asrar al-Shari'a, 42
Assasins, 72–73, 383, 512
Assyrians, 58–59
Astrolabes, 73–76, 556
Astrology, 75–77
Astronomers, 567
Astronomy, 67, 77–78, 485
'Ata' ibn Abi Rabah, 5
Atabeg Badr al-Din Lu'lu', 62
Atabegs, 719
Atashparast, 877
Athar al-Bilad wa-Akhbar al-'Ibad, 651–652
'Atiq, al-, 5
Atlas maps, 139–140
Atsiz ibn Uvaz, 123
Attaining the Aims in Commenting on the Choicest Traditions, 730
Attainment of Happiness, 248
Attar, 621
'Attar Farid al-Din, 78–79
Autobiographical writings, 79–81
Avennasar, *See* Farabi, al-
Averroes, 38, 365–366, 419, 609
Avesta, 602
Avicenna, 347, 385, 453, 461, 506, 607
Avicennism, 490
'Awarif al-Ma'arif, 776
'Awfi, 78
Awlad al-'Assad, 175
Awlad al-nas, 472
Awraba, 381
Awrangzeb, 91
Awza'i, al-, 715
Aya Sophia, 81–82, 189, 407
Ayatallah Khomayni, 43
Aybak al-Turkumani, 730
Ayla, 590
'Ayn Abi Ziyad, 553
'Ayn Jalut, 82–83, 101, 131, 226, 472, 508, 511, 540, 756
'Ayn Tamr, 357
Ayyam al-Arab, 232, 630
'Ayyars, 630
Ayyubids
  in Aden, 15
  Aleppo rule by, 28
  Azhar, al-, under, 85
  citadels constructed by, 65
  in Damascus, 742
  description of, 83–84
  in Egypt, 225
  Franks' battles with, 84
  Hijaz during dynasty of, 54
  in Syria, 331

transfer of power by, 129–130
Yemen conquest by, 871
A.Z. Abu Shadi, 230
Azarbarzinnameh, 234
Azariqa, 436
Azd tribal group, 291
Azhar, al-, 84–85, 130, 225, 451, 679
Azhar al-Riyad, 478
Azhar University, al-, 249, 251
'Aziz, al-, 250, 310, 623
Azraqi, al-, 645
Azud al-Daula, 605
Azyumardi Azra, 466

B

Bab al-Futuh, 65
Bab al-Hadi Ashar, al-, 325
Bab al-jihad, 597
Bab al-Ziyada, 845
Baba La'l Das, 195
Babar, 87–88
Babur, 20, 80
Baburnama, The, 87–88
Babylon, 556
Babylonian Aramaic, 61
Babylonian Talmud, 61
Backgammon, 88–89, 148, 275–276
Bactrian camel, 135
Badajoz, 593
Badaun, 563
Badi', 11
Badi' al-Zaman, 311
Badi' al-Zaman al-Hamadhani, 336, 477
Badis ibn Ziri, 302
Badr, 529
Badr al-Din Lu'lu, 730, 873
Badr al-Din Muhammad ibn Jama'a, 780
Badr al-Jamali, 65, 70, 90, 129, 252, 777
Badr al-tali', al-, 731
Badr Shakir al-Sayyab, 230
Badshahi Mosque in Lahore, 90–92
Baghdad
'Adud al-Dawla's rule of, 16
Arabo-Islamic civilization in, 605
Buwayhis occupation of, 59
Buyids' involvement in, 93
climate, 158
commercial significance of, 94
description of, 92–93, 605
Farabi, al- in, 247
floods in, 259
founding of, 1, 92, 304
House of Wisdom in, 450–451
Hunayn Ibn Ishaq in, 336–337
Imami learning in, 732
in Islamic history, 93–94
Khatib al-Baghdadi, al-, in, 437
libraries in, 222, 452–453
madrasa in, 345
Malikshah in, 470
Mongol occupation of, 59, 131, 304
papermaking in, 94
police in, 622
prisons in, 641
Round City at, 64–65, 92, 711
Seljuks in, 782
Seljuks' involvement in, 93
Sunni Revival, 345
Baghdadi, al-, 626
Bagh-i Naw, 62
Baha' al-Dawla, 123
Baha' al-Din 'Abu Hafs 'Umar al-Suhrawardi, 774
Baha' al-Din Abu'l-Mahasin Yusuf ibn Rafi', 368
Baha' al-Din al-Samuqi, 216–217
Baha al-Din Naqshaband, 122
Bahar, al-, 524
Baharistan, 412
Bahmanids, 290
Bahmannameh, 234
Bahr al-Maghrib, 494
Bahr al-Muhit, al-, 287
Bahr al-Rüm, 494
Bahr al-Sham, 494
Bahr al-Shami, al-, 494
Bahrain, 94–95
Bahrayn, 405
Bahri Mamluks, 516
Bahriyya, 101
Baiju Noyen, 442
Bairam Khan, 334
Bakri, al-, 95–96, 291, 650, 831
Baladhuri, al-, 838
Balagha, al-, 679
Balagha wa-husn al-kitaba, al-, 66
Bal'ami, al-, 605
Balat al-Shuhada, 268
Balearic Islands, 556
Balkan Peninsula, 580
Balkans, 96–97
Balkh, 304
Balkhi, al-, 285–286
Balkuwara, 696
Ballard, Mary, 803
Baluchistan, 713
Bandanawaz, 290
Bani Sa'd, 525
Banten, 413
Banu 'Abbad, 176
Banu 'Abd al-Wad, 309
Banu 'Aqil, 591
Banu Hashim, 167, 551, 626, 833
Banu Hatim, 871
Banu Hilal, 233, 495, 594, 650
Banu Jumah, 109
Banu Kilab, 232
Banu 'l-Furat, 855
Banu Muqla, 452
Banu Musa, 288
Banu Sa'id, 5, 308
Banu Salih, 292
Banu Taghlib, 154
Banu Thaqif, 524
Banu Ziri, 33
Banugoshaspnameh, 234
Baqillani, al-, 428, 658, 678
Baqir, al-, *See* Muhammad al-Baqir
Bar Bar Hebraeus, 789
Bar Kokhba, 590
Barada, 191

Baraka, 98, 614
Barani, Zia' ad-Din, 98–99
Barcelona, 594
Barghwata, 104
Bari', al-, 611
Barid, 631–632
Barmakids, 304, 315, 855
Barquq, 359, 560
Barsbay, 769
Barsum the Naked, 689
Bashmuric Rebellion, 174
Bashshar ibn Burd, 455
Basil I, 126
Basit, al-, 708
Basmalah, 704
Basra
  description of, 95, 99, 304, 346
  Kharijis in, 436
  Mu'tazilites in, 544
Basrans, 300
Bassos, Kassianos, 117
Bathing, 99–101
Baths, 99–101, 395, 763
Batinites, 293
Battani, al-, 285
Battle of Alarcos, 38
Battle of al-Zallaqa, 355
Battle of Arsuf, 690
Battle of Badr, 171, 238
Battle of Jaffa, 690
Battle of Marathon, 604
Battle of Nahrawan, 675
Battle of Poitiers, 267
Battle of Salamis, 604
Battle of Siffin, 131, 436, 659, 675
Battle of Talas, 746
Battle of the Camel, 99, 169
Battle of the Ditch, The, 4
Battle of Uhud, 388
Bayan wa-l-Tabyin, al-, 411
Baybars al-Jashnakir, 156, 184
Baybars I
  description of, 101–102, 472, 632
  Ibn Wasil, 376
  Mamluk Sultanate, 226
  polo by, 769
  Tomb of Abraham restored by, 319
Bayezid I, 170, 580
Bayezid II, 76, 82, 581
Bayn al-Qasrayn, 255, 561
Baysunghur, 116
Bayt al-Hikma, 116, 138, 533, 610
Bayt al-Maqdis, *See* Jerusalem
Bayt al-Muqaddas, al-, *See* Jerusalem
Bayzara, al-, 337
Beauties of Commerce, 498
Beauty, 103, 177
Bedouinization, 713
Bedouins
  Abu Tammam's work about, 11
  customary law by, 186
  Hamdanids, 312–313
  milk consumption by, 106
  Mirdasid dynasty, 27
  nomadism of, 565–566
  Palestine affected by rebellion of, 591
  in Ramal, 591
Beer, 26
Beggar's Bowl, The, 14
Begging, 145
Beit ha-miqdash, 147
Bekir Pasha Aqueduct, 52, 189
Ben Ezra synagogue, 282
Beneficiaries, 857
Beni Mallal, 374
Benjamin I, 173
Berber (language), 103–104
Berbers (people)
  customary law of, 187
  description of, 105
  Idrisids from, 381
  Khariji doctrine used by, 436
  Maysara's rule of, 436
Berke Khan, 102
Beverages, 106, 265
Beyhekim mosque, 515
Beylerbeyi, 188
Bezels of Wisdom, 349–350
Bhakti, 120
Bibi Shahr Banu, 803
Bibi Zulaykha, 563
Bible
  description of, 107–108
  Jewish interpretation of, 708–709
  Karaites interpretation of, 709
  Pentateuch, 418
  Rabbanites interpretation of, 709
Bibliophile collections, 452–453
Bid', 320
Bidaya walnihaya, al-, 645
Bierman, Irene, 802
Bihar al-anwar, 460, 738
Bijapur, 108–109
Bilad al-Sham, 591, 690
Bilad al-Sudan, 770
Bilad al-Sughd, 829
Bilad al-Turk, 829
Bilal al-Habashi, 109
Bilal ibn Rabah, *See* Bilal al-Habashi
Bilingualism, 825–826
Bilmece, 262
Bimaristan al-Nuri, al-, 192
Bindings, of books, 115
Biographical works
  description of, 110
  dictionaries, 110–111
  information in, 111–112
  onomastic section, 111
  origin of, 110
  religious authority and, 110
  structure of, 111–112
Birkat al-Habash, 273
Biruni, Abu Rayhan Muhammad Ibn Ahmad, al-, 112–113, 177
Biruni, al-, 78, 118, 286, 555–556, 585, 608, 611
Bisharhah wa-al-Nidharah fi Ta'bir al-Ru'ya wa-al-Muraqabah, al-, 215
Bishr ibn Finhas, 377
Bistâmî, al-, 431
Bitrawj, 175
Bitruji, al-, 78

Bizhannameh, 234
Black Death, 113–114, 226, 236
Black Sea, 556
Black Stone, 526
Blessings on the Prophet Muhammad, 637
Blindness, 208–209
Boccaccio, Giovanni, 244
Body hair removal, 177
Body paint, 177
Bohairic dialect, 172
Bolad Chinksank, 384
Book(s)
  binding of, 115
  copyists, 116
  description of, 114
  illumination of, 115–116
  production of, 116
  royal patronage support of, 116
  statistics regarding, 453
Book of Animals, The, 326
Book of Antidotes, 583
Book of Argument and Proof for the Despised Faith, The, 422
Book of Brigands, 622
Book of Comparison between the Hebrew Language and Arabic, The, 301
Book of Conversation and Discussion, 618
Book of Creation, 431
Book of Curious and Entertaining Information, The, 13
Book of Dede Korkut, 833–834
Book of Definitions, 370
Book of Deliverance, 369
Book of Dialectic, 610
Book of Divination, 210
Book of Doctrines and Beliefs, 685
Book of Dreams, The, 18
Book of Earthquakes, 220
Book of Foreigners, The, 266
Book of Foundations Concerning the True Essence of Medicines, 489
Book of Gifts and Rarities, The, 296
Book of Government, The, 207, 856
Book of Graves, The, 18
Book of Healing, 369
Book of Hebrew Roots, The, 301
Book of Hints and Pointers, 370
Book of Idols, 379
Book of Kings, 233–234, 261, 629–630, 727–729
Book of Knowledge of the World, 490
Book of Learning by Example, 852
Book of Letters, 827
Book of Longitudes and Latitudes of the Persians, The, 483
Book of Misers, The, 658, 763
Book of Musical Modes, 534
Book of Nabatean Agriculture, 329
Book of Phaseis, 648
Book of Planetary Hypotheses, 647
Book of Poetry and Poets, The, 364
Book of Principles of Hebrew Poetry, 618
Book of Relief after Adversity, 369
Book of Religion, 248
Book of Roads and Kingdoms, 139–140
Book of Roger, 380
Book of Routes and Kingdoms, The, 359–360
Book of Songs, 534, 600
Book of Splendor, 431
Book of Spurious Reports, The, 245
Book of Stones, 504
Book of Strangers, The, 13
Book of Tahkemoni, The, 314
Book of the Camel, The, 46
Book of the Crown, 507
Book of the Culture of Arable Land, 329
Book of the Emerald, 349
Book of the Excellences of the Qur'an, The, 659
Book of the Horse, The, 46
Book of the Itineraries and Kingdoms, 95
Book of the Khazar, The, 422
Book of the Military Campaigns, The, 357
Book of the Preacher's Etiquette, The, 680
Book of the Sheep, The, 46
Book of the Sincere Brethren, 68
Book of the Staff, 852
Book of the Storytellers/Admonishers and Those Who Remind, 680
Book of the Traps and Hunting Spears, 337
Book of the Two Gardens on the Reports of the Two Reigns, The, 11
Book of the Wild Animals, The, 46
Book of the Wonders of India, 548
Book of Variegated Flower Beds, 301
Book on Agriculture, 328
Book on Algebra and Almucabala, 31
Book on al-Jabr and al-Muqabala, 31
Book on Funerals, The, 198
Book on the Eloquence of the Language of the Hebrews, 301
Book on the Fixed Stars, 583
Book on the Great Art, 441
Books of the Language, 685
Books on Animals, 68
Börids, *See* Burids
Borzunameh, 234
Botany, 117–118
Bow, 510
Brahui confederation, 713
Bread, 147
Breaking of the Fast, 196
Breast-feeding, 150
Brethren of purity, 118–119
Bridges, 682
Brigandage, 326–328
Bubonic plague, 113–114
Buddhism, 119–120
Buddhizmus Hatása az Iszláma, 120
Bughra Khan, 692
Bughyat al-tala fi ta'rikh Halab, 341
Buhturi, al-, 217, 229
Buka' 'ala al-atlal, al-, 618
Bukhara, 121–122, 281, 692
Bukhari, Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Isma'il, al-, 122
Bukhari, al-, 307, 443, 482, 701
Bulus Salama, 230
Bumm, 837
Bunduq, 769
Buraq, al-, 50
Burda, 178
Burhan, al-, 428
Burhan al-Din Muhammad ibn Muhammad al-Nasafi, 324
Burials, 270–271
Burids, 123
Burning Embers, 505–506

Burton, Richard, 577
Burzoe, 79–80
Busiri, al-, 31
Bustân al-Nâ-ûra, 328
Bustan al-Salatin fi Dhikr al-Awwalin wa al-Akhirin, 665
Buwayhids, 59, 312–313
Buyid(s)
  'Adud al-Dawla, 16
  description of, 2, 92–93, 124
  library of, 451–452
  Mahmud of Ghazna's defeat of, 458
  Majd al-Dawla, 452
  military power of, 399
  Sultans during, 780
Buyid Mu'izz al-Dawla, 255, 452
Büyük Hamam, 189
Büyük Han, 189
Buzurg ibn Shahriyar, 286
Byzantine, 238
Byzantine Book of Agriculture, 329
Byzantine Empire
  description of, 125–126
  theater productions in, 806
Byzantium
  Crete capture by, 495
  description of, 125–126
  Ghassanids alliance with, 292
  Karaites in, 433–434
  Muslim-Byzantine relations, 537–539

C

Cairo
  description of, 129–130
  expansion of, 130
  Fatimids in, 451
  founding of, 65
  housing in, 331
  Mu'ayyad fi al-Din, al- in, 522
  Nawruz in, 560
  quadrants in, 76
Cairo Geniza, 282, 498
Calamus, 705
Calendaric festivals, 254–255
Calendars, 195–196, 485
Caliphates
  'Abbasid, *See* 'Abbasid caliphs
  in classical Sunni political thought, 132
  definition of, 130
  Fatimid
    description of, 225
    founding of, 405
    Jewish mercantile class under, 497–498
  history of, 813–814
  Ibn al-Jawzi's contributions, 345
  Mahdi, al-, 533
  Ma'mun, al, *See* Ma'mun, al
  Mansour, al-, 553
  Mongol conquest of, 392
  Mustansir, al-, 777
  Musta'sim, al-, 512, 540
  Mutawakkil, al, 411
  political theory, 624–625
  popular literature about, 629–630
  Rashidun, 435
  rightly guided, 130–131
  Uthman, 443
  vestimentary system under, 160–162
  Wathiq, al-, 438
Caliphs
  'Abbasid
    Abu Tammam's interactions with, 11
    decentralization of, 304
    establishment of, 484
    extermination of, by heirs of Genghis Khan, 281
    gardens built by, 328
    Harun al-Rashid, 51, 838
    Ma'mun, al-, *See* Ma'mun, al-
    Mansur, al-, 131, 468
    Mongol execution of, 1
    Mustadi', al-, 690
    Qarakhanids, 142
    titles of, 1
  Fatimid
    Hakim, al-, 310–311
    Mu'izz, al-, 869
    Musta'li Ismailis' recognition of, 405–406
    Usama ibn Munqidh, 851
    Zahir, al-, 516
  Umayyad
    'Abd al-Rahman, 425
    al-Walid ib 'Abd al-Malik, 50
    classification of, 847
    division of, 847
    establishment of, 304
    judges appointed by, 423
    Marwan, 506
    Mu'awiya ibn Abi Sufyan, 50, 423, 450
    mujaddid, 678
    palaces of, 62
    political theory debates, 625
    predestination discussions, 639
    qadiship used by, 423–424
    ruling period of, 131
    Suleiman, 525
    Walid, al, 520
    Walid II, 480
Calligraphy
  description of, 114–116
  history of, 132–135
Cambodia, 767
Camels, 46, 135–136, 682
Camphor, 601, 705
Canon Medicinae, 461
Canon of Medicine, The, 198, 370
Canterbury Tales, The, 244
Capella Palatina, 588
Carpets, 136–138
Cartography
  atlas series, 139–140
  Book of Roads and Kingdoms, 139–140
  description of, 138, 284, 287–288
  origins of, 138–139
  traditions, 140
Caspian Sea, 281, 556, 573
Castile, 594
Castilian literature, 683
Castilians, 295
Catechetical School, 172
Catoptrics, 579

Catrang, 148
Caucasus, 470, 504
Celaled-din-i Rumi, 534
Celebi, Evliya, 647
Celebrations, 255
Celestial Ascent of Lovers, The, 291
Cem Sultan, 210
Central Asia
  history of, 140–142
  modern, 140
Ceramics, 143–144
Chaghatai, 513
Chahar Bagh, 277, 401
Chahar taq, 877
Chanceries, 65–66
Chancery Secretary's Handbook, The, 364
Chandayan, 620
Chapters and Endings, Glorifying Allah and Offering Words of Warning, 7
Characters of the Two Viziers, The, 798
Charity
  Islamic, 145–146
  Jewish, 146–148
  medical, 147
  public, 146–147
Charles V, 581
Chaucer, Geoffrey, 244
Cheng Ho, 818
Chess, 148–149, 275–276
Chihil Sutun, 62
Childhood, 150
Children, 150
China, 151
  Genghis Khan's conquering of, 280, 512
  Mongols in, 512
  Xi Xia dynasty, 280
Chinese ceramics, 143
Chingissid, 812
Chingiz Khan, 87, 694
Chingsang, 667
Chishti, Mu'in al-Din, 152
Chishti order, 275, 564
Chivalry, 153
Choice of Pearls, 355
Christ, Jesus, *See* Jesus
Christian saints, 688–689
Christianity
  Coptic language and, 172
  description of, 154–155
  Egyptian church's contributions to, 172
  humanism in, 331
  313 Edict of Milan effects on, 172
Christians
  Crusades by, 184
  description of, 154–155
  interfaith relations with, 393–395
  Monasticism, 507–508
Chronicles, 66
Chronology of Ancient Nations, 113, 585
Church of Alexandria, 172
Church of the Holy Sepulchre, 50, 310
Churches, 176
Cinili Kösk, 62
Circassians, 155–156
Circumcision, 156–157, 255, 295
Cirebon, 413
Cisoxiana, 140
Citadel, 273, 399
Clarification, The, 680
Class system, 178
Classes of the Physicians, The, 394
Claudius, 173
Climate
  housing based on, 330
  theories regarding, 157–158
Clothing
  for dhimmis, 206
  early, 159–160
  for head, 159–160
  regional variations in, 159
  turban, 159–160
  Turkish influences, 162
  veiling, 160
  vestimentary system, 160–162
Clysma, 556
Coffee, 106
Coffeehouses, 763
Coins
  'Amr ibn Sa'id al-Asdaq's creation of, 3
  description of, 162–163
  in Kilwa, 439
Collection of Histories, The, 667
Collection on the Science of Falconry, 337
Colophons, 475
Combe, Etienne, 801
Comfort of Reason, The, 442
Commanding good and forbidding evil, 164–165
Commenda, 284
Commentary
  on Adab, 167
  definition of, 165
  on grammar, 167
  on Hadith, 166
  importance of, 165–166
  on philosophy, 167
  on poetry, 167, 617
  on Qur'an, 166, 486
  on science, 167
  on Sufism, 166
  on theology, 166
Comnenus, Alexius, 126
Companions, 167–169
Compass, 556
Compendia of Nicolaus of Damascus, 377
Compendium for the Servants of God, 546
Compendium of Secrets, A, 42
Composite bow, 510
Concubinage, 169–170, 758, 864
Confections, 204–205
Conference of the Birds, 621
Conjunctural poverty, 634–635
Consideration on Those Traditions Which are Disputed, The, 839
Constans II, 125
Constantia, 188
Constantine
  Aya Sophia, 81–82, 189, 407
  description of, 62
  in Istanbul, 407
Constantine IV, 125
Constantine V, 125

Constantine VII, 819
Constantinople, 125–126, 238, 407, 520, 581
Constantinus, 81
Constitution of Medina, 170–171, 228, 528, 535, 596
Consultation, 171–172
Contagion, 235
Continens, 672
Contradictory Hadith, 724
Copper coinage, 163
Copt(s)
  Coptic language used by, 172–173
  during Fatimid dynasty, 174–175
  festivals by, 561–562
  history of, 173–175
  Islamic conquest effects on, 173–175
  during Mamluk dynasty, 174–175
  numbers used by, 567
  origins of, 173
  protection of, 173
  theology of, 173
  word origin of, 173
Coptic Church, 30
Coptic language, 172–173
Coptic Orthodox Church, 173
Copyists, 116, 704–706
Cordoba, 175–176, 222, 374, 451
Córdova, 62
Cordovero, Moses, 547
Corduvan Ibn Julul, 827
Cornu, Georgette, 803
Corpse, 198–199
Corpus Aristotelicum, 68
Corpus Hippocraticum, 347
Corpus Platonicum, 615
Cosmetics, 177
Cosmography, 653
Cosmology, 69, 673
Cotton, 802
Council of Chalcedon, 172
Council of Clermont, 184
Court dress
  during ‘Abbasid Dynasty, 178–179
  during Fatimid dynasty, 179–180
  during Mamluk dynasty, 180–181
Court of the Lions, 278, 303, 588
Covenant of Ashtar, 824
Covenant of ‘Umar, 154
Cream of the Milk as Regards the History of Aleppo, 341
Credit, 181–182
Crete, 495
Crime and punishment
  description of, 182–183, 622
  hiraba, 326–328
Criminal acts, 183
Cronica dos Reyes de Quiloa, 439
Crucifixion, 416
Crusades
  Aqsa mosque during, 50
  description of, 11, 175, 184
  First, 184, 343, 568, 851
  Fourth, 580
  Ibn al-Althir’s writings about, 342
  Second, 184
  Third, 184
Cteisphon, 844
Cultivation of Morals, The, 615, 840
Currency, 162–163
Cursing, 185
Customary law
  approaches to, 186
  berber, 187
  divorce, 212
  documentation of, 186
  jurisprudence schools, 187
  sources of, 186
  terminology associated with, 186
  textual basis for, 186
  tribal, 187–188
Cypriots, 188–189
Cyprus, 188–189, 494
Cyril of Alexandria, 172
Cyrus, 30

D

Da‘a’im al-Islam, 731
Daftar al-Muzaffari, 115
Daghal al-‘ayn, 578
Dahhak ibn Muzahim, al-, 701
Dahis wa al-Ghabra’, 47
Dahlak Islands, 12
Da‘i, 252
Da‘i al-Mu’ayyad fi l-din al-Shirazi, 777
Da‘i Dhu’ayb ibn Musa al-Wadi‘i, 777
Da‘i Lamak ibn Malik, 777
Da‘i Mutlaq, 70
Daibul, al-, 525
Da‘is, 252
Daisaku Ikeda, 120
Dajjal, al-, 239, 415
Dala’il al-nubuwwa, 401
Dala’il i’Jaz al-Qur’an, 426
Dalalat al-Ha’irin, 459, 811
Damascus
  Abu Shama’s upbringing in, 11
  ‘Amr ibn Sa‘id al-Asdaq’s work in, 3
  Arab conquest of, 304
  Ayyubid, 742
  conquest of, 59
  Great Mosque in, 520
  history of, 191–192
  Ibn ‘Arabi’s burial in, 350
  Ibn ‘Asakir in, 351
  Ibn Khaldun in, 359
  Nur al-Din’s control of, 568
  paper manufacture in, 593
  Saladin in, 690
  Umayyad Mosque in, 191, 514, 845–846
Damask, 192
Damask rose, 192
Dancing, 192–194
Dani, al-, 237, 660
Danishmand Bahadur, 573
Danishnama, 825
Danishnama-yi Jahan, 490
Dante Alighieri, 243–244
Daqiqi, 234
Dar, 330
Dar al-Amma, 695
Dar al-Hadith, 351

Dar al-Harb, 207, 596–597, 757
Dar al-hikma, 450
Dar al-'Ilm, 311, 450
Dar al-'Imara, 129, 649
Dar al-Islam, 207, 596–597, 688, 692, 730, 819
Dar al-Khilafa, 330
Dar al-kutub, 450
Dar al-tiraz, 296
Dara, 330
Dara Shikoh, 194–195
Darazi, al-, 311
Darb Zubayda, 681
Dargah, 774
Dari, 397–398
Darimi, al-, 714
Darius, 604
Darro river, 32
Dates, 195–196, 204
Da'ud ibn 'Ajabshah, 406
David ben Abraham al-Fasi, 301
David ben Joshua, 546
David ben Zakkai, 685
David II Maimuni, 710
David Maimonides, 547
Da'wa, al-, 70, 250, 252, 317, 404
Da'wa al-hadiya, al-, 404
Dawr al-satr, 404
Dawud al-Ta'i, 71
Daylamite Mirdawij, 255
Days of the Arabs, 630
de Alcala, Pedro, 230, 600
De anima, 579
De antidotis, 608
De causis plantarum, 117
De compositione medicamentorum per genera, 607
De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos, 607
De historia plantarum, 117
De materia media, 117, 583, 607–608
De natura hominis, 347
De plantis, 117
de Sacy, A.I. Silvestre, 72
De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis et facultatibus, 607
De theriaca ad Pisonem, 608
Death and dying
  corpse after, 198–199
  ideal way of, 197–198
  instructions before, 197–198
  natural, 198
  from old age, 197–198
  pondering of, 199
  Qur'anic themes about, 196–197
  unnatural, 198
  views on, 199
  violent, 197
Death penalty, 49
Debt, 636
Debtors, 636
Decadence, notion of, 200–201
Decameron, 244
Deccan, 108
Decius, 719
Decorative arts, 103
Defense of Logicians and Philosophers against the Charge of Irreligion, 377
Degrees, 201–203
Delight and Entertainment, 799
Deliverer from Error, The, 292
Demak, 412–413
Democritus, 22
Demokritos, 117
Demotic script, 172
Deontological ethics, 241
Despotism, 172
Desserts, 204–205
Determination of the Locations of Cities, The, 483
Devshirme, 155
Dhahabi, al-, 110–111, 352, 372
Dhakhira-i Muradiye, 783
Dhakhira-yi Khwarizmshahi, 489
Dhamm al-Malahi, 533
Dhari'a ila Makarim al-Shari'a, 825
Dhat al-Himma, 232
Dhayl, 111
Dhikr, 637
Dhikr akhbar Isfahan, 401
Dhimma, 205–207
Dhimmis, 162, 205, 393, 395, 594
Dhu al-Qarnayn, 29
Dhu 'l-Fiqar, 98
Dhu 'l-Hijja, 196, 255, 572
Dhu 'l-Qa'da, 196
Dhu 'l-Qarnayn, 239
Dhu Nawas, 688
Dhu'ayb, 70
Dhu'ayb ibn Musa al-Wadi'i, 70
Dhul-hijja, 309
Dia dynasty, 763
Dialectical theology, 154
Dialogue Between a Saracen and a Christian, 393
Dictionary of Men of Adab, 13
Diet, 264–266
Digenes Akrites, The, 538
Dihqans, 599
Dilkusha, 62
Dimashqi, al-, 498
Din al-Urmawi, al-, 753
Dinars, 163
Dinawari, al-, 285
Diogenes, Romanus, 476
Dioscorides, 117–118, 583, 607–608
Diplomacy, 207–208
Dirhams, 163
Disability, 208–209
Disapprobation of Musical Instruments, 533
Dissipater of Anxieties on the Reports of the Ayyubids, The, 376
Divan-i Lughati't Turk, 491
Divination, 209–211
Divination by the Qur'an, 210
Divine attribute, 154
Divine Intimations, 799
Divinity, 416
Divorce, 211–212, 480
Diwan, 79, 131, 232, 252
Diwan al-amwal, 252
Diwan al-Hamasa, 167
Diwan al-insha, 65, 252
Diwan al-jaysh, 65, 252
Diya, 183

Diyarbakir, 384
Djam, 662
Dome of Sultan al-Ashraf, 471
Dome of the Rock, 154, 212–214, 415, 514, 845
Doubts Concerning Galen, 671–672
Dream(s)
  function of, 215–216
  genres, 214–215
  guiding, 215
  Prophet Muhammad in, 216
  terminology associated with, 214–215
Dream interpretation, 214–215
Dream narratives, 214
Drinks, 265
Dromedary camel, 135
Druze, 216–217
Druze religion, 569
Druzism, 216
du Pont, Alexandre, 244
Ducat, 163
Du'l-Qarnayn, 629
Dunash Ben Labrat, 618
Durr wa l-Marjan fi l-Ahadith al-Sihah wa l-Hisan, al-, 325
Dürr-i Meknun, 548
Dying, *See* Death and dying
Dzhambul, 837

E

Earthquakes, 219–220
Easy Tables, 648
Ebn Hesam, 234
Ebu's-suud, 182
Eclecticism, 587
Eclipse prayer, 637
Edessa, 539, 688
Edirne, 717–718
Edirnekapi Mosque, 750
Education
  in childhood, 150
  elements of, 222
  during European Dark Ages, 222
  Islamic, 220–222
  Jewish, 223–224
  during Medieval Period, 222
  primary, 222
  Qur'anic concepts, 222
  secondary, 222
  university, 222
Edward I, 573
Egypt
  'Abbasid occupation of, 224–225
  Ahmad ibn Tulun's rule of, 224–225
  al-Mu'izz in, 251
  Arab conquest of, 224
  Ayyubid sultanate in, 225
  codices found in, 172
  Fatimid conquest of, 225, 251–252, 425, 538
  floods in, 258–259
  Forty-Nine Martyrs in, 689
  funerary practices by, 270
  Fustât, 273–274
  Greek language in, 172
  history of, 224
  Jewish Pietist movement in, 546–547
  Karaites in, 433–434
  Mamluk sultanate in, 226–227
  tax system in, 224
  Tulunids in, 447
Egyptian Christians, 224
Egyptian language, 172–173
Eid al-Adha, 196
Eid al-Fitr, 196
El Cid, 594–595
El Libro de Buen Amor, 683
Elegant Garden, The, 314
Elegy, 227–228
Elements, 247, 288, 485
Elvira, 302
Emanationism, 370
Embedding, 577
Emigration, 228–229
Emir of Nawruz, 560
Endowments, 857–858
Enneads, 610
Entertainment for One Desiring to Travel Far, 380
Entertainment of the Audience, 337
Enumeration of the Rulers of Egypt, The, 440
Enumeration of the Sciences, 248
Ephemeris, 77
Ephesus, 719–720
Epic poetry, 229–230
Epics
  Arabic, 231–232
  Persian, 233–235
  Sunjata, 466–467
  Turkish, 230–231
Epidemics
  contagion, 235
  description of, 235
  modern scholarship about, 236
  pestilence, 235–236
  plague, 236
Epigram, 620
Epilepsy, 263
Epistemology, 672–673
Epistle, 426, 549
Epistle Against the Pre-Destinarians, 315–316
Epistle of the Singing-Girls, 866
Epistle on Companions, 506
Epistle on Divine Science, 610
Epistle on the Kingdom of the Arabs and Its Duration, 441
Epistle to the Prince, 506
Epistles of Salim, 627
Epistles of the Brethren of Purity, 355
Epistolography, 9
Epitome of the Key, 680
Era of the Martyrs, 30, 172
Eros, 280
Eschatology, 237–239, 404
Esotericism, 431
Espionage, 239–240, 510–511
Essentials of Hebrew Poetry: The Compilation, 301
Eternal Wisdom, 611
Ethics, 241–242, 673
Ethics, 335
Ethiopia
  Habasha Christian polity in, 12
  Islam and, 12
Ethiopian Church, 172

Euclid, 67, 289, 485, 578
Eudaemonistic philosophy, 241
Eunuchs, 180, 242–243, 622, 760
Euphrates, 258
Eurasia, 140–141
Eurasian Steppe, 509
Evkaf, 188
Ewen-namag, 148
Excellenes literature, 244–245
Exegesis
  description of, 701
  scriptural, 706–711
Exemplar, The, 724
Exhaustive Treatise on Shadows, 78
Exhortation to the Guiders and the Guided, The, 442
Existence, 531
Exposing the Slanderer's Mendacity against Abu al-Hasan al-Ash'ari, 351–352
Exposition, The, 647–648
Exposition of Knowledge of Religions, The, 665
Eyvan, 520

F

Face of God, 386
Fada'il, 244–245, 285
Fada'il al-Ansar, 245
Fada'il al-Jihad, 368
Fadl 'Asqualan, 352
Fadl ibn Sahl, al-, 473
Fadl ibn Yahya, al-, 178
Fahlaviyyat, 399
Fahr al-Din al-Razi, *See* Razi, al-
Fahs al-Ballut, 175
Fa'iz, al-, 250
Fakhkhar, 143
Fakhr al-Din, 573
Fakhr al-Din al-Ma'ni II, 217
Fakhr al-Din al-Razi, 701, 708, 772, 809, 839
Fakhr al-Din Kara Arslan, 607–608
Fakhr al-Din Muhammad ibn al-Hasan al-Hilli, 42
Fakhr al-khilafa, 777
Fakhr al-Muhaqqiqin, 324
Fakkak, al-, 760
Falasifa, 670
Falconry, 337–338, 769
Fal-i Kalam Allah, 210
Fal-i Mushaf, 210
Fal-i Qur'an, 210
Fallah, 598
Falnamas, 210, 410
Falsafa, 610–612
Faludhaj, 204
Fansuri, al-, 465
Faqr al-din 'Iraqi, 774
Farabi, al-, 2, 68, 241, 247–248, 293, 300, 332, 366, 615, 670, 680, 811
Farâ'i al-Qulûb, 545
Faramarznameh, 234
Farazdaq, al-, 807
Farewell Sermon, 529–530
Farghana, 746
Farghani, al-, 76, 285, 440
Farhang, 148
Farid al-Din, *See* Ganj-I Shakar, Farid ad-Din
Farid al-Din Attar, 409
Farid al-Din Damad al-Nisaburi, 839
Farid al-Din Ganj Shakar, 152
Farid Wajdi, 677
Faridun, 384
Farighunids, 458
Farra', al-, 701, 707
Farrokhi, 227
Fars, 504, 524
Farsakh, 285
Farsi, 397
Faruq, al-, 500
Fas al-Jadid, 257
Fasting, 771–772, 774
Fatawa, 363
Fatawa-yi jahandari, 98
Fatehpur Sikri, 90–91
Fath al-qadir, al-, 730
Fath ibn Khaqan, al-Mutawakkil's Vizier, al-, 25
Fatih Cami, 779
Fatih Pasha Mosque, 750
Fatima al-Zahra', 867
Fatima bint Muhammad
  'Ali ibn Abi Talib's marriage to, 248
  biography of, 248–249
  children of, 248
  death of, 249
  deathbed instructions by, 198
  description of, 109
  poetry about, 249
  titles of, 249
Fâtima Khatun, 274
Fatimi Egypt, 216
Fatimid(s)
  al-Hakim's rule of, 251
  Azhar, al-, 84–85, 255
  in Cairo, 451
  caliphs of, 250–251
  central administration of, 252
  clothing of, 162
  coinage of, 163
  colors used during, 178–179
  Copts during, 174–175
  court dress during, 179–180
  description of, 2, 249, 250
  diplomacy during, 207
  in Egypt, 225, 251–252, 425, 538, 642
  foundation of, 250–251
  Hijaz during, 54
  Idrisids and, 382
  Ismailis, 404–405
  library of, 450–451
  mawlid celebrations, 256
  Nawruz celebration by, 559
  in North Africa, 250–251
  organization of, 252
  origins of, 405
  paintings, 588
  police, 622
  in Ramla, 591
  religious celebrations, 642
  ruling period, 179
  Shi'i, 650
  in Sicily, 744
  in Syria, 787

Fatimid Caliphate
  founding of, 405
  Jewish mercantile class under, 497–498
Fatimid Caliphs
  Hakim, al-, 310–311
  Mu'izz, al-, 869
  Musta'li Ismailis' recognition of, 405–406
  Usama ibn Munqidh, 851
  Zahir, al-, 516
Fatira, 204
Fawa'id al-fu'ad, 152
Fawzi Ma'luf, 230
Fay', 447, 598–599
Fayd al-Fadl wa Jam' al-Shaml, 866
Faysal al-Tafriqa Bayna l-Islam wa-l-Zandaqa, 321
Feast of Cross, 556
Feast of Ramadan, 295
Feast of Sacrifice, 135, 196
Feast of Submersion, 562
Feast of the Fast-Breaking, 642
Feast of the Martyr, 562
Feast of the Sacrifice, 642
Federico II, 337
Felted rugs, 136
Ferdinand III, 176, 720
Ferdowsi, 234, 253–254, 560, 605, 727
Ferghana, 829
Fermented beverages, 26
Fernando I, 594
Fertile Crescent, 60
Festival(s)
  calendaric, 254–255
  description of, 254
  Irbil, 256
  Islamicized, 255
  mawlid, 255–256
  shi'i, 255
Festival of Ghadir Khumm, 643
Festival of the New Year, 196
Fez
  description of, 257–258, 382
  Maimonides in, 459
Fezzan, 770
Fidai Khan Koka, 91
Fields of Gold, The, 483
Fihrist, al-, 88, 397, 474, 577, 794
Filaha al-Nabatiyya, al-, 23, 60
Filastin, 590
Fiqh, 449
Fiqh al-Rida, 36
Fiqh al-sunna, 730
Fiqh Kitab al-Azhar, 732
Firdausi, 838
Firdaws al-Hikma fi l-Tibb, 496
Firdawsi, 62–63
First Crusade, 184, 343, 568, 851
Firuz Shah, 290, 589, 662
Firuz Shah Nameh, 630
Firuz Shah Tughluq, 74, 751
Firuzabadi, al-, 861
Fisherman and the Genie, The, 577
Fityun, 49
Five Books of Cleverness, 432
Five Treasures, 560
Floods, 258–259
Folk literature
  Arabic, 260–261
  Persian, 261–262
  Turkish, 262–263
Folk medicine, 263–264
Fons Vitae, 355
Food
  nonconsumption uses of, 265–266
  preparation of, 264–265
  serving of, 265
  types of, 265
Forbidding evil, 164–165
Foreigners, 266–267
Formal prayer, 636–637
Fornication, 280
Fortifications, 64–65
Forty-Nine Martyrs, 689
Fostat, 459
Fountain of the Lions, 34
Four Journeys, 531
Fourth Crusade, 580
Fragmentary wall paintings, 588
Frahang, 148
Franks
  'Ayn Jalut battle, 82–83
  Ayyubids' battles against, 84
  during Crusades, 184
  description of, 252, 267–268
  Muslim perceptions of, 184
Frantz-Murphy, Gladis, 802
Frederick II, 84, 376
Freethinkers, 268–269
Frescoes, 586–589
Fritware, 143
Fulus, 163
Funeral prayer, 637
Funerary practices
  Islamic, 271
  Jewish, 269–270
  Muslim, 270–272
  violations of, 271
Fuqaha, 194, 597
Fuqqa', 106
Furat, al-, 20
Furnishings, 272–273
Furniture, 272–273
Fustât, 273–274, 395, 634
Fustat, al-, 129, 482
Fusul al-Madani, 840
Fusûl wa l-Ghâyât fî Tamjîd Allâh wa l-Mawâ'i A, al-, 7
Fusus al-hikam, 349
Futuh al-Buldan, 859
Futuhat al-makkiyya, al-, 349
Futuvvat, 305
Futuwwa, 153, 633

G

Gabal Yashkur, 273
Gabbai, 147
Gabriel, Albert, 273
Gâfiqî, al-, 608
Galen, 67, 80, 578, 607–608, 671
Galland, Antoine, 577
Gambling, 275–276

Ganjeh, 560
Ganj-I Shakar, Farid ad-Din, 275–276
Garden in Spring, The, 412
Garden of Kings Concerning Beginning and Ending, 665
Garden of Myrtle, The, 478
Garden of the Truth, The, 620
Gardens and gardening, 276–278, 328–329
Gardens' Flowers, The, 478
Garuda, 662
Gawhar Shad, 864
Geikhatu, 541
Gelim, 136
Gender, 278–280
Generations, 367
Genghis Khan, 142, 280–282, 508–512, 540
Genghisid principle, 281
Geniza
  Cairo, 282, 498
  collection of, 282
  commerce descriptions in, 284
  contents of, 282–283
  definition of, 282
  description of, 270
  Islamic history and culture associated with, 283–284
  Jewish history and culture associated with, 282–283
Geographers
  Bakri, al-, 95–96
  Idrisi, 379–381
  Qazwini, al-, 652
Geographus Nubiensis, 379–380
Geography
  Balkhi, al-, school of, 286
  development of, 284–285
  Iraqi school of, 285–286
  mathematical, 483–484
  Ottoman, 287
  Persian influences, 287
  Ptolemaic influences on, 285
  Qur'an descriptions, 285
  reference books, 285
  round maps, 287–288
  sacred, 686
  Umayyad travel records, 285
Geography, 285, 648
Geometry, 288–290, 484
Georgika, The, 22–23, 117
Gerusalemme Liberata, 243
Gesudaraz, 290–291
Ghadar, 143
Ghadir Khum, 94, 255
Ghaliya, 177
Ghana, 291
Ghârib, 266
Gharib al-Hadith, 476
Ghars al-Ni'ma Muhammad ibn Hilal, 452–453
Ghashiyya, 643
Ghassani state, 59
Ghassanids, 291–292
Ghayat al-Hakim, 60
Ghaylan al-Dimashqi, 639
Ghazal, 455, 619
Ghazali, al-, 49, 69, 80, 98, 103, 145, 199, 242, 292–293, 321, 498, 562, 611, 626, 670, 678, 723, 780, 782, 822
Ghazan Khan, 384, 666–667
Ghazi, 873
Ghazna, 121
Ghaznavid Mas'ud, 62
Ghaznavids
  Abu 'l-Fadl al-Bayhaqi's writings about, 8–9
  architecture, 588
  description of, 93, 121, 124, 293–294, 387, 747
  in Gangetic Plain, 644
Ghitrib ibn Qudama al-Ghassani, al-, 337
Ghiyar, 160, 162
Ghiyasi, al-, 428
Ghiyath al-Din Tugluq, 563
Ghiyathiya, 490
Ghulam, 725
Ghulat, 141, 409
Ghurid dynasty, 661
Ghuta, al-, 191
Gibbon, Edward, 200
Gibraltar, 294–295
Gift giving, 295–296
Gifts, 295–296
Gilan, 573
Ginans, 620
Glass mosaics, 516
Glassware, 297–298
Gnosis, 299
God
  Face of, 386
  idolatry, 378
  Qur'an references to, 241
Gog, 239, 548
Gol-angabin, 683
Gold, 503–504
Gold coinage, 163
Golden Book, 667
Golden Horde, 512, 540–541
Golden Sayings, The, 442
Golden Tower, 722
Goldsmiths, 417
Goldziher, Ignaz, 120, 323
Golestan, 412
Gorgani, 560
Goshtaspnameh, 234
Gourd game, 769
Governors of Egypt, The, 440
Grabar, Oleg, 413
Grammar
  Arabic, 318
  commentary on, 167
  Hebrew, 301–302
  Islamic, 299–301
  Judeo-Arabic, 301–302
Grammarians, 299–301
Granada, 302–303, 593
Grand Book on Music, 534
Grand Commentary, The, 670
Great Generations, The, 867
Great Khan Güyük, 540
Great Khan Möngke, 512, 540
Great Khan Ogödei, 512–513, 632
Great Khan Qubilai, 512–513
Great Mosque of Qayrawan, 19, 650
Greek language and culture, 303–304
Green Sea, 817
Gregory Abu 'l-Faraj, 789
Guadalquivir River, 175, 720

Gudab, 204
Guidance, The, 531
Guidance of Those Who Feel Inclined to the Stories of Juha, The, 426
Guidance to the Luminaries, 731
Guide of the Perplexed, The, 314, 459–460, 547, 710, 822
Guide to Detachment, The, 546
Guide to Knowledge of Pilgrimage Places, 614
Guide to Pilgrimage Places, 313
Guiding dreams, 215
Guilds
  apprentice in, 49–49
  description of, 304–305
  religious orders in, 49
Guildsmen, 49
Gujarat, 878
Gulbarga, 291
Gulf of Aden, 830
Gulkane Khatt-i Humayun, 676
Gul-u-Hurmuz, See Khusraw-Nama
Gur-i Ami, 588
Gwalior, 20

H

Haba'ik fi Akhbar al-Mala'ik, al-, 45
Habasha, 12
Habbab al-Mundhir, 171
Hadad, 520
Hadd, 183
Hadi ila al-Haqq, al-, 732
Hadi Sabzavari, 43
Hadi Yahya ibn al-Husayn, al-, 875
Hadiqat a-Haqiqat, 620
Hadith(s)
  burials, 271
  criticisms of, 202, 307–308
  definition of, 222, 307, 733
  description of, 6, 111–112, 122, 157, 160, 164, 166, 171
  dualistic vision doctrines in, 735
  early collections of, 307
  by Ibn Hanbal, 356–357
  by Ibn Umar, 660
  Islamic law based on, 307
  jewelry references, 416
  jihad in, 419
  Majlisi's work in, 460
  martyrdom, 197
  parts of, 307
  Qu'ran understanding and, 222
  suffering, 771
Hadith al-Ghadir, 36
Hadith Dawud, 476
Hadramawt, 669, 777, 871
Hadrian
  aqueducts built by, 51
  Jerusalem rebuilding by, 413
Hafez, 621
Haffar al-Qubur, 230
Hafirs, 51
Hafiz, al-, 255, 405–406
Hafiz Abru, 812
Hafiz li-din Allah, al-, 70
Hafizi Da'wa, 778
Hafsa bint al-Hajj al-Rukuniyya, 308, 866
Hafsids, 309, 359
Haft Ourang, 412
Haft Paykar, 560
Hagia Sophia, 520, 751, 779
Hai Gaon, 394
Hailstorms, 859
Hair coloring, 177
Hajar al-Aswad, al-, 526
Hajar al-Nasr, 382
Hajj, 309–310, 429
Hajjaj, al-, 524, 647, 866
Hajy Pasha, 492
Hakam, al-, I, 720
Hakam ibn Ali 'l-As, al-, 600
Hakam II, al-, 176, 514
Hakim, al-, 130, 175, 250, 251, 310–311, 344, 376, 395, 442, 592, 643
Hakim al-Tirmidhi, al-, 80
Hakim bi-Amr Allah, al-, 216
Hakim Maysari, 489
Hakk Al Din I, 12
Hala Sultan, 52, 189
Hala Sultan Tekke, 188
Halakhic writings, 862
Hallaj, al-, 402
Hallaj ibn Yusuf, al-, 138
Halwa, 204
Hamadhani, Badi' al-Zaman, 311–312
Hamam, 99–101
Hamama, 109
Hamasa, al-, 11, 229
Hamawi, al-, 870
Hamdalah, 704
Hamdallah Mowstafi, 234
Hamdan ibn Hamdun, 312
Hamdan Qarmat, 405
Hamdani, al-, 285
Hamdanids
  Aleppo rule by, 27
  description of, 312–313
Hamid al-Din al-Kirmani, 405, 406
Hamid Qalandar, 152
Hammad ibn Abi Sulayman, 5
Hammam al-Sarakh, 514
Hamnadhani, al-, 694
Hamriyya, 27
Hamza, 629
Hamza al-Isfahani, 451
Hamza Fansuri, 665
Hamza ibn Abdallah, 552
Hamza ibn 'Ali, 311
Hamza ibn 'Ali al-Zawzani, 216–217
Hamza-nama, 629
Han Kitab, 151
Hanafi jurists, 596
Hanafi madhhab, 703
Hanafi School of Islamic law, 121, 702–703
Hanbali Ibn Taymiyya, 256
Hanbali qadi, 194
Hanbali school, 187, 716
Hanbalis, 345, 447
Hand, 795
Handy Tables, 648
Hanifa tribe, 55
Haqa'iq al-tafsir, 166

Haqiqa, 410
Haqq al-Din II, 12
Haqqa al-Yaqin, 460
Haram, 149
Haram al-Ibrahimi, 318–319
Haram al-Sharif, al-, 50, 212
Haramain al-Juvaini, al-, 562
Harawi, al-, 287, 313
Harba, al-, 682
Harem, 170
Hari Rud river, 319
Hariri, al-, 116, 167, 477, 585, 822
Harith al-A'war, al-, 389
Harith ibn Jabala, al-, 292
Harizi, al-, 314, 477
Harran Thabit ibn Qurra, 647
Harun al-Rashid, 19, 51, 92, 206, 240, 268, 314–315, 336, 424, 451, 576, 590, 630, 633, 681, 683, 694, 838, 859
Harun Yahya, 120
Ha-Sallah, 354
Hasan, al-, 109, 124, 295
Hasan al-Askari, al-, 569, 737
Hasan al-Basri, al-, 71, 99, 165, 315–316, 639, 676
Hasan ibn 'Ali, al-, 736
Hasan ibn Salih ibn Hayy, al-, 71
Hasan ibn Zayd, al-, 875
Hasan Kafi, 97
Hasan-i Sabbah, 316–317, 406
Hasawati, al-, 274
Hasdai Ibn Shaprut, 302, 618
Hasdasy Ibn Shaprut, 223
Haseki Hürrem Sultan, 779
Hashwi, 396
Hasidim, 546
Hats, 160
Hausaland, 765
Hawi, al-, 672
Hawi al-Kabir, al-, 486
Hayat al-Qulub, 460
Haywayhi of Balkh, 685
Hayy Ibn Yaqzan, 372–373
Hazar Afsaneh, 575
He Who has No Jurisprudence with Him, 352
Healing the Person with Wrong Concepts about Predetermination and Causality, 363
Healing-Mine of Sikandar-Shah, The, 490
Heavenly Percolations, 505
Hebrew
  Arabic translations into, 821–823
  description of, 317–318
  grammar used in, 301–302
  medical literature, 487–488
Hebrew poetry, 617–619
Hebron, 318–319
Heirs, 389
Hejaz, 581
Henna, 177
Heqdesh, 146–147
Heraclius, 30, 125, 292
Herat, 319–320, 585
Herbalists, 263
Heresy, 320–322
Heretics, 320–322
Hermeneutics, 449
Herodotus, 837
Heroes, 323–324
Heroism, 323–324
Heron of Alexandria, 579
Heterodoxy, 322
Hidaya, al-, 531
Hidayat al-Muta 'Allimim fi l-Tibb, 489
Hijaz, 238, 596
Hijra, 228–229, 528
Hijra calendar, 195–196
Hikaya, 722
Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyya, 767
Hikma, 405
Hikmat al- 'Ayn, Idah al-Maqasid fi Sharh Hikmat al-'Ayn, 325
Hikmat al-ishraq, 166
Hilal al-Sabi', 296, 643
Hilal ibn Abi Halal al-Himsi, 288
Hilalis, 495
Hilli, al-, 324–325
Hilyat al-awliya' wa-tabaqat al-asfiya', 401–402
Hilyat al-Muttaqin, 460
Hims, 192
Hind bint Abi 'Ubayda ibn Asad ibn 'Abd al-'Uzza ibn Qusayy, 551
Hindu Kush, 713
Hindu-Arabic system, 567
H.inth, 571
Hippocrates, 67, 266
Hippology, 325–326
Hira, 527
Hira, al-, 292, 435
Hiraba, 326–328
Hisab al-jummal, 209
Hisbah, 164
Hisham I, 176, 720
Hisham ibn 'Abd al-aalik, 553
Hisham ibn 'Urwa ibn al-Zubayr, 552
Hisham II, 593
Hisn Kayfa, 852
Historians
  Kindi, al-, 440–441
  Maqrizi, al-, 478–479
  Mas'udi, al-, 482–483
Historiography, 825
History, 8–9, 791
History of al-Tabari, The, 645, 679
History of Baghdad, 437
History of Damascus and Its Environs, The, 351
History of India, 267
History of Prophets and Kings, 645, 754
History of Tabaristan, 825
History of the Rechabites, 29
Hitopadesa, 148
Hizb Allah, 595
Hizb al-Shaytan, 595
Holy Sepulchre Church, 413, 592
Homicide, 183
Homosexuality, 17
Honey, 204
Horary quadrant, 76
Horseracing, 768
Horses, 325–326, 565
Horticulture, 328–329
Hospitals, 146
House of Ibn 'Awkal, 498

House of Ka'ba, 109
House of Wisdom, 450–451, 533
Houses, 330–331, 850
Hsi-Hsia, 512
Huda ibn 'Ali, 55
Hudaybiyya, 597, 868
Hudna, 597–598
Hudud, 326
Hudud al-'Alam, 287, 548
Hujjat al-Siddiq li-Daf' al-Zindiq, 665
Hülegü Khan, 82, 383, 510, 512, 541, 606
Hulm, 214
Humanism, 331–333
Humayun, 74, 333–335
Humor, 335–336
Hunayn Ibn Ishaq, 80, 117, 336–337, 578, 607, 610, 789, 827
Hungarians, 581
Hunting, 46, 337–339, 769
Huquq adami, 183
Huquq Allah, 145
Hurr ibn 'Abd al-Rahman al-Thaqafi, al-, 175
hurra, 70
Husain, Mahdi, 353
Husain ibn al-Hasan, al-, 54
Husayn, al-, 109, 643, 875
Husayn ibn Ali, 94, 191, 196, 339–340, 434, 523, 613, 614, 736
Husayn ibn Hamdan al-Khasibi, al-, 569
Husayn ibn Rawh, al-, 501
Husayn Mosque, al-, 191
Husayniyah, 340
Husbands, 211–212
Hussein, Saddam, 434–435
Hutay, al-, 657
Hyderabad, 122
Hypostyle mosques, 519–520
Hypothesis ton planomenon, 647

I

Iamblichus, 615
Iasan Ibn Hud, al-, 547
'Ibadat, 320
Ibadi Imamate, 575
Ibadis, 164, 341–342
Ibadiya, 436
Iberian Peninsula
  description of, 154, 534, 585, 849
  literature of, 682–683
  Party Kingdoms, 593–595
Ibn 'Abbad, 832
Ibn 'Abbas, 54, 660, 706, 715
Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 192
Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 13, 394
Ibn Abi al-Dunya, 18, 199, 215
Ibn Abi l-Hadid, 37
Ibn Abi Usaybi'a, 347, 827
Ibn Abi'l Dunya, 533
Ibn 'Ad al-Wahhab, 309
Ibn Ajurrum, 300
Ibn al-Abbar, 309
Ibn al-'Adim, 80, 341, 352
Ibn al-Althir, 342–343
Ibn al-'Amid, 452
Ibn al-'Arabi, 201, 592, 723
Ibn al-Ash'ath, 99, 315
Ibn al-Athîn, 168
Ibn al-Athir, 645, 690
Ibn al-'Awwam al-Isbili, 23
Ibn al-Azraq, 436
Ibn al-Bawwab, 116, 135
Ibn al-Faqih, 285
Ibn al-Faqih al-Hamadhani, 285
Ibn al-Farid, 201, 723, 753
Ibn al-Farra', 486
Ibn al-Furat, 343, 869
Ibn al-Haj, 600
Ibn al-Hajib, 300
Ibn al-Hanafiyya, 500
Ibn al-Hawrani, 614
Ibn al-Haytham, 77, 80, 112, 288, 289, 343–344, 579
Ibn al-Hudhayl al-Garnati, 326
Ibn al-Jawzi, 111, 245, 335–336, 345–346, 633, 705, 742, 799
Ibn al-Jayyan, 33
Ibn al-Jazzar, 394
Ibn al-Khammar, 377
Ibn al-Khammar al-Hasan ibn Suwar, 828
Ibn al-Khatib, 33, 302
Ibn al-Mangli, 337
Ibn al-Muhallab, 99
Ibn al-Mujawir, 115, 287, 766
Ibn al-Munadi, 237
Ibn al-Muqaffa, 66, 80, 333, 346–347, 397, 432–433, 506, 583, 627, 823
Ibn al-Murabi' al-Azdi, 477
Ibn al-Murtada, 732
Ibn al-Nadim, 25, 115, 397, 426, 474, 577, 716, 827, 859
Ibn al-Nafis, 167, 347–349, 490
Ibn al-Qârih 'Ali ibn Mansûr "Dawkhala," 7
Ibn al-Quff, 347
Ibn al-Rawandi, 268, 349
Ibn al-Samh, 377
Ibn al-Sarraj, 74, 300
Ibn al-Sha'ar al-Mawsili, 314
Ibn al-Shatir, 78
Ibn al-Washsha', 177
Ibn al-Zubayr, 3, 214
Ibn 'Ammar, 310
Ibn 'Arab, 349–351
Ibn Arabi, 98, 299, 431, 612, 615, 620, 737
Ibn 'Arafa, 211
Ibn Arafi, 290
Ibn Asakir, 220, 351–352, 867
Ibn 'Ata' Allah, 31, 546
Ibn Babawayh, 35, 307, 352, 393–394
Ibn Babuya, 732
Ibn Badis, 115, 677
Ibn Bajja, 69, 78, 373, 503, 876
Ibn Basam, 394
Ibn Bassâl, 328
Ibn Battuta, 15, 352–353, 440, 463, 479, 644, 832, 838
Ibn Buluqqin, 80
Ibn Butlân, 609
Ibn Ezra, 353–354
Ibn Fadl Allah al-'Umari, 138, 286
Ibn Fadlan, 286
Ibn Faris, 311
Ibn Gabirol, 355
Ibn Gulgul, 608
Ibn Hafsun, 4
Ibn Haggag al-Isbili, 23

Ibn Hajar, 868
Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani, 111, 235, 236, 239, 676, 716
Ibn Hajj al-'Abdari, 192
Ibn Hamdis, 355–356
Ibn Hanbal, 71, 207, 356–357, 403, 702, 715, 754, 791
Ibn Hawqal, 139, 286, 692
Ibn Hawshab Mansur al-Yaman, 404
Ibn Hayyan, 223
Ibn Hazm, 176, 594, 613, 640, 676
Ibn Hijji, 362
Ibn Hisham, 170, 300, 357, 868
Ibn Hubaysh, 859
Ibn Hud, 302
Ibn 'Idhari, 649
Ibn Isfandiyar, 825
Ibn Ishaq, 157, 170, 357–358, 859
Ibn Iyas, 723
Ibn Jama'a, 780
Ibn Janah, 710
Ibn Jubayr, 287, 358, 832
Ibn Kalbi, 379
Ibn Kamma.na, 385
Ibn Kathir, 239, 362
Ibn Khaldun, 80, 140, 200, 201, 235, 286, 359, 469, 483, 495, 498, 503, 644, 712, 827
Ibn Khallikan, 826
Ibn Khayr, 716
Ibn Khurradadhbih, 285, 359–360, 817
Ibn Khuzayma, 809
Ibn Killis, 856
Ibn Mada' al-Qurtubi, 300–301
Ibn Ma'dan al-Banna', 402
Ibn Maja, 307
Ibn Majah, 235
Ibn Majid, 556
Ibn Makula, 716
Ibn Malik, 300, 701
Ibn Mammati, 23
Ibn Mankali, 558
Ibn Manzur, 780
Ibn Mas'ud, 660
Ibn Miskawayh, 615
Ibn Mujahid, 660
Ibn Muqla, 134–135
Ibn Nadim, 88
Ibn Naghrela, 361
Ibn Na'ima al-Himsi, 827
Ibn Naji, 649
Ibn Najib al-Dawla, 70, 777
Ibn Naziar al-Jaysh, 66
Ibn Nujaym, 187
Ibn Qadi Shuba, 362
Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, 194, 199, 362–363, 372
Ibn Qutayba, 13, 46, 363–364, 617, 645, 679
Ibn Quzman, 364–365
Ibn Rabiya, 806
Ibn Ra'iq, 382
Ibn Rajab, 362
Ibn Ridwan, 80, 198
Ibn Rushd, 17, 69, 78, 176, 365–366, 503, 609, 612, 680, 811
Ibn Rushd al-Hafid, 38
Ibn Rustman, 341
Ibn Sa'd, 110, 366–367, 859, 867–868
Ibn Sa'dan, 798
Ibn Sa'id al-Maghribi, 286
Ibn Sallam, 867
Ibn Sallam al-Jumahi, 865
Ibn Sana' al-Mulk, 394
Ibn Saqbel, 618
Ibn Sayyar al-Warraq, 767
Ibn Shaddad, 368
Ibn Shahin, 369
Ibn Shahrashub, 733
Ibn Shihab al-Zuhri, 358
Ibn Shuhayd, 658
Ibn Sina
  'Abd al-Latif's work with, 2
  death and dying views, 198
  description of, 69, 80, 112, 220, 369–370, 503, 670, 811
  epic poetry, 229
  ethical works by, 241
  Farabi, al-'s influence on, 534
  Ghazali, al- and, 293
  optics-related works by, 579
  pharmacology contributions by, 608
  philosophy commentaries by, 611, 772
  translations by, 825
Ibn Surâqa, 686
Ibn Suwar ibn al-Khammar, 503
Ibn Taghri Birdi, 371–372
Ibn Tashufin, 39
Ibn Tawus, 453
Ibn Taymiyya, 187, 192, 194, 214, 350, 372, 379, 395–396, 597, 614, 633, 640, 670, 676, 708, 780, 809
Ibn Tibbon, 822
Ibn Tufayl, 69, 372–373
Ibn Tulun, 273, 373–374, 517–518, 834
Ibn Tumart, 37, 105, 374–375
Ibn Umar, 660
Ibn 'Umar, 54
Ibn 'Uthman, 614
Ibn Wâfid, 328
Ibn Wasil, 376
Ibn Wasmgir, 148
Ibn Yasin, 39
Ibn Yûnus, 376–377
Ibn Zamrak, 33
Ibn Zaydun, 66, 308
Ibn Zubayr, 309
Ibn Zur'a, 377–378
Ibnal-Kalbi, 326
Ibraham ibn Sayyar al-Nazzam, 25
Ibrahim 'Adil Shah, 108
Ibrahim I, 19
Ibrahim ibn al-Aghlab, 19
Ibrahim ibn Musa al-Kazim, 54
Ibrahim ibn Sayyar al-Nazzam, 411
Ibrahim ibn Ya'qub, 286
Ibrahim II, 20
Ibrahim Lodi, 87
Ibrahim Rawza, 108
Ibrihim ibn Sinan, 289
'Id al-Adha, 254
'Id al-Fitr, 254, 295
'Id al-Ghitas, 562
'Id al-Saghir, al-, 254
'Id al-salib, 556
'Id al-Shahid, 562
Idah, al-, 680

Ideology
description of, 391–392
Karaite, 433
Idolatry, 378–379
Idris ibn ‘Abd Allah, 381
Idris II, 257, 382
Idrisi, al-, 286, 379–381, 462
Idrisids, 105, 381–382
Ifiqiya, 497
Ifriqiyya, 19–20, 105, 309, 650
Iggeret ha-Shemmad, 459
Iggeret Kidush ha-Shem, 459
Ihya’ ‘Ulum al-Din, 166, 293, 498, 826
Ijaza, 201–203
Ijazat al-ifta’ wa’l-tadris, 202–203
Ijazat al-riwayah, 201
Ijazat al-sama‘, 201
Ijazat ‘ammah, 202
Ijma’, 403, 536
Ikhshidids, 382–383, 538, 835
Ikhtilaf al-Fuqaha’, 791
Ikhtilaf al-Hadith, 724
Ikhtilaf usul al-madhahib, 731
Ikhtiyarat-i Badi‘i, 490
Ikhwan al-Muslimin, 677
Ikhwan al-Safa, 118, 158, 615, 811
Ikhwât Yusuf, 274
Ilhan Basgoz, 262
Iliad, 230, 232
Ilig Nasr ibn, 121
Il-Kahn Abaka, 121
Ilkhan Abaqa, 666
Ilkhan Ghazan, 541
Ilkhan Öljeitü, 324
Ilkhan Tegüder, 541
Ilkhanate, 540
Ilkhanid Mongols, 508–510
Ilkhanids, 383–384, 572
Ilkhans, 102, 443, 606, 666
Ilkhan’s Book of Precious Knowledge, The, 490
Illiberris, 302
Illumination, 115–116
Illumination in Islamic Mysticism, 385
Illuminationism, 384–386
‘Ilm al-balagha, 679
Ilm al-hay’a, 77
‘Ilm al-huduri, al-, 385
‘Ilm al-huruf, 209
‘Ilm al-mîqât, 376
‘Ilm al-nujum, 209–210
Iltutmish, 662, 674
Ilya, 413
Ima’ al-Shawa‘ir, al-, 13, 866
‘Imad al-Dawla, 123
‘Imad al-Din Abu Bakr ibn Qara Arslan, 384
‘Imad al-Din al-Isfahani, 80
‘Imad al-Din Zanki, 27–28, 448, 539
Imam
‘Ali al-Rida, 438
description of, 299, 386–387
hierarchical access to, 501
Ja’far al-Sadiq as, 409–410
legal theory regarding, 626
Muhammad al-Baqir’s view of, 523–524
Muhammad ibn Abdallah, 553
Mustansir bi ‘llah, al-, 521
tasks of, 410
Imam, al-, 1
Imam al-A‘zam, al-, 5
Imam ‘Ali, 725
Imam al-Mustansir, 70
Imam Malik, 54
Imam Muizz li-Din Allah, 84
Imam Musa al-Kazim, 35
Imamate, 132, 523, 575
Imami, 185
Imam-i Rabbani, 678
Imamquli Khan, 530
Imazighen, 104
Improvement of the Moral Qualities, 355
‘Imran ibn al-Fadl, 70
‘Inan, 866
Incoherence of the Incoherence, 366
Incoherence of the Philosophers, The, 293, 366, 611
Index, 716
Index of Books and Masters, 716
India, 387
Indian army, 148
Indian Ocean
description of, 555, 581
trade via, 816–818
Indian Peninsula, 850
Indian poetry, 619–621
Indications of the Inimitability of the Qur’an, 426
Indus River, 751
Industrial Revolution, 581
Inferno, 243–244
Infidels, 321
Informal prayer, 637
Inheritance
definition of, 387
estate division, 389
heirs, 389
Islamic perspective of, 387–390
Western perspectives of, 389–390
Ink, 705
Inlay technique, 502
Inner Secrets of the Path, 42
Insan al-kamil, al-, 350
Insanity, 209, 497
Insights, 798
Intellectual history
definition of, 391
ideology, 391–392
practicality issues, 391
Intellectual humanism, 333
Interest, 852–853
Interfaith relations
with Christians, 393–395
daily level of, 394–395
description of, 393
domestic living patterns and, 396
early views of, 393
intellectual level of, 393–394
in late Middle Ages, 396
in religious practices, 395–396
theological views of, 393
Introduction to the Noble Religious Law, 396
Invocation, 637
Ionia, 604

'Iqd, al-, 13
Iqlim, 158
Iqta', 447–449, 599
Iqtibas, 657
Iqtisas, al-, 647–648
Iranian languages
  classification of, 397
  Dari, 398
  description of, 397
  developments in, 398
  regional, 399
Iranian mosques, 520–521
Iraq
  Aramaean settlement in, 60
  conquest of, 59
Irbil festival, 256
'Irfan, 37
Irfan Shahid, 590
Iron, 504
Irrigation, 277–278, 561, 800
Irshad, al-, 428
Irshad al-Adhhan fi Ahkam al-Iman, 325
Irshad al-fuhul, 731
Irshad Man Naha ila Nawadir Juha, 426
Isa Bey, 52
'Isa ibn Ishaq ibn Zur'a, 827
'Isa ibn Musa, 552–553
Isaac ben Solomon Israeli, 488
Isaac Ibn Ghiyath, 710
Isaac Judaeus, 488
Isbahani, al-, 534
Ischariot, Judas, 418
Isfahan, 399–401, 470, 688, 725
Isfahani, al-, 401–402, 617
Ishaq, 68
Ishaq ibn Hunayn, 647, 826, 827
Ishaq ibn Ibrahim, 402–403
Ishaq ibn Ibrahim al-Mawsili, 753
Ishara alila Mahasin al-Tijara, al-, 498
Isharat, al-, 840
Isharat fi 'Ilm al-'Ibarat, al-, 215
Isharat wa-l-Tanbihat, al-, 840
Ishraqiyyun, 384–385
Isjalat al-'adalah, 203
Isjazat al-ijtihad, 203
Iskandar ibn Umar Shaikh, 812
Iskandar II, 465
Islah, 675–678
Islah al-akhlaq, 355
Islam
  in Abyssinia, 12
  aesthetics, 103
  apostasy, 47–49
  in Arabia, 53
  Buddhism and, 119–120
  charity, 145–146
  children as viewed by, 150
  in China, 151
  description of, 403–404
  eschatological dogmas of, 404
  Ethiopia and, 12
  European literature representation of, 243–244
  funerary practices of, 271
  Hellenistic revival of, 394
  inheritance system, 387–390
  jinn in, 421
  marriage, 480–481
  messianism in, 500–501
  in North Africa, 105
  oral traditions of, 110
  orthopraxis, 321
  Persian influences on, 53
  philosophy of, 612
  popular literature and, 628–629
  religious obligations associated with, 403–404
  scriptural exegesis, 706–708
  teachings of, 403–404
  Turks conversion to, 837
  Twelver ritual of, 94
Islamic palaces, 62–63
Islamization, 590
Isma'il, 33, 196, 581, 691
Isma'il I, 725
Isma'il ibn Ahmad, 121, 141
Isma'il ibn Naghrila, *See* Ibn Naghrela
Isma'il ibn Yusuf, 54
Isma'il II, 687, 725
Ismaili Shi'is, 225
Ismailis
  'Abdullah al-Mahdi, 250, 404–405
  description of, 250
  Fatimid period, 404–405
  Mongol defeat of, 840
  Musta'li, 405–406
  Nizari, 406–407
Isma'iliyya, 132
'Isn ibn 'Ali, 377
Isnad, 307
Isogoge, 610
Israel, 418
Israeli, Isaac, 394
Israelites, 517
Isra'i-liyyat, 629
Istabl 'Antar, 273
Istakhri, al-, 285, 286, 287
Istanbul
  aqueducts of, 51
  description of, 407
  water sources in, 51
Istibdad, 172
Istibsar, al-, 732
Istibsar fi ma Ukhtulifa Fihi min al-Akhbar, al-, 839
Istitaba, 49
Istithna, 572
Ithaf al-sada al-muttaqin bi-sharh ihya' 'ulum al-din, 166
I'tmad al-Dawla, 568
Ittihadiyya, al-, 350
Iussayn ibn 'Ali, 168
Iwan, 331
Iznik, 144
'Izz al-Dawla, 16, 95
'Izz al-Din Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad ibn 'Ali, 368–369
'Izz al-Din Abu al-'Abbas ibn Ibrahim ibn 'Umar al-Faruthi al-Wasiti, 324

J

Jabal Akhdar, 713
Jabal al-Fatih, 295
Jabal Tariq, 294

Jabariyya, 640
Jabi, 147
Jabiya, al-, 292
Jabr, al-, 31
Jacob ben Nissim, 369
Jacob ibn ‘Awkal, 497
Jacob of Serugh, 789
Jacobite Church, 172
Jadal, al-, 610
Ja‘far, 374
Ja‘far al-Hajib, 80
Ja‘far al-Sadiq, 404, 409–410, 460, 552, 559, 731, 737
Ja‘far al-Tusi, 701
Ja‘far ibn Abi Talib, 12
Ja‘far ibn Yahya al-Barmaki, 114–115
Ja’fari madhhab, 409
Jahangir, 20–21, 24, 568, 589, 755
Jahangiri Mahal, 20
Jahiliyya, 596
Jahiz, al-, 13, 25, 206, 335, 411–412, 426, 507, 617, 658, 679, 763, 799, 824, 866
Jahm ibn Safwan, 639
Jahmiyya, 6, 410
Jahwarids, 176
Jala ad-Din Yaqut, 674–675
Jala al-Din al-Suyuti, 678–679
Jalâl al-Asturlâbî, 74
Jalal al-Din Abu ’Abd Allah al-Qazwini, 427
Jalal al-Din al-Dawwani, 241
Jalal al-Din al-Mahalli, 166
Jalal al-Din al-Suyuti, 166
Jalal al-din al-Suyuti, 201
Jalal al-Din Rumi, 290, 442
Jalâl al-Hirmânî, 74
Jalayirid dynasty, 585
Jamal al-Dawla, 90
Jamal al-Din al-Afghani, 677
Jamal al-Din Husayn ibn Ayaz al-Baghdadi al-Nahwi, 324
Jamhara f ‘Ilm al-Bayzara, 337
Jamharat Ash‘ar al-‘Arab, 260
Jami, 412, 622
Jami’ al-, 672
Jami‘ al-Asrar, 42
Jami‘ al-bayan, 707
Jami‘ al-mustaqsa fi fada’il al-masjid al-aqsa, al-, 352
Jami‘ al-Muzaffar, 589
Jami al-Sahih, al-, 122, 536
Jami al-Tavarikh, 268, 272, 667
Jami’ fi al-Hadith, 476
Jamil ibn Ma‘mar, 455
Jami‘l-alfaz, 301
Jamuqa, 280
Janna, 328
Japheth ben Eli, 433, 709
Jar Allah al-Zamakhshari, 427
Jarir, 807
Jarkash, 155
Jarrahiyatu’l Khaniye, 783
Jarrahiyatu’l-Haniya, 492
Jasmine Mosque, 591–592
Jausaq al-Khaqani, 587
Java, 412–413, 767
Javidan Khirad, 611
Jawami’ ’ilm al-Musiqa, 229
Jawasaq al-Khaqabi, 62
Jawhar ibn Ahmad, 830
Jawlan, al-, 292
Jawsaq al-Khaqani, al-, 695
Jawziyaa, al-, 362
Jaxartes, 837
Jayy, 399
Jazira, 448, 540–541
Jazirat Ibn ‘Umar, 873
Jebe, 509
Jenne, 770
Jericho, 62
Jerusalem
  Arab conquest of, 415
  arabic documents from, 66
  artist renditions of, 414
  conquest of, 59
  Dome of the Rock in, 154, 212–214, 415, 514, 845
  Hadrian’s rebuilding of, 413
  history of, 413–415
  Islamic, 415
  Karaites in, 433
  Muhammad’s journey to, 415
  pilgrimages to, 415
  Saladin’s capture of, 358, 690
  sanctity of, 413
  word meaning of, 413
Jerusalem Liberated, 243
Jesting, 335
Jesus, 172, 192, 415–416
Jew(s)
  baraka beliefs, 98
  charity by, 146–148
  education practices, 223–224
  funerary practices by, 269–270
  geniza, 282–283
  Karaites, 433–434
  marriage among, 481
  medical literature, 487–488
  merchants, 497–498
  persecution of, 418
  poverty among, 634–636
  Qur’an references to, 107
  respect for, 206
  synagogues, 786–787
  word origin of, 418
  Yemenite, 547
Jewel-like Anecdotes, The, 364
Jewelry, 416–418
Jewish mysticism, 545–548
Jewish scriptural exegesis, 708–711
Jewish women, 861–863
Jhalawan, 713
Jihad
  definition of, 418
  description of, 132, 207, 418, 597
  greater, 419
  in hadith, 419
  historical references to, 420
  Islamic law view of, 419–420
  lesser, 419
  Qur’an references to, 418–419
Jihad: Arba’in fi al-ijtihad fi iqamat al-jihad, 352
Jin, 512
Jinayat, 183
Jinn, 420–421

Jizya, 393
Jochid Khans, 541
John, St., 191
John of Damascus, 393
John of Ephesus, 292, 789
John the Baptist, 613
John VI Kantakouzenos, 580
Joking, 335
Jonah ibn Janah, 301
Jones, Sir William, 602
Joseph ben Judah Ibn ‘Aqnin, 223
Joseph ha-Yerushalmi, 710
Joseph ibn ‘Aqnin, 545
Joseph Ibn Waqâr, 431
Josephus, Flavius, 269–270
Journal of al-Thaqafa, 677
Journey for Seeking Hadith, The, 714
Jubba, 259
Judah, 418
Judah al-Butini, 547
Judah al-Harizi, 314, 421, 618
Judah ha-Levi, 282, 318, 421–422
Judah Hayyuj, 302, 318, 710
Judah Ibn Bil‘am, 710
Judah Ibn Malka, 431
Judah Ibn Tibbon, 422, 685
Judas, 418
Judeo-Arabic
  definition of, 422–423
  grammar, 301–302
Judges
  in ’Abbasid dynasty, 424
  appointment of, 424
  decisions by, 425
  early history of, 423–424
  responsibilities of, 423
  Umayyad Caliphs, 423–424
Judges, The, 440
Judhab, 204
Judicial astrology, 75
Jughrafiya, 285
Juha, 426
Julep, 683
Jullab, 683
Jumada ‘l-Akhira, 196
Jumada ‘l-Ula, 196
Jund Filastin, 590–591
Jund Urdunn, 591
Jurhum, 59
Jurisprudence schools, 187, 702–704
Jurjani, al-, 300, 426–427
Justinian
  aqueducts built by, 51
  description of, 81, 407, 615, 779
Juwayni, al-, 292, 428, 782

K

K. al-Muhaddab fi l-kuhl al-mugarrab, 348
K. al-Samil fi l-sina al-tibbiyya, 348
Kaaba, 420–431
Ka‘ba, 55, 287, 403, 429–431, 514, 526, 529, 613, 686
Kabbala, 431–432
Kabbalists, 547
Kabira, 49
Kabul
  description of, 87, 275
  Humayun’s rule of, 334
Kaffara, 145, 572
Kafi, al-, 443, 460, 505, 732
Kafi fi ‘Ilm al-Din, al-, 443
Kaftan, 161
Kafur, al-, 383
Kalala, al-, 389
Kalam, 544, 611
Kalbi, al-, 701
Kalbids, 744
Kalila and Dimna, 346
Kalila wa Dimna, 229, 432–433, 583, 789, 822
Kalilah wa-Dimmah, 506
Kamabolon ceremony, 467
Kamal al-Din, 579
Kamal al-Din Bihzad, 585
Kamal al-Din Musa ibn Yunus al-Shafi’i, 840
Kamil fi al-ta’rikh, al-, 342
Kamil Muhammad, al-, 540
Kamkha, 181
Kandahar
  description of, 194
  Humayun’s rule of, 334
Kanem, 770
Kankan Musa, *See* Mansa Musa
Kanz al-Fawa’id fi Tanwi’ al-Mama’id, 683
Kara Khitay, 121, 694
Karagöz, 262–263
Karaite community, 282
Karaites, 423, 433–434, 709–710
Karaji, al-, 32
Karbala, 339, 434–435
Karimi, 768
Karirak ud Damanak, 432
Karkh, al-, 696
Kart dynasty, 573
Kasb, 640
Kashf al-Asrar, 396
Kashf al-Mahanij, 366
Kashf al-wajh, 635
Kashf wa-l-bayan ‘an tafsir al-Qur’an, al-, 166
Kashka Darya, 828
Kashkul, al-, 14
Kashshaf, al-, 544
Kathiris, 871
Katib, al-, 358, 506
Katibi al-Qazwini, al-, 324
Katwan, 694
Kawamikh, 768
Kawkaw, 291
Kay Khosrow I, 442
Kay Khosrow II, 442
Kay Khusraw, 384
Kayrawan, 649
Keter, 431
Key to the Locks of the Talmud, A, 369
Keys to the Unknown, The, 670
Khabar, 831
Khabar al-wahid, 703
Khabisa, 204
Khadija, 167, 526–527
Khadim, 242
Khalaf al-Ahmar, 10

Khalaf Ibn Abi Firas, 820
Khalid ibn al-Walid, 55, 292, 435
Khalid ibn Yazid, 450
Khalifa, 130
Khalifat Abi Bakr, 130
Khalifat Allah, 132
Khalifat khalifat rasul Allah, 130
Khalifat Rasul Allah, 130
Khalil, al-, 57, 363
Khalil al-Rahman, al-, 318–319
Khalil ibn Ahmad, al-, 454, 533
Khalil ibn Aybak al-Safadi, 208–209
Khalji dynasty, 663
Khamr, 860
Khamra, 860
Khamriyya, al-, 844
Khamseh, 560
Khan, 814
Khanqah, 256
Khansa', al-, 865–866
Khaqan, 814
Kharidat al-'aja'ib wa faridat al-ghara'ib, 139
Kharij shurut al-masha'ikh, 194
Kharijis, 49, 164, 435–436
Kharijism, 105
Kharijites, 341, 625
Kharput, 384
Kharragan, 589
Khasi, 242
Khataba, al-, 679
Khatib al-Baghdadi, al-, 6, 62, 111, 437, 714
Khattab ibn al-Hasan al-Hamdani, al-, 777
Khattab ibn al-Hasan ibn Abi 'l-Haffaz al-Hamdani, al-, 70
Khattabi, al-, 658
Khatun, 121
Khavarannameh, 234
Khawarij, 171
Khawarizimi, al-, 561
Khazaf, 143
Khidr, 29
Khil'a, 160, 181
Khilafa, 130
Khirbat al-Mafjar
  bathhouse at, 516
  description of, 62, 711
  gardens at, 277
Khirbat al-Minya, 514
Khitan, 156–157
Khitan Liao dynasty, 747
Khittat al-Hamrâ al-quswa, 273
Khizanat al-Adab, 13
Khizanat al-kutub, 450
Khizr, 629
Khojas, 406
Khorasan, 603, 621, 829
Khosrow Anoshirvan, 697
Khosrow I, 148
Khosrow o Shirin, Leili o Majnun, Haft Paykar, 621
Khousro I, 88
Khubayb ibn 'Adiyy, 197
Khubz, 447
Khudabandah, 687, 725
Khujandi, al-, 74
Khul', 211–212
Khulafa al-Rashidin, al-, 667
Khulasat al-Aqwal fi ma'Rifat al-Rijal, 325
Khuld, al-, 92
Khumarawayh, 834
Khurasan, 8, 319, 437–438, 605–606, 746, 838
Khurramiyya, 403
Khushk-nanaj, 204
Khusrau Shah, 294
Khusraw I Anushiravan, 62
Khusraw Parviz, 712
Khusraw-Nama, 79
Khuwarizmi, al-, 158
Khuza'a, 141
Khuza'i, Ahmad ibn Nasr, 438–439
Khuzi, 397
Khwaja Gharib Nawaz, 773
Khwaja Mahmud Gawan, 108
Khwaja Mu'in al-Din, 152
Khwaja Mu'in al-Din Hasan Sijzi, 152
Khwaju Kirmani, 585
Khwarazm, 829
Khwarazm Shah, 280, 694
Khwarazm-Shah 'Ala' al-Din Muhammad, 540
Khwarazm-shah Jalal al-Din, 508
Khwarazm-Shahs, 112–113, 458
Khwarizimi, al-, 76, 77, 139, 285, 483, 567
Khwarizmshah's Treasure, The, 489
Kiddushin, 481
Kidushin, 861
Kifayat al-Abidin, 546
Kihtiyar ad-Din Altuniya, 675
Kilim, 136
Kilwa, 438–439
Kimiya-yi sa'Adat, 826
Kindi, al- (historian), 68, 220, 440–441, 503, 534, 579, 615, 622
Kindi, al- (philosopher), 441
King Nuh, 453
King Solomon, 418
Kirman, 719
Kirmani, al-, 441–442, 615
Kisa'i, al-, 645
Kishvars, 158, 285
Kitab, al-, 455, 732
Kitab Adab al-Khatib, 680
Kitab Akriyat al-Sufun wa-al-Niza' Bayna Ahliha, 820
Kitab al-Abniya 'an Iaqa'iq al-Adwiya, 489
Kitab al-Adwar, 534
Kitab al-af'al dhawat huruf al-lin, 301
Kitab al-Aghani, 13, 272, 532, 534
Kitab al-Amanat, 422
Kitab al-amanat wa'l-i'tiqadat, 685
Kitab al-Arba'a, 648
Kitâb al-Atwâl Wa-'l-urûd li-'l-Furs, 483
Kitab al-'Ayn, 455
Kitab al-Bayan wa al-Tabyin, 679
Kitab al-buldan, 138
Kitab al-Dar, 859
Kitab al-Diryaq, 178
Kitab al-Fakhri, 825
Kitab al-faraj ba'd al-shidda, 369
Kitab al-Fawa'id Fi Usul 'ilm al-Bahr wa-l-Qawa'id, 556
Kitab al-Filaha, 23, 326
Kitâb al-Filâha am-Nabatiyya, 329
Kitâb al-Filâha ar-Rûmiyya, 329
Kitab al-fiqh al-akbar, 166
Kitab al-Ghuraba', 18

Kitab al-Hadaya wa'l-Tuhaf, 296
Kitab al-Hayawan, 46, 260, 326, 411, 612
Kitab al-Hind, 387
Kitab al-Hudud, 370, 811
Kitab al-'Ibar, 359
Kitab al-Ibil, 46
Kitab al-Ifada wa-l-I'tibar, 3
Kitab al-Isharat ila Ma'rifat al-Ziyarat, 313, 614
Kitab al-isharat wa 'l-tanbihat, 167, 370
Kitab al-Jami'i fi-al-Adviyatu al-Mufrada, 492
Kitab al-Jana'iz, 198, 271
Kitab al-Khail, 46
Kitab al-Kharaj, 626
Kitab al-Khayl, 326
Kitab al-Khayr al-Mahd, 615
Kitab al-Khazari, 422
Kitab al-lahw wa l-malahi, 360
Kitab al-luma', 301
Kitab al-Maghazi, 357, 754, 859
Kitab al-Manam, 18, 215
Kitab al-Manazir, 344, 722, 811
Kitab al-Manshurat: Sections, 648
Kitab al-Masalik wa l-Mamalik, 139, 359
Kitab al-Masayid as-l-Matarid, 337
Kitab al-Mawdu at, 245
Kitab al-mugni fi'l-filaha, 23
Kitab al-muhadara wa-l-mudhakara, 618
Kitab al-Muhadhdhab fi 'l-kuhl, 578
Kitab al-Muqaffa al-Kabir, 440
Kitab al-Musiqi al-Kabir, 534
Kitab al-muwashsha' aw al-zarf wa-l-zurafa', 161
Kitab al-muwazana bayn al-lugha al-'ibraniyya wal-'arabiyya, 301
Kitab al-nafs, 370
Kitab al-najat, 369
Kitab al-qanun fi'l-tibb, 370
Kitab al-Qubur, 18
Kitab al-Qussas wa'l-Mudhakkirin, 680
Kitab al-Rawdatayn fi Akhbar al-Dawlatayn al-Nuriyya wa-1-Salahiyya, 11
Kitab al-Saydalah, 118
Kitab al-Sha, 46
Kitab al-Shifa', 167, 369
Kitab al-shi'r wa'l-shu'ara, 364
Kitab al-Sira al-Falsafiyya, 671
Kitab al-Siyasa al-Madaniyya, 840
Kitab al-Suluk li-Ma'rifat Duwal wa-al-Muluk, 371
Kitab al-Tafhim, 825
Kitab al-Taj, 507
Kitab al-taklif, 36
Kitab al-Tamyiz, 537
Kitab al-Tanbih wa-l-ishraf, 138, 483
Kitab al-Umm, 724, 786
Kitab al-usul, 301
Kitab al-Wuhush, 46
Kitab al-Zumurrud, 522
Kitab Fada'il al-Qur'an, 659
Kitab fasih lughat al-'ibraniyyin, 301
Kitab fi Agani Ziryab, 875
Kitâb Filâhat al-Ard, 329
Kitab ghara'ib al-funun wa mulah al-'uyun, 138
Kitab hikat al-ishraq, 384
Kitab Hilyat al-Fursan wa-Shi'ar al-Shuj'an, 326
Kitab khass al-khass, 705
Kitab ma 'Alim al-Kitaba, 66
Kitab ma ba'd al-tabi'a, 3
Kitab mu 'jam al-bldan, 139–140
Kitab Rujjar, 380
Kitab Sibawayhi, 300, 741
Kitab sirat rasul Allah, 754
Kitab surat al-ard, 139
Kitab Uqlidus fi ikhtilaf al-manazir, 579
Kitab usul al-ahi'r al-'ibrani, 301, 618
Kitab-i bahriye, 140
Kitabiyyun, 598
Kitab-khana, 450
Kitab-l Dede, 251
Kitab-l djarrahnama, 783
Kitâbu Aazzi mâ yutlab, 375
Kitbuqa, 83
Kiyâ el-Herrâs, 374
Knights of the Templar order, 50
Knowledge of the Spiritually Learned, The, 776
Knowledge seeking, 714–716
Konya, 442–443
Ku'ayba bint Sa'd al-Aslamiyya, 868
Kubiak, Wladyslaw, 273
Küchlüg, 280
Kufa, 5, 304, 339, 443–444
Kufans, 300
Kufi, al-, 707
Kufr, 49
Kuhl, 177
Kuhlafa' al-rashidun, 573
Kulayni, al-, 94, 307, 352, 443, 460, 839
Külliye, 407
Kunafa, 204
Kurdish, 444–445
Kurds, 445
Kushnameh, 234
Kutama Berbers, 250
Kutham Ibn 'Abbas, 693
Kutham ibn al-'Abbas, 694
Kuttab, 641
Kutub al-Lugha, 685
Kutubi, al-, 547
Kütüphane, 450
Kuzari, 282

L

La Celestina, 683
La Chanson de Roland, 243
Ladder of Ascension, 547
Ladli Begam, 568
Lahore, 90–92
Lajjun, 682
Lake Beysehir, 62
Lake Chad, 770
Lake Tiberias, 682
Lakhmids, 292
Lal Kot, 661
La'l Shahbaz Qalandar, 751–752
Lala Mustafa Pasha, 189
Lama'at, 774
Lamak ibn Malik al-Hammadi, 522, 777
Lamp of Illumination, 505
Land tenure and ownership, 447–449
Languages
  Arabic, 56–58, 361
  Aramaic, 61

Languages (*continued*)
Berber, 103–104
Coptic, 172–173
Dari, 397–398
grammar, 299–301
Hebrew, 317–318
Iranian, 397–399
Judeo-Arabic, 283, 422–423
Kurdish, 444
Persian, 397–399, 602–603, 692–693
romance, 682–683
Syriac, 789
Lanson, Gustave, 200
Large Book on Music, 247
Lashkari Bazarin, 62
Last Judgment, 220
Lata'if al-Minan, 807
Late Aramaic, 61
Law
description of, 449
Genghis Khan's creation of, 281
Hadith as basis for, 307
history of, 702–704
Imami, 731–732
Islamic, 409–410, 449
Jihad as viewed by, 419–420
license to teach, 203
madrasas for education in, 457
Maliki, 187, 702–703, 758–759
Sadiq, al-'s contributions to, 409–410
schools of jurisprudence, 702–704
Shafi'i, 486, 703
Shi'i, 731–732
Law of Slavery, 759
Lawami' al-bayyinat sharh, 166
Lawzinaj, 204
Layali al-wuqud, 254
Layla al-Akhyaliyya, 866
Laylat al-Qadr, 196
Learners' Guidance to Medicine, 489
Leather bindings, 115
Legal humanism, 332
Legal opinions, license to issue, 203
Legal theories of politics, 626
Legend of Alexander, 260
Leo III, 125
Leo VI, 557
Lepers, 209
Leprosy, 209
Lesbian activities, 17
Letter of Forgiveness, 7
Letter of Tansar, *The*, 346
Letter of the Neighing and the Braying, 7
Letter of the Sanctification of the Divine Name, 459
Letter on Forced Conversion, 459
Liber Abaci, 567
Liber Alsaharavi de cirurgia, 783
Liber de causis, 615
Liber Regius, 461
Libraries
in Baghdad, 222, 452–453
bibliophiles' collections, 452–453
in Bukhara, 692
Buyids, 451–452
Fatimid, 450
history of, 450
House of Wisdom, 450–451
listing of, 452
Mansuriyya, 450
of Qayrawan mosque in Tunisia, 450
scholar, 452–453
Spanish Umayyad, 450
Sultan Mahmut, 189
License of audition, 201
License of transmission, 201
License to issue legal opinions, 203
License to teach law, 203
Life of the Hearts, The, 460
Life of the Prophet, The, 357
Light of the Eyes, 489
Lights to Illuminate the Proof of the Imamate, 442
Linguistics, 454–455, 685
Lisan al-Din Ibn al-Khatib al-Gharnati, 385
Lisan al-jawiyya al-samutra'iyya, al-, 767
Lisan al-mizan, 111
Litanies, 637
Literary Expression of the Qur'an, The, 701
Literary humanism, 332
Literary theory, 658–659
Literature
Arabic, 657–659
Castilian, 683
European, 243
excellenes, 244–245
folk, 260–263
Iberian, 682–683
medical, *See* Medical literature
Persian, 294, 605
popular, 628–631
Sasanians, 697
Southeast Asia, 766–767
Syriac, 789
Turkish, 294
Little Canon, 490
Liu Zhi, 151
Lives, 688–689
Livestock, 259
Living the Son of Awakened, 372
Lodi dynasty, 564
Loincloth, 159
Lombard, Maurice, 802
Lord of Nayruz, The, 807
Louis IX, 650
Love, 279
Love poetry, 455–456
Lubab al-albab, 692
Luban Jawi, 463
Lum'a, al-, 732
Lunar calendar, 485
Luqaymat al-qadi, 204
Lurya, Isaac, 547
Lusignans, 188
Lust, 280
Lustre-painted ceramics, 144
Lutfallah Maysi, 725

M

Ma Laichi, 151
Ma Mingxin, 151

Ma'a al-anbiya' fi-l-Qur'an al-karim, 645
Ma'ani al-Qur'an, 166
Ma'arra, 6
Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân, 6
Ma'arri, al-, 616
Maasim al-Huda wa'l-Isaba fi Tafdil 'Ali 'ala al-Sahaba, 442
Ma'bad al-Juhani, 639
Ma'bar, al-, 817
Macedonian dynasty, 126
Mada'in, 604
Madarij al-salikin, 363
Madhhab, 425, 573, 702
Madhhab ahl al-bayt, 524
Madhumalati, 620
Ma'din al-Shifa-yi Sikandar-Shahi, 490
Madina, al-, 551–552, 786
Madina al-Fadila, al-, 615
Madinat al-Nabi, 228
Madinat al-Salam, 92
Madinat al-Zahira, 176
Madinat al-Zahra, 4, 62, 176, 277
Madkhal al-Shar' al-Sharif, 396
Madrasa
  in Aleppo, 28
  definition of, 457
  description of, 11, 206, 351, 663
  history of, 457
Madrasa al-Mutabiya', 589
Madrasah sayyarah, 573
Madrasahs, 764
Maghili, al-, 764
Maghrib
  description of, 105
  Ibadis in, 341
Maghrib, al-, 381
Magic square, 485
Maglova Aqueduct, 51–52
Magog, 239, 548
Magra–El-Oyon aqueduct, 51
Mahabharata, 24, 432
Mahalle, 182
Mahalli, al-, 466
Mahani, al-, 32, 289
Mahbarot 'Itti'el, 314
Mahdi, 500
Mahdi, al-, 1, 105, 224, 238, 250, 314, 393, 424, 516, 752
Mahdi Ahmad ibn Yahya al-Murtada, al-, 731
Mahdids, 70
Mahdiyya, al-, 356
Mahmal palanquins, 642
Mahmud Abr al-Qadir Abu 'l-Mafakhir, 413
Mahmud al-Kashghari, 287
Mahmud Caghmini, 490
Mahmud ibn 'Umar al-Zamakhshari, 878
Mahmud of Ghazna, 8, 458
Mahmud Shabistari, 584
Mahmud Shah, 464
Mahmud Shaltut, 677
Mahmud-al-Kati, 459
Mahoye, 141
Mahr, 647
Maimonides
  'Abd al-Latif's work with, 2
  biographical information about, 459–460
  description of, 176, 431, 488, 710, 807
Majalis al-hikma, 405
Majapahit, 412–413, 464
Majbub, 242
Majd al-Din Baghdadi, 78
Majd al-Din Isma'il ibn Yahya ibn Isma'il al-Fali, 666
Majd al-Sallami, al-, 541
Majdhub, 209
Majhulun, 111
Majilis, 171, 762–763
Majilis al-Hikma, 311
Majima' al-Bahrayn, 195
Majlisi, al-, 460
Majnun Laila, 496
Majuaddid al-din, 678–679
Majusi, al-, 461
Makhzan al-Asrar, 560
Makhzumite dynasty, 12
Makkah, 765
Makramat Khan, 793
Makran, 525
Makrizi, al-, 647
Maktab, 146
Maktaba, 450
Mala', 171
Malacca, 412, 818
Malacca Sultanate, 464–465
Malamatis, 633
Malay, 766–767
Malay Peninsula
  Aceh, 465–466
  early knowledge of, 461–462
  Java, 463–464
  Malacca Sultanate, 464–465
  spices, 463–464
  trade in, 461–462
Male servants, 242–243
Mali, 770
Mali Empire, 466–467
Malik al-'Adil, al-, 742
Malik al-'Adil Sayf al-Din Abu Bakr Muhammad, al-, 84
Malik al-Afadl 'Ali, al-, 368
Malik al-Ashraf Musa, al-, 84
Malik al-Kmail Muhammad, al-, 84
Malik al-Mansur Qalawun, al-, 472
Malik al-Mu'ayyad, al-, 396
Malik al-Mu'azzam 'Isa, al-, 84
Malik al-Mu'azzam Turanshah, al-, 84
Malik al-Nasir Da'ud, al-, 743
Malik al-Nasir Muhammad ibn Qalawun, al-, 472
Malik al-Nasir Salah al-Dih Yusuf ibn Ayyub, al-, 83
Malik al-Nasir Yusuf II, al-, 28
Malik al-Salih, 463
Malik al-Salih Ayyub, al-, 84, 226, 470, 472
Malik al-Zahir, al-, 28, 463
Malik al-Zahir Baybars, al-, 232
Malik ibn al-Fariqi, 622
Malik ibn Anas, 49, 187, 203, 468–469, 552, 702, 878
Malik ibn Dinar, 71
Malik Muhammad Jaisi, 620
Malikat al-muslimin, 730
Maliki ibn al-Hajj al-'Abdari, 256
Maliki jurists, 39
Maliki law, 187, 702–703, 758–759
Malikis, 447
Malikism, 469

Malikshah
  description of, 123, 469–470, 719, 856
  Isfahan during reign of, 400
Malkhuth, 431
Ma'mar ibn Rashid, 701
Mamluk dynasty
  'Ayn Jalut battle, 82–83
  Azhar, al-, under, 85
  Bahri, 516
  in Cairo, 331
  Copts during, 174–175
  court dress during, 180–181
  dhimmis during, 206
  in Egypt, 226–227
  epics during, 232
  glassware during, 298
  Hijaz during, 54–55
  history of, 470–472
  metalworkers in, 502
  military processions, 643–644
  Mongols and, 510–511
  polo games during, 769
  road improvements during, 682
  Salihi, 472
  in Syria, 472, 788
Mamluk Sultanate, 226–227, 470–472
Mamluk Sultans
  Baybars I, 101–102
  colors worn by, 180–181
  description of, 155
  Qutuz, 82, 101, 541
Mamuks, 131
Ma'mun, al-
  Abu Tammam's work with, 11
  biography of, 473
  description of, 1–2, 110, 116, 141, 255, 367, 473, 544, 678
  Dome of Rock inscription, 212–213
  Inquisition by, 356
  Ishaq ibn Ibrahim's interactions with, 402
  Jahiz, al- and, 411
  marriage ceremony for, 295
  Rida, al-, and, 35
  Sunni revival, 782
Man 'Asha Ba'da al-Mawt, 18
Man la Yahdaruhu al-Faqih, 352
Ma'na, 569
Manaeh al-Hiwan, 46
Manafi'un-Nas, 492
Manakh, 158
Manam, 214
Manamat, 214
Manaqib Abi Hanifa, 6
Manar, al-, 677
Manazil al-sa'irin, 363
Manbudh, 759
Mande, 467
Mandil, 159
Mandub, 171
Manfred, 376
Manhal al-Safi wa al-Mustawfi ba'd al-Wafi, al-, 371
Ma'ni, 217
Mâni, 263
Manliness, 153
Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, 723
Manqalah, 275
Manqib ash'ariyya, 351
Mansa Musa, 466, 474, 764
Mansour, al-, 552
Mansur, al-
  achievements by, 1
  Baghdad founding by, 641
  court dress introduced by, 178
  description of, 92, 131, 765
  espionage by, 240
  House of Wisdom under, 451
  Ibn al-Muqaffa''s letter to, 346
  Malik ibn Anas and, 468
  reign of, 250
Mansur I, 824
Mansur ibn Abi 'Amir, al-, 176
Mansur ibn Muhammad, 490
Mansur Qalawun, al-, 146, 347
Mansur Ya'qub ibn Yusuf, al-, 51
Mansuriyya, al-, 129
Mansuriyya library, 450
Manteq al Tayr, 621
"Mantiq al-Tayr," 79
Manuel, Don Juan, 683
Manumission, 758–759
Manuscripts, 474–476, 704–705
Manzikert, 476–477
Maps
  by Idrisi, 380–381
  T-O, 138
  traditions, 140
Maqala al-Iawdiyya, al-, 546
Maqam, 429
Maqama, 477–478, 618
Maqamah, 311
Maqamah al-Madiriyyah, al-, 312
Maqamat, 116, 167, 532, 585
Maqamat al-Hariri, 178
Maqasid al-Falasifa, 825
Maqbarat al-Bab al-Saghir, 192
Maqbarat al-rabad, 175
Maqqari, al-, 201, 478
Maqrizi, al-, 201, 448, 478–479, 561, 633, 641
Maqsûd Hirawî, 74
Maqsuras, 272
Maragheh, 383
Maratib al-'Ulum, 223
Mardin, 384
Ma'rifa, 299
Marinid Marocco, 34
Marinids
  capture of Gibraltar by, 295
  history of, 479
  reign of, 105
Marj Dabiq, 319, 788
Marj Rahit, 292
Mark, St., 173
Markets, 479–480
Marmara Sea, 556
Marrakech
  'Abd al-Mu'min's conquer of, 37
  aqueducts for, 51
  Ibn Tumart in, 375
Marriage
  Islamic, 480–481
  Jewish, 481

legal dissolution of, 211–212
Muhammad's encouragement for, 279
Qur'an references to, 279, 480
by slaves, 759
Martel, Charles, 267
Martyr(s)
classification as, 197
death of, 197
Martyrdom, 481–482
Martyriums, 213
Ma'ruf, 164
Marv, 141
Marw, 438
Marwan I, 847
Marwan ibn al-Hakam, 224
Marwan ibn Muhammad, al-, 858
Marwanids, 4, 445
Mary, 192, 279
Maryam, 661
Marzaban, 141
Masabih fi Ithbat al-Imama, 442
Masa'il fi l-Oibb, al-, 347
Masalik al-absar fi mamalik al-amsar, 138
Masalik wa l-Mamalik, 95, 285
Mash 'ala'l khuffayn, al-, 524
Masha'allah, 75
Mashhad, 35–36, 438, 838
Mashura, 171
Mashwara, 171
Masjid, 518
Masjid al-Aqsa, al-, *See* Aqsa
Masjid al-haram, 487
Masjid-i Jum'a, 400–401
Masjid-i Shah, 400, 521
Masnavi-e Ma'navi, 621
Masqsura, 519
Masruq ibn al-Ajda', 482
Massacre of the Innocents, 192
Massignon, Louis, 719
Mastur, 635
Mas'ud, 294
Mas'ud ibn al-Kamil, al-, 668
Mas'ud II, 873
Mas'ud Sa'd, 228
Mas'ud Sa'd Salman, 619
Mas'udi, al-, 14, 268, 285–286, 399, 482–483, 556, 645
Mas'udic Canon, 113
Matbaq prison, 641
Mater, 73
Mathal, 577
Mathal al-Sa'ir, al-, 229
Mathematical geography, 483–484
Mathematicians, 288–289, 484–485
Mathematics
Islamic, 484–485
manuscripts regarding, 484
by Sasanians, 697–698
Mathnawis, 585
Matira, al-, 696
Matn, 307
Matta ibn Yunis, 229
Matthew I, 689
Maturidi, al-, 640
Ma'turidis, 241
Maudud Shah ibn Ala al-Din, 666
Maulana Daud, 620
Mauss, Marcel, 295–296
Mawali, 131
Ma-wara al-nahr, 694
Mawardi, al-, 132, 206, 486, 780
Mawlana Rumi, 78
Mawlid al-Nabi, 255, 642
Mawlid festivals, 255–256
Mawsil, 573
Maydan-i Kuhna, 401
Maydan-i Naqsh-i Jahan, 401
Maysara, 436
Maysir, 275
Mayyafariqin, 540
Mazdesnan, 877
Mazul Kemer Aqueduct, 51
Meadows of Gold, The, 14, 268
Mecca, 526
Companions in, 167
description of, 487
hajj in, 429
markets in, 479–480
Muhammad's emigration from, 109, 228, 429, 494
pilgrimage to, 642
precincts of, 487
Meccan Qur'an, 44–45
Meccan Revolutions, 349
Medain Saleh, 681
Medical charity, 147
Medical literature
Hebrew, 487–488
Persian, 488–490
Syrian, 491
Turkish, 491–492
Medieval Arabic archives, 66
Medina
Bilal al-Habashi in, 109
Constitution of, 170–171, 228, 528, 535, 596
description of, 35–36, 45, 53, 492, 494
economy of, 528
illustration of, 493
Muhammad in, 109, 170, 528
'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz in, 843
Medinan polity, 170
Medinans, 874
Mediterranean Sea
description of, 494–495, 556
trade via, 818–821
Mehmed I, 520, 580
Mehmed ibn Mahmud, 492
Mehmed II, 856
description of, 63, 65, 82, 581, 813
in Istanbul, 407
Topkapi Saray palace of, 330
Mehmet II, 210, 589
Meknes, 713
Memoirs of al-Harawi on the Stratagems of War, 313
Menahem Ben Saruq, 618, 710
Menahem ibn Saruq, 302
Menakibnames, 262
Menhuan, 151
Mental illness, 209, 496–497
Merchant and the Genie, The, 577

Merchants
  Jewish, 497–498
  Muslim, 498–499
Merits of Ascalon, The, 352
Mesih Mehmet Pasha Mosque, 751
Messianism, 500–501
Metalwork, 501–502
Metaphysics, 68, 827
Meteorology, 502–503
Meteorology, 67, 502, 504
Method of Mechanical Theorems, 289
Mez, Adam, 394
Mezonot, 147
M.F. Abu Hadid, 230
Michael VIII Palaeologus, 102, 126
Middle Ages
  Hebrew poetry in, 618
  interfaith relations in, 396
  Khurasan in, 438
  manuscripts in, 475
  slavery during, 757
Middle Arabic, 58
Middle Aramaic, 61
Middle East
  Arab-Muslim conquest of, 590
  Aramaic language use in, 61
  weather in, 859–860
Middle Persian, 397, 602
Midrash, 645, 709
Midrashim, 710
Mihna Inquisition, 402–403, 424, 438
Mihnah, 473
Mihrab, 401, 519
Mihrimah Sultana, 51
Mihrunnisa, *See* Nur Jahan
Mika'il, 45
Milaha, 555
Military architecture, 64–65
Military Campaigns of the Prophet, The, 715
Military matry, 482
Military processions, 643–644
Military slavery, 755–757
Milk, 106
Milky Way, 502–503
Mill technology, 799–801
Millefiori, 298
Mina'i, 144
Minar, 662–663
Minaret, 519
Minbar, 272, 519
Minerals, 503–504
Ming Dynasty, 818
Mingling of the Two Oceans, The, 195
Minhaj al-Bulagha' wa-Siraj al-Udaba', 229
Miniature paintings, 583–586
Mining, 504–505
Minor Feast, 254
Miqattah, 705
Mir 'Ali Shir, 585
Mir Damad, 43, 505–506, 530, 737
Mir Muhammad Taqi, 80
Miracles, 688–689
Mirador of Lindaraja, 33
Mi'raj al-'ashiqin, 291
Mir'at al-mu'min, 767
Mir'at al-tullab, 767
Mir'at al-zaman fi ta'rikh al-a'yan, 743
Mirdasid dynasty, 27
Mirimah Sultan Mosque, 750
Mirror of Time in the Matter of the History of Notables, The, 743
Mirrors for Princes, 506–507
Mirsad al-Ibad, 120, 151
Misery, 771
Mishkat al-anwar, 293
Mishneh Torah, 223, 459
Miskawayh, 241, 377, 448, 599, 611
Miskawayhi, 332
Miyan Mir, 195
Miyyara, 187
Mizzi, al-, 111
Modern Aramaic, 61
Moheet, al-, 104
Monasticism, 507–508
Money changers, 508
Möngke, 82, 383
Mongols
  'Abbasid caliphs execution by, 1
  Aleppo rule by, 28
  ambassadors, 207–208
  army of, 508–511
  'Ayn Jalut battle, 82–83, 225
  in Baghdad, 59, 304
  Baiju Noyen, 442
  during Baybars' reign, 102
  Bukhara affected by, 121
  Chaghatais, 513
  in China, 151, 512
  composite bow used by, 510
  definition of, 511
  espionage tactics used by, 510
  Genghis Khan, 142, 280–282, 508–512, 540
  history of, 511–513
  Ilkhanid, 508–510
  in Iran, 383, 878
  in Isfahan, 401
  in Java, 412
  Jin campaign by, 512
  in Khurasan, 319
  Mamluks and, 510–511
  Muslims and, 540–542
  Nizari Ismaili state destroyed by, 406
  Rashid al-Din, 666–667
  reputation of, 513
  Silk Roads, 748
  successor states after decline of, 512
  warfare, 508–511
Monorhyme, 229
Monotheistic theology, 68
Months, 196
Monumental painting, 586–589
Monuments of the Lands and the Annals of Servants, The, 651–653
Moravids, al-, 104
Moriscos, 43–44
Morocco, 765
Mosaics, 514–516
Moses, 29, 192, 517
Moses ben Maimon, *See* Maimonides
Moses Ibn Chiquitilla, 710

Moses Ibn Ezra, 354–355, 422, 618, 710
Moses Maimonides, 223, 394, 546, 710
Mosques
  Agha Cafer, 189
  of al-Hakim, 643
  'Amr, 273
  Andalusiyyin, al-, 382
  Aqmar, al-, 480
  Aqsa, al-, 50, 212, 415
  Arab-style, 519
  architecture of, 103
  Azhar, al-, 130, 451
  Badshahi Mosque, Lahore, 90–92
  Beyhekim, 515
  church conversion to, 176
  at Cordoba, 520
  dynastic diversity of, 519–521
  Edirnekapi, 750
  Fatih Pasha, 750
  features of, 518–519
  functions of, 518–519
  Great Mosque at Samarra, 520
  Great Mosque in Damascus, 520
  Great Mosque of Qayrawan, 19, 650–651
  Husayn, al-, 191
  hypostyle, 519–520
  of Ibn Tulun, 517–518
  Iranian, 520–521
  Jasmine, 591–592
  masqsura in, 519
  Mesih Mehmet Pasha, 751
  mihrab in, 519
  minaret in, 519
  minbar in, 519
  Mirimah Sultan, 750
  origin of, 518
  Pattar, 569
  of the Prophet, 515
  Qaraqiyyin, 450
  Qarawiyyin, 382
  Qayrawan, 450
  Qutb Minar, 661–662
  regional diversity of, 519–521
  Samarrah, 695
  Selimiye, 717–718
  Semiz Ali Pasha, 751
  Sinan Pasha, 751
  Sokollu Mehmet Pasha, 751
  Süleymaniye, 480, 751, 778–780
  of Three Doors, 651
  Turkish, 521
  Ukskudar Mirimah Sultan, 750
  Umayyad, 191, 514, 845–846
  Valide, 407
  White, 480
Mosul, 502
Mount Meru, 285
Mount Qaf, 287
Mount Sinai documents, 66
Mountain Qaf, 220
Mrigavati, 620
Mu'allim-i Thalith, 505
Mu'awiya, 188, 224, 423–424, 434, 443, 494, 631, 846–847
Mu'awiya Ibn Abi Sufyan, 50, 238, 240, 558
Mu'awiya Ibn Hudayj, 649
Mu'ayyad al-Din al-'Urdi, 78
Mu'ayyad al-Shirazi, al-, 80
Mu'ayyad fi al-Din, al-, 521–522
Mu'azzam, al-, 742
Mu'azzam Turanshah, al-, 730
Mubarak, al-, 694
Mubarakiyya, 404
Mubarek ibn Abdilcabbar, 374
Mubarrad, al-, 300
Mubayyida, al-, 694
Mudar, 53
Mudawanna, al-, 19
Mudéjar, 34, 43
Mudhahhab, 179
Muezzin, 109
Mufarrij al-kurub fi akhbar bani Ayyub, 376
Mufti, 424
Mughal dynasty
  Babar's role in, 87
  emperors of, 334
  Persian language during, 398
  qadi system during, 425
  wall paintings during, 589
Mughith al-Rumi, 175
Muhabbat-i khass, 773
Muhaddib al-Din al-Dahwar, 347
Muhajirun, 228
Muhallab ibn Abi Sufra, al-, 575
Muhallil, 275
Muhammad
  Abu Bak'r's interactions with, 5
  ahl al-bayt of, 36
  'Ali ibn Abi Talib as companion of, 36–37
  ancestry of, 526
  in Aqsa mosque, 50
  before battle of Badr, 171
  biographical information about, 525–530
  birthday of, 255
  Blessings on the Prophet Muhammad, 637
  children of, 526
  circumcision of, 157
  commandments given to, 527–528
  Companions of, 167–169
  Constitution of Medina, 170–171
  cosmetics mentioned by, 177
  death of, 530, 655
  descendants of, 181
  Dhu al-Qarnayn and, 29
  diplomacy by, 207
  divination of, 527
  Dome of Rock significance, 214
  in dreams, 216
  earthquakes and, 219
  education of, 526
  emigration by, 228, 429
  family involvement by, 529
  Farewell Sermon by, 529–530
  folk medicine, 263
  funerary practices, 271
  Gabriel's visit with, 527
  gender equality, 278–279
  gift giving encouraged by, 295
  home of, 330, 518–519, 528–529
  humor references by, 335

Muhammad (*continued*)
Husayn ibn ‘Ali, 339–340
Ibn Ishaq’s biography of, 357
Ibn Sa‘d’s biography of, 367
Isfahani, al-’s biography of, 401
Jerusalem journey by, 415
Jesus and, comparisons between, 415
Ka’ba pilgrimage by, 529
Khadîja, 167
Khalid ibn al-Walid’s battles against, 435
leadership by, 526
marriage of, 526
in Mecca, 109, 429
Mecca emigration by, 228
in Medina, 109, 170, 528
mosques originating from house of, 518
pacifist practices of, 529
pilgrimages by, 529
prayers, 636–637
Qur’an references to, 525, 530
seeking of knowledge by, 714
Sira, 330
spiritual retreats by, 526–527
ummah of, 535
in Yathrib, 228
Muhammad Abd al-Aziz Marzouk, 801
Muhammad ‘Abd al-Muttalib, 230
Muhammad Abduh, 85, 676, 677, 679
Muhammad al-A‘azz, 777
Muhammad al-Amin, 92, 315
Muhammad al-Baqir, 460, 523–524, 737
Muhammad al-Ga‘fari, 274
Muhammad Ali, 85
Muhammad al-Jawad, 35, 737
Muhammad al-Kulayni, 732
Muhammad al-Maghili, 765
Muhammad al-Mahdi, 737
Muhammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, 54
Muhammad al-Niyazi, 548
Muhammad ‘Aufi, 692
Muhammad Baqir Majlisi, 824
Muhammad bin ’Abbas al-Mu’tamid, 720
Muhammad bin ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Qazwini, 680
Muhammad bin al-Hasan at-Tusi, 838
Muhammad bin Qasim, 751
Muhammad I, 176
Muhammad ibn ‘Abd Allah al-Lawati, *See* Ibn Battuta
Muhammad Ibn ‘Abd al-Malik Abu Bakr Ibn Tufayl, *See* Ibn Tufayl
Muhammad ibn ‘Abdallah, 228
Muhammad ibn Abdallah ibn al-Hasan ibn al-Hasan ibn ‘Ali ibn Abi Kalib, *See* Nafs al-Zakiyya
Muhammad ibn Abi ‘Amir al-Mansur, 593
Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Qurtubi, 171
Muhammad ibn Ahmad Zawzani, 825
Muhammad Ibn al-Ahmar, 302
Muhammad ibn al-Hanafiyya, 500
Muhammad ibn al-Hasan al-Shaybani, 702
Muhammad ibn ‘Ali al-Shalmaghani, 36
Muhammad Ibn ‘Ali al-Shawkani, *See* Shawkani, al-
Muhammad ibn al-Qasim, 524–525
Muhammad Ibn Daniyal, 807
Muhammad ibn Idris al-Shafi‘i, 678
Muhammad ibn Ishaq, 754
Muhammad ibn Ishaq ibn Yasar, *See* Ibn Ishaq
Muhammad ibn Isma‘il, 299, 404–405
Muhammad ibn Khayrun al-Ma‘arifi, 651
Muhammad ibn Musa, 77
Muhammad ibn Musa al-Khwarizmi, 31, 698
Muhammad ibn Nizzal, 622
Muhammad ibn Nusayr, 569
Muhammad ibn Qasim, 387
Muhammad ibn Ra’iq, 312
Muhammad ibn Rushd, 419
Muhammad ibn Salih al-Samawi, 731
Muhammad ibn Sirin, 216
Muhammad Ibn Tapar, 719
Muhammad ibn Tughj, 440
Muhammad ibn Tughj ibn Juff al-Ikhsid, 382
Muhammad ibn Tughluq, 98
Muhammad ibn Tulun, 203
Muhammad ibn Ya’qub al-Kulayni, *See* Kulayni, al-
Muhammad ibn Yusuf al-Warraq, 95
Muhammad Nizam al-Din, *See* Nizam al-Din Awliya
Muhammad Saghir, 620
Muhammad Shah Aga Khan III, 406
Muhammad Shah Tughluq, 751
Muhammad Tahir ibn Ashur, 677
Muhammad Touré, 764–765
Muhammad Tughluq Shah, 352
Muhaqqiq al-Hilli, al-, 324
Muharram, 196, 254
Muhasibi, al-, 80
Muhâzzi’l-Muwaùùa’, 375
Muhibb Allah Ilahabadi, 194
Muhsin Fayd Kashani, 531
Muhsin Mahdi, 577
Muhtasar fi ‘ilm uEUl al-hadir, 348
Muhtasib, 206, 417, 738–739
Muhyi al-Din, 678
Muhyi al-Din Ibn al-‘Arabi, 75
Muhyi al-Din Muhammad, *See* Ibn ‘Arab
Muhyî d-Dîn Ibn ‘Arabî, 431
Muhyi l-din Ibn ‘Arabi, 321
Muhyiddin Piri Re’is, 140
Mu‘in al-Din Chishti, 152, 773–774
Mu‘in al-Din Hasan Chishti, 563
Mu’in al-Din Unur, 123, 851
Muiz ad-Din Bahram, 675
Mu’izz, al-, 129, 138, 163, 225, 250–251
Mu’izz al-Dawla, 92, 123, 448
Mu‘izz al-Din, 662
Mu‘izz al-Din ibn Sam, 662
Mujaddid, 678
‘Mujaddid-i alf thani’, 754
Mujahid Ali, al-, 669
Mujahid ibn Jabr, 701
Mu‘jam al-buldan, 766
Mu’jam al-shuyukh, 351
Mujarrabnama, 492
Mujaz, al-, 491
Mujir al-Din Abaq, 123
Mujiz, 347
Mujiz al-Qanun, 490
Mujmal al-Hikma, 825
Mujmal al-Tavarikh va-l-Qisas, 825
Mukarram, al-, 777
Mukarram ibn ‘Ali al-Sulayhi, al-, 70
Mukhannathun, 600, 807

Mukhlis al-Shirwânî, 76
Mukhtar al-jawahir, 355
Mukhtar ibn Abi ‘Ubayd al-Thaqafi, 500
Mukhtar-Nama, 79
Mukhtasar of al-Muzani, 486
Muktafi, al-, 141
Muktasar Andar ‘ilm-i Tabib, 489–490
Muktasaru Sahihi Muslim, 375
Mul Jawa, 463
Mulla Malik Qummi, 108
Mulla Sadra, 43, 530–531, 615, 737
Mulla Shah Badakhski, 195
Multan, 458
Multazim bi-fal-ahkam, al-, 328
Muluk al-tawa’if, 365
Mulyi al-Din ibn Arabi, 545
Mu’min ibn Mukbil, 783
Mu’minun, 170
Mumtaz Mahal, 194
Munafiqun, al-, 49
Mundhir ibn al-Harith, 292
Mundhir ibn Nu‘man, 292
Munkar, 164
Munqidh min al-dalal, 292
Muntaha al-Matlab fi Tahqiq al-Madhhab, 325
Muntahab-i Shifa, 492
Muntakhab al-Kalam fi Tafsir al-Ahlam, 215
Muntakhab al-Tawarikh, 620
Muntakhab fi ‘ilaj al-‘ayn, 578
Muntasir, al-, 451
Muntazam, al-, 345
Muntazam fi ta’rikh al-umam wa al-nuluk, al-, 111
Muqabalat al-mustanir, 385
Muqaddasi, al-, 15, 158, 286, 838
Muqaddima, 359, 499
Muqaddimah, al-, 140, 158
Muqaffaq, al-, 834
Muqarnas, 588
Muqatil Ibn Sulayman, 706, 715
Muqri, 659
Muqrids, 499
Muqta‘, 448, 599
Muqtabas min abna’ ahl al-Andalus, al-, 111
Muqtadi, al-, 470
Murabits, al-, 375
Murabitun, al-, 38
Murad I, 170, 580
Murad II, 580
Murad III, 63, 82
Muradiye at Edirne, 589
Murder, 198
Murji’a, 6, 410
Murshid, 783
Murshid al-Zuwwar, 614
Murshid ila t-Tafarrud, 546
Murshida, al-, 375
Muruj al-Dhahab, 268, 483, 556
Murûwwa, 323
Musa al-Kazim, 404, 737
Mûsâ al-Sadr, 386–387
Musa ibn Ahmad al-Khwarizmi, 360
Musabbihi, al-, 451, 591
Musannaf, 482
Musari‘ al-Musari‘, 840
Musaylima ibn Habib, 55
Music
  in Andalus, al-, 534
  bans on, 194
  dancing and, 194
  description of, 531–532
  historical perspectives, 533–534
  instruments, 534
  modal systems, 532
  overview of, 533
  principles of, 532–533
  religious controversy regarding, 532–533
  singing, 752–753
  sources of, 532
  sufism and, 534
Music theory, 533–534
Musk, 601, 705
Muslih, 675
Muslim(s)
  alcoholic beverage prohibitions, 26–27
  astrology as viewed by, 75
  in Balkans, 97
  baths and bathing by, 101
  burial practices, 271
  in China, 151
  in Cordoba, 175
  in Damascus, 191
  European literature representation of, 243
  fortifications by, 65
  funerary practices of, 270–272
  Hebrew interactions with, 318
  heterodoxy, 322
  marriage among, 280
  merchants, 498–499
  Mongols and, 540–542
  orthodoxy, 322
  Pact of ‘Umar, 205–206
  Qur’an’s influence on, 656
  Sicilian, 744–745
Muslim community, 535–536
Muslim ibn al-Hajjaj, 536–547
Muslim ibn Khalid, 203
Muslim-Byzantine relations
  description of, 537
  warfare, 537–539
Muslim-Crusader relations, 539–540
Musnad, 356–357
Musnad Fatima al-Zahra, 249
Mustad‘afun, al-, 109
Mustadi’, al-, 690
Mustafa Ali, 80, 116
Mustafa al-Maraghi, 677
Mustafa ibn Yusuf of Mostar, 97
Mustafa II, 51
Mustafah II, 632
Mustakfi, al-, 124, 866
Musta‘li, al-, 225, 250, 252, 405, 778
Musta’min, 267, 598
Mustansir, al-
  clothing sold by, 180
  death of, 252, 405
  description of, 102, 317, 777, 778
  Fatimid rule by, 251
  succession of, 405
Musta’sim, al-, 82, 135, 512, 540, 780
Mus‘udi, al-, 806

Mu'tadid, al-, 141
Mutah, 647
Mutalammis, al-, 95
Mu'tamid, al-, 360, 374, 696, 720
Mutanabbi, al-, 11, 27, 167, 542–543, 616
Mutansir, al-, 250
Mu'tasim, al-
  Abu Tammam's work with, 11
  death of, 696
  description of, 2, 328, 356, 441, 695, 755
  will of, 403
Mu'tasimi, al-, 869
Mutawakkil, al-, 206, 356, 394, 438, 516, 520, 559, 578, 600, 696, 756
Mutawakkil Abu 'Inan, al-, 450
Mu'tazila, 132, 410
Mu'tazilah, 165
Mu'tazili, 11, 322, 482
Mu'tazilism, 19, 427, 772
Mu'tazilites, 241, 315, 486, 544–545, 639, 707–708
Mu'tazz, 255
Muthaqqab, al-, 95
Muthaqqal, 179
Muttaqi, al-, 312
Muvatta', al-, 374
Muwaffaq, al-, 374
Muwahhidun, al-, 105, 375
Muwashshah, 618
Muwatta', 235, 468
Muwatta, al-, 482
Muwatta'u'l-Imâm al-Mahdî, 375
Muwmis al-'Amva', al-, 230
Muzaffar Shah, 464
Muzaffarid Shah-i Shuja', 825
Muzaffarid Sultan Mahmud Begath, 878
Muzani, al-, 724
Muzhir fi 'Ulum al-Lugha wa Anwa'iha, al-, 785
Mysteries of Rhetoric, The, 426
Mysticism
  description of, 316
  Jewish, 545–548
Mystics, 80
Mythical places, 548–549

N

Na Wara' al-Nahr, 59
Nabat, 60
Nabatean Agriculture, 60, 117
Nabatean Aramaic, 132–133
Nabateans, 132
Nabhani period, 575
Nabidh, 861
Nablus, 591
Nadhr, 571
Nadhr ibn al-Harith, 629
Nadil wa-'l-Baghim, al-, 229
Nadir Shah, 688
Nafh al-Tib, 478
Nafh al-Tib fi Gusn al-Andalus al-Ratib, 478
Nafs al-Zakiyya
  in 'Abbasid period, 552–553
  biographical information about, 551
  description of, 240, 551
  physical description of, 551
Nag Hammadi, 172
Nagid Joshua, 636
Nahdah, al-, 201
Nahj al-Balagha, 37, 679
Nahrawan, 436
Nahw, 300
Najaf, 443
Najahids, 70, 871
Najd, 314
Najda ibn Amir, 436
Najm al-Din Alpi, 608
Najm al-Din Mahmud Shirazi, 490
Najm ud-din Kubra, 773
Names, 555
Naqshbandi Khwaja Baqi billah, 755
Naqshbandiyya, 151
Naqsh-i Jahan Square, 725
Naquib al-Attas, 665
Nard, 275
Nariman, 234
Nasafi, al-, 809
Nasa'i, al-, 307
Nasib, 455
Nasihat al-muluk, 148
Nasihat al-Muluk, 507
Nasir ad-Din Humayun, *See* Humayun
Nasir al-Dawla, 312, 777
Nasir al-Dawla Sebuk-Takin, 142
Nasir al-Din Abu 'l-Hasan, *See* Amir Khusraw
Nasir al-Din al-Tusi, 78, 241, 289, 505, 574, 737, 839–841
Nasir al-Din Chiragh-i Dihlavi, 152
Nasir al-Din Chiragh-i Dihli, 290
Nasir al-Din ibn 'Abd al-Rahim ibn 'Ali ibn al-Furat al-Misri al-Hanafi, 342
Nasir al-Din Tusi, 579, 824
Nasir al-Hasan ibn 'Ali al-Utrush, al-, 875
Nasir Faraj, al-, 226
Nasir li-Din Allah, al-, 313, 696
Nasir Muhammad, al-, 226, 541, 573
Nasir Muhammad ibn Qalawun, al-, 769
Nasir Yusuf, al-, 82, 540, 730
Nasir-i Khursaw, 254, 287, 405, 522, 591–592
Nasir-i Khusru, 830
Naskh, 134
Nasr I, 691
Nasr ibn Ahmad, 691
Nasr Ibn Sayyar, 121, 141, 694
Nasr II, 691–692
Nasrid sultans, 588
Nastaliq, 135
Nâtilî, al-, 607
Natural death, 198
Navigation, 555–557
Navy, 558
Nawadir al-sultaniyyah wa'l-mahasin al-Yusufiyyah, al-, 368
Nawba, 876
Nawruz, 196, 295, 559–560, 600, 604, 807
Nayl al-awtar fi sharh mutaqa al-akhbar, 730
Nazhun Bint al-Qala'i, 308, 866
Nazir al-Din al-Zanki, 448
Nazir al-Haramayn 'Ala', 319
Nazm al-Suluk, 229, 844
Nazzam, al-, 544
Nedina, 170
Negm al-Din, 864

Negotiations, 207
Neo-Arabic, 57
Neoplatonic Aristotelianism, 611
Neoplatonism, 68, 614–615, 772
Nestorian Christianity, 55
Netira, 497
New Persian language, 397–399, 603, 605–606
New-Ardaxsir, 88
Nezami, 560–561, 620
Nibbing, 705
Nibras al-Diya', 505
Nicephorus I, 125–126
Niche of Lights, The, 293
Nichomachean Ethics, 247
Nicopolis, 580
Night of Power, The, 196
Nights of Bonfires, 254–255
Nihayat al-Arab, 66
Nihayat al-Ihkam fi ma'Rifat al-Ahkam, 325
Nihayat al-Maram fi 'ilm al-Kalam, 325
Nihayat al-Wusul Ila 'Ilm al-Usul, 325
Nikaia, 539
Nile, 561–562, 815
Nilometer, 273
Nisba, 111–112
Nishapur, 78, 141, 428, 562–563, 838, 839
Nishwar al-Muhadara wa-'Akhbar al-Mudhakara, 496
Nizam al-Din 'Abd al-Malik al-Maraghi, 573
Nizam al-Din Awliya
  biographical information about, 563
  community involvement by, 563–564
  description of, 152, 275
  disciples of, 564
  followers of, 564
  legacy of, 564
Nizam al-Mulk
  description of, 40, 178, 292, 400, 428, 448, 469, 565, 606, 691, 780, 782, 838, 856, 878
  libraries by, 452
  madrasas promoted by, 457
Nizamiyya, 839, 856
Nizamiyya college, 452
Nizamiyya Madrasa, 292
Nizari
  of Badakhshan, 406
  description of, 72–73
  Ismailis, 72–73, 406–407
  political power of, 406
Nizari Da'wa, 777
Nobles' houses, 850
Nomadism, 565–566, 712–713
Noria, 51
North Africa
  Islam in, 105
  trade in, 815–816
Northern Song dynasty, 747
Nu'aym ibn Hammad al-Marwazi, 237
Nuh I, 692
Nuh ibn Asad ibn Saman, 694
Nuh II, 692, 824
Nujum al-Zahira fi Muluk Misr wa-al-Qahira, al-, 371
Nukat Wa-i-'uyun, al-, 486
Nu'man ibn Mundhir, 292
Nu'man III, al-, 641
Numbers, 567–568
Numijkat, 829
Nun ibn Mansur, 142
Nur al-anwar, 385
Nur al-Din
  Damascus under, 192
  description of, 11, 50, 98, 184, 351, 689–690, 851
Nur al-Din 'Abd al-Rahman Jami, *See* Jami
Nur al-Din al-Raniri, 465
Nur al-Din ibn Zangi, 83
Nur al-Din ibn Zanki, 146, 255, 568
Nur al-Din Mahmud, 28, 123, 225, 568, 873
Nur al-Din Muhammad ibn 'Ali ibn Hasanji ibn Muhammad al-Raniri, *See* Raniri, al-
Nur al-Din Muhammad Zuhuri, 108
Nur al-Din 'Umar, 668
Nur al-Din Zangi, 795
Nur al-isfahbud, al-, 385
Nur al-mudabbir, al-, 385
Nur al-'Uyun, 489
Nur Jahan, 568–569
Nur Mahal Serai, 569
Nur Manzil Garden, 569
Nusayba bint Ka'b, 868
Nusayris, 569–570
Nusrat al-Din Ahmad ibn Yusufshah, 825
Nuwayri, al-, 66, 599
Nuzhat al-Julasa', 867
Nuzhat al-Julasa' fi Ash'ar al-Nisa', 867
Nuzhat al-Mushtaq fi Ikhtiraq al-Afaq, 140, 286, 380–381

O

Oaths, 571–572
Occidental Berberia, 105
Occurrence of Winds Under the Earth Which Cause Many Earthquakes and Eclipses, 220
Oceans of Light, 460
Octavian, 30
Ode Rhyming in T-Major, 844
Of the Branches of Knowledge, 799
Oghuz, 719
Oguz, 251
Old Aramaic, 61
Old Persian, 397, 602
Old World Dryland Belt, 712–713
Öljeitü, 572–574, 606
Öljeitü Ilkhan, 541
Oman, 575
Omar Khayyam, 620
Omeriye complex, 189
On Generation and Corruption, 67
On Soul, 68
On the Composite Intellect, 377
On the Composition of Medicines, 607
On the First Philosophy, 441
On the Heavens, 67
On the Immortality of the Soul, 377
On the Intellect, 377
On the Knowledge of the Veins, 489
On the Mixtures and Properties of Simple Medicines, 607
On the Reason for the Luminosity of the Planets, 377
On the Sphere and Cylinder, 32
On the Theriac, 608
On the Uses of the Parts of the Body, 377
On the Virtues of the Turks, 411

One Thousand and One Nights, 10, 260, 315, 507, 575–578, 768
Ophthalmology, 578
Ophthalmology, 490
Optics, 578–579
Optika, 578
Oral transmission of knowledge, 701–702
Oratory, 679
Orbits of the Stars: On the Stories of the Angels, The, 45
Orchard of Pomegranates, 547
Organon, 680
Orhan Gazi, 262
Orkhon, 491
Orlando Furioso, 243
Ornament of the Saints, The, 402
Orphans, 146, 635
Orthodoxy, 322, 638, 733
Osman, 580
Ottoman Empire
  Aleppo rule by, 28–29
  Azhar, al-, during, 85
  in Balkans, 96
  commercial enterprises in, 182
  concubines in, 169
  Constantinople conquest by, 521
  Cyprus conquest by, 188
  Damascus during, 192
  description of, 580, 836, 850
  guildsmen in, 49
  qadis during, 425
  viziers in, 856
  warfare during, 65, 581
Ovejo, 175
Oxus River, 140, 142, 828

P

Pachomian monastic literature, 172
Pact of Umar, 160, 205, 283, 393–394
Padishah, 814
Padmavat, 620
Pahlavi, 397, 399, 602
Paideia, 332
Pain, 771
Painting
  frescoes, 586–589
  miniature, 583–586
  monumental, 586–589
  wall, 588–589
Pakpattan, 275
Palace(s)
  description of, 61–62
  fortification of, 62
  space in, 62
Palace of the Generalife, 33
Palace of the Lions, 33
Palace of the Myrtles, 33
Palembang, 462
Palestine, 590–592
Pañcatantra, 148
Pañcatantra, 432
Pangeran Ratu, 413
Panj Ganj, 560
Panjatantra, 506
Panjhir, 505
Panjikent, 89
Pantegni, 461
Paper manufacture, 592–593
Paper mills, 592–593
Papyrus, 475
Paradise of Wisdom on Medicine, 496
Parchment, 475
Pardes Rimmonim, 547
Parnasim, 147
Parsi, 397
Parsi-yi dari, 398
Parthian shot, 509
Parthians, 253, 729
Party Kingdoms, 593–595
Pasha, 814
Pastoralism, 565–566
Pattar Mosque, 569
Payghambari, 563
Pazryk, 136
Peace, 595–598
Peacemaking, 595–598
Peasants, 598–599
Pedro I of Castile, 34
Pentateuch, 418
Pentateuch, 546
People of the Banner, 273
Perfect for Removing Doubt about the Connected and Different Proper Names or Names of Relation, 716
Perfect History, The, 342
Perfected Book on Ophthalmology, The, 578
Performing artists, 599–601
Perfume, 601–602
Peripatetics, 69
Persia
  autobiographies in, 80
  chess pieces from, 148
  earthquakes in, 219
  Hasan-i Sabbah's travels in, 317
  philosophy influenced by, 611
Persian(s)
  Arabic translations into, 823–826
  description of, 602–603
  in Islamic period, 604–607
  in pre-Islamic period, 604
Persian epics, 233–235, 621
Persian folk literature, 261–262
Persian Gulf, 555, 830
Persian language, 397–399, 602–603, 692–693
Persian literature, 605
Persian medical literature, 488–490
Persian poetry, 619, 621–622
Persian titles, 814
Persianate Bahmanid Kingdom of Deccan, 108
Persianate Sasanid court, 65
Pesiqa, 147
Pestilence, 235–236
Phaedo, 614
Pharmacology
  alimentary products, 609
  definition of, 607
  Dioscorides' contributions to, 608
  origins of, 607–608
Phaseis aplanon aspheron, 648
Phillip II, 690
Philo Judaeus, 709

Philosophers
  Kindi, al-, 441
  Kirmani, al-, 441–442
  Mir Damad, 505–506
Philosophical humanism, 332
Philosophical Life, The, 671
Philosophy
  commentary on, 167
  definition of, 610
  Indian influences on, 611
  Islamic, 612
  Persian influences on, 611
  Platoism, 614–615
  political, 627–628
  theology and, 611–612
  translation movement in, 610–611
Phocas, Nicephorus, 27
Physics, 67, 344, 370, 810–811
Piacenza Pilgrim, 688
Picatrix, 60
Pigeons, 612–613, 632
Pilgrimages, 309–310, 321, 358, 434, 529, 613–614, 642
Pilgrims' Guide, The, 614
Pires, Tomé, 412
Piyyut, 617–618
Plague, 236
Plague of Justinian, 236
Plaster, 698
Plato, 230, 241–242, 247, 614–615, 810
Platoism, 614–615
Plotiniana Arabica, 610
Plotinus, 68, 610
Pneumonic plague, 114
Poe, Edgar Allen, 200
Poem of the Sufi Way, 844
Poem of the Way, 229
Poet(s)
  Hafsa Bint al-Hajj al-Rukuniyya, 308
  Harizi, al-, 314
  Ibn Basam, 394
  Ibn Ezra, 353–354
  Ibn Hamdis, 355–356
  Ibn Naghrela, 361
  Judah ha-Levi, 318, 421–422
  Moses Ibn Ezra, 354–355
  Mutanabbi, al-, 11, 27, 167, 542–543
  Nezami, 560–561
  Persian, 620
  Sufi, 619
  women, 865–867
Poetic criticism, 616–617
Poetics, 232, 323
Poetry
  Arabic, 229–230, 616–617, 657, 683
  commentaries on, 617
  commentary on, 167
  elegy, 227–228
  epic, 229–230
  folk, 262
  Hebrew, 617–619
  Indian, 619–621
  love, 455–456
  monorhyme in, 229
  Persian, 619, 621–622
Pointers and Reminders, 840
Police, 622–623
Political philosophy, 627–628
Political Regime, The, 248, 840
Political theory
  caliphate, 624–625
  debates, 625–628
  description of, 623
  legal, 626
  Qur'anic references, 624
  reasons for, 623–624
Polo, 768–769
Polo, Marco, 15, 72, 463, 601
Polygamy, 480
Polytheism, 378, 529
Pomponius Mela, 837
Poor Claires, 34
Pope Clement V, 573
Pope Urban II, 184, 719
Popular astrology, 75
Popular literature
  Caliphs, 629–630
  definition of, 628
  Islam and, 628–629
  language of, 630
  narration of, 630–631
  religious biographies, 629
  style of, 630
Porphyry, 610, 614–615
Port of Acre, 591
Porter and the Three Ladies, The, 577
Posidonius, 60
Post, 631–632
Postal system, 613
Pottery, 143–144
Poverty
  among orphans, 635
  among women, 635
  conjunctural, 634–635
  debt as cause of, 636
  foreign, 635
  Islamic, 632–634
  Jewish, 634–636
Prayer, 485, 636–637
Preaching, 679
Precedence, 637–638
Precious Things of Moment in the Account of the Princes of Syria and the Jazira, 368–369
Predestination
  description of, 638–639
  early discussions on, 639–640
  Qur'an references to, 638, 640
Primary schools, 641
Prince, The, 856
Princess Zubaida, 51
Principles of the Opinions of the Inhabitants of the Virtuous City, 248
Principles of the Sufi Path, The, 774
Prison of the Syrian Gate, 641
Prisons, 641–642
Procession of the Flower-Sellers, 564
Processions
  military, 643–644
  religious, 642–643
Procheiroi kanones, 648
Proclus, 68, 615, 827

Professional guilds, 304–305
Program of Rhetoric and the Lamp of Men of Letters, The, 229
Promptuary for Ophthalmologists, The, 578
Proof of the Veraciouis in Refutation of the Mendacious, 665
Prophet Muhammad, *See* Muhammad
Prophets, Tales of the, 415, 644–646, 658
Proportioned script, 134
Prostitution, 646–647
Protecting Links to Guidance and the Validation of the Superiority of 'Ali Over the Companions, The, 442
Ptolemy
  Almagest by, 77, 167, 247, 370, 485, 647
  astronomy works by, 647–648
  biographical information about, 647–648
  description of, 67, 285, 344
  influence on Ibn Khurradadhbih, 360
  mathematical geography, 483
  Optika, 578
Puberty, 150
Public charity, 146–147
Public square, 850
Punishment, 182–183, 622, 641–642
Punjabi, 620
Pure Treatise Concerning the Hallmarks of Religion, 442
Purity, 637
Pythagoras, 289

Q

Qaand Fustat, al-, 129
Qaba, 180–181
Qabaq, 769
Qabasat, al-, 505–506
Qabbâlâh, 431
Qabbalists, 431, 547
Qabus-name, 149
Qadar, 639
Qadariyya, 410
Qadi, 383, 423–425, 596
Qadi Abd al-Jabbar, 544
Qadi al-Fadil al-, 452
Qadi al-Fadil al-Baysani, al-, 451
Qadi al-Nu'man, al-, 405, 731
Qadi al-qudat, 255, 669
Qadi 'Iyad ibn Musa, 468
Qadir, al-, 1, 294, 594, 782
Qadiri Creed, 782
Qadiriyyah, 764
Qadisiyya, al-, 604
Qahira, al-, *See* Cairo
Qahtanis, 59
Qahwa, 106
Qaidu, 513
Qa'im, al-, 93, 238, 250, 486, 782
Qajar, 233
Qal'a, al-, 273
Qal'a Tabarak, 399
Qalansuwa, 159
Qal'at al-Gabal, 273
Qal'at al-Rum, 541
Qalawun, 102, 156, 184, 226
Qalawunid, 226
Qalqashandi, al-, 66, 201–203, 450
Qamis, 159
Qanbaniya, 175
Qanun fi l-tibb, al-, 167
Qanun fi't Tib, al-, 492
Qanunja, 490
Qara Arslan, 852
Qara Khitai, 280, 747
Qara Qorum, 208, 748
Qarafas, 850
Qarakhanids, 121, 142, 458, 694, 747, 814, 837
Qarakhitay, 142
Qaraqiyyin mosque, 450
Qarasaray, 62
Qarawiyyin, al-, 382
Qari, 71
Qarmathians, 55, 95
Qarmati, 405
Qasida, 455, 616
Qasideh, 227
Qasim, al-, 352
Qasim ibn 'Ali Ibn 'Asakir, al-, 844
Qasim ibn Ibrahim, al-, 107, 732, 875
Qasim Khan Mir Barr u Bahr, 20
Qasimi imams, 731
Qasr al-Dhahab, 63
Qasr al-Hayr al-Gharbi, 277–278, 587, 711
Qasr al-Hayr al-Sharqi, 277
Qasr al-Hayr East, 64
Qasr al-Hayr West, 64
Qata'i', al-, 129, 225, 517
Qati'a, 447
Qatifa, 204
Qavurt, 40, 469
Qawa'id al-Ahkam, 325
Qawanin al-dawawin, 23
Qawanin hikam al-ishraq, 385
Qawl fi l-Bighal, al-, 426
Qayrawan
  description of, 19–20, 436, 450, 649
  Great Mosque of, 19, 650–651
  history of, 649–650
  monuments in, 650–651
  topography of, 650
Qays ibn al-Mulawwa, 455
Qazi Qadan, 620
Qazi Qazan, 752
Qazvin, 401, 505
Qazwini, al-, 158, 548, 651–654, 686
Qessa-e Sanjan, 877
Qibla, 287
Qifti, al-, 452
Qimar, 275–276
Qimhi, David, 301
Qipchaq Turks, 101
Qira'at, 707
Qira'at al-finjan, 210
Qisas al-anbiya', 644
Qissa, 232, 644
Qissas al-anbiya, 629
Qissat Abu Zaid al-Hilali wa'l-Na'isa, 630
Qissat al-Amira Dhat al-Himma, 229
Qissat al-Zir Salim, 229
Qissat Bni Hilal, 229
Qital al-mashru' huwa al-jihad, al-, 597
Qiyas, 403
Qizilbash, 687, 725
Qsar al-Qadim, 19

Quadrants, 76
Quadratic equations, 31
Quanat, 51
Qubbat al-Sakhra, 212–214, 415
Qubilai, 412
Qudat, al-, 440
Quds, al-, *See* Jerusalem
Queen Arwa, 778
Quires, 475
Qum, 732
Qumis, 219
Qummi, al-, 707
Quppa, 147
Qur'an
  Abu Hanifa's writings about, 6
  Abu Shama's work on, 11
  aesthetics and, 103
  alcoholic beverage prohibitions, 26
  angels' role in, 44
  animals as described in, 46
  apostasy as described by, 47–49
  Aqsa mosque in, 50
  Arabic literature and, 657–659
  ascetics' view of, 71
  biblical references in, 107
  brigandage references in, 327
  burial references, 270–271
  Christian saints mentioned in, 688
  chronology of, 654–655
  clothing descriptions in, 159
  codification of, 57, 474
  commandments given to Muhammad, 527–528
  commentary on, 166, 486
  composition of, 654
  copies of, 475, 704
  creation of women in, 279
  crucifixion denial by, 416
  customary law in, 186
  death and dying, 196–197
  definition of, 654
  description of, 154, 403
  divorce provisions, 212
  Dome of Rock passages, 213
  dream references in, 214
  earthquakes, 220
  education references, 222
  emigration references in, 228–229
  eschatological references in, 500
  ethics in, 241
  exegetical literature, 706
  funerary practices references, 270–271
  gender references in, 278
  hajj, 309–310
  Hasan, al-, and, 316
  hippology references in, 325
  historical origins of, 654–655
  humor references, 335
  hunting references in, 337–338
  illustration of, 655
  inheritance references in, 388–389
  interfaith relations references in, 393
  islah references in, 675
  Ja'far al-Sadiq's interpretation of, 410
  Jesus references in, 415–416
  jewelry references in, 416
  jewish references in, 107
  jihad references in, 418–419
  jinn references in, 420–421
  language of, 57, 707
  linguistical issues, 454
  literary theory and, 658–659
  liturgical uses of, 656
  manuscripts of, 134
  marriage references in, 279, 480
  martyrdom references, 481–482
  materials of, 114
  mental illness references, 496
  merchant references in, 498
  mineral references in, 503–504
  monasticism references, 507
  Moses references in, 517
  Muhammad references in, 487, 525, 530, 654–655
  in Muslim community, 656
  navigation references in, 555
  oath-related references, 571–572
  oral transmission of, 110
  peace references in, 596
  pilgrimage references in, 613
  political theory references in, 624
  popular literature references, 628–629
  poverty references in, 632
  predestination references in, 638, 640
  prison references in, 641
  property inheritance references in, 388
  recitation of, 660–661
  reciters of, 659–661
  Revelation in, 320, 449
  sacredness of, 656
  saints mentioned in, 688
  scholar education based on, 701
  Seven Sleepers references in, 720
  shirk references in, 379
  shura in, 171
  suffering-related references in, 771
  synagogue reference in, 786
  talisman references in, 794
  themes in, 655
  theological status of, 655–656
  theology, 808–809
  translations of, 824
  ummah of, 535–536
  usury references, 852–853
  variant readings of, 660
  war and peace references in, 596
  wine references in, 860–861
  word definition of, 654
  zakat references in, 145
  Zayd ibn Thabit's codification of, 874
  zina in, 16–17
Qurashi, al-, 66
Quraysh, 170, 526, 624, 846
Qurayshites, 597
Qurra', 659–660
Qurra ibn Sharik, 224
Qurtuba, 175
Qurtubi, al-, 237, 660
Qusayr 'Amra, 587
Qushayri, al-, 266, 290, 708
Qusta ibn Luqa, 68, 827
Qutayba Ibn Muslim, 121, 141, 693, 746

Qutb al-Din al-Shirazi, 78, 385, 840
Qutb al-Din Aybak, 661–662
Qutb Minar mosque, 661–662
Qutlughshah, 573
Qutuz, 82, 101, 472, 541
Quwwat al-Islam, 661

R

Rabbanite community, 282
Rabbanites, 433, 709–710
Rabbul-ul Alemeen, 222
Rabe'eh Qozdari, 621
Rabi‘ al-Akhir, 196
Rabi‘ al-Awwal, 196, 255
Rabi‘ ibn Sulayman al-Muradi, al-, 724
Rab‘-i Rashidi, 574
Rabi‘a, 53
Rabi‘a al-‘Adawiyya, 866
Radd 'ala Ahl al-Dhimma, 396
Radd 'ala al-Zanadiqa wa al-Jahmiyyah, al-, 676
Raddi-i rawafid, 755
Radhanites, 497
Radi, al-, 382
Rafi' ibn Layth, 694
Raging Torrent, The, 731
Rahat al-'Aql, 442
Rain, 860
Rain prayer, 637
Ra‘iyat, 598
Raja' ibn Haywa, 843
Rajab, 196
Rajab procession, 642–643
Rajasanagara, 412
Rajputs, 387
Ram Bagh, 569
Ramadan, 196, 254, 546, 573
Ramhurmuzi, al-, 766
Ramla, 590
Rana Sanga, 87
Raniri, al-, 665–666
Raqqa
  description of, 64
  glass mosaics at, 516
  houses at, 330–331
Rasa'il, 426
Rasa'il Ikhwan al-Safa, 118, 229, 355
Rashid al-Din
  biographical information about, 666–667
  description of, 325, 574, 585
Rashid al-Din al-Sinan, 406
Rashid al-Din Fadl Allah Hamadani, 572
Rashid al-Din Fadlallah, 490
Rashid al-Din Sinan, 72
Rashid al-Din Tabib, 812
Rashid al-Din Vatvat, 826
Rashidun, 843
Rashidun Caliphs, 53
Rasulids, 668–669
Rattus rattus, 113
Rawashih al-Samawiyya, al-, 505
Rawd al-Fa‘iq, al-, 680
Rawda al-Aniqa, al-, 314
Rawdat al ta‘rif bi l-hubb al-sharif, 385
Rawdat al-As, 478
Rawdat al-Taslim, Sayr va Suluk, 840
Rawk al-Husami, al-, 448
Rawk al-Nasiri, al-, 448, 599
Rawks, 448–449
Rawzeh-khani, 339
Rays of Guidance, 774
Rayy, 76, 715, 798
Razi, al-, 235, 671–674, 772
Razi, al-, Fakhr al-din, 80, 113, 166, 268, 427, 670–671
Razia Sultana, 674–675
Razmnama, 24
Reciprocal cursing, 185
Recreation for Boon-Companions a propos Poems by Women, 867
Rectification of Judgments, The, 839
"Rectification of the Companions," 168
Red Sea, 12, 555, 815
Reed pen, 134, 705
Refinement of Character, 241
Reform, 675–678
Refutation of the People of the Pact, 396
Regions of the World, The, 287, 548
Religion, 269
Religious authority, 110
Religious biographies, 629
Religious humanism, 332
Religious processions, 642–643
Remarks About Mules, 426
Renewal, 678–679
Repetition of the Law, 459
Republic, 614–615
Requirements of Surgery, 490
Rete, 73
Revelation, 320–321, 449
Revision of the Optics, The, 579
Revivification of the Religious Sciences, The, 293, 678
"Reyes de Taifas," 105
Rhakotis, 30
Rhazes, 608
Rhetoric, 679–681
Ribâ, 852
Rich Room, 176
Richard I, 690
Rida, Rashid, 676–677
Riddles, 262
Rightly Guided Caliphs, 626, 854
Rihla, 353
Risala, al-, 7, 549, 703
Risala al-Ahwaziyya, 824
Risala al-Dhahabiyya fi 'l-Tibb, al-, 36
"Risala al-jami'a, al-", 118
Risala al-kamiliyya fi l-sira al-nabawiyya, 348
Risala al-Wadi'a fi ma'Alim al-Din, 442
Risala fi l-Daw', 344, 579
Risala fi Mulk al-'Arab wa-Kammiyyatihi, 441
Risala fi-l-'Ilm al-Ilahi, 610
Risala fi'l-makan, 344
Risâlah, 545
Risalah fi al-Sahabah, 506
Risala-i walidiyya, 88
Risâlat al-Ghufrân, 7
Risalat al-Qiyan, 866
Risâlat al-Sûâhil wa l-Shâhij, 7
Risalat al-Tawabi‘ wa-l-Zawabi‘, 807
Risalat Hayy ibn Yaqzan, 348
Risala-yi Haqq-numa, 195

Rising Moon, The, 731
River Oxus, 234
Riyad, al-, 442
Riza-yi ʻAbbasi, 589
Road networks, 681–682
Roads of the Travelers, The, 363
Robes of honor, 296
Rock crystal, 503
Roda island, 273
Rodrigo Diaz del Vivar, 594
Roger II, 140
Roman de Mahomet, 244
Romance languages, 682–683
Romanos I Lekapenos, 126
Romans
  aqueducts built by, 51
  Byzantium, 125
  ruling of Alexandria by, 30
Romanus Diogenes, 719
Rosewater, 683–684
Round City, 64–65, 92, 711
Round maps, 287–288
Routes and Kingdoms, 285
Royal Book: Completion of Medical Art, The, 461
Rubrics, 475
Rudaki, 823
Rukn ad-din Firuz, 674
Rukn al-Dawla, 16, 452
Rukn al-Dawla al-Simnani, 80
Ruler, 705
Rules for Authority, 507
Rumeli Hisar, 65
Rummani, al-, 300, 333, 658
Rusafa, al-, 92, 278
Rustam ibn Dustan, 141
Rutzbihan al-Baquli, 80
Ru'ya, 214
Ruzbih, 506

S

Saʻada, 870
Saʻadia ben Joseph al-Fayyumi, 301
Saʻadia ibn Danan, 301
Saʻadyah Gaon, 318, 433, 618, 685–686, 709
Sabʻ Bânat, 274
Sab'at ahruf, 660
Sabb, 185
Sabiqa, 638
Sabiqun al-awwalun, al-, 638
Sabk-i hindi, 619
Sabr al-Din, 12
Sabuq Bugha, 141
Sabur, 524
Sacred geography, 686
Sacred Precinct, 415
Sa'd al-Dawla, 6
Sa'd al-Dawla Abu al-Maʻali, 313
Sa'd al-Din, 12
Sa'd al-Din Muhammad Sawaj, 572
Sa'd ibn Abi Waqqas, 604
Sadaqa, 145, 858
Sadr al-Din al-Qunawi, 350
Sadr al-Din al-Shirazi, 669
Sadr al-Din Muhammad ibn Ibrahim Shirazi, *See* Mulla Sadra
Sadr al-Shariʻa, 78
Safadi, al-, 122
Safar, 196
Safavid dynasty
  description of, 234, 273, 581, 686–688
  Isfahan during reign of, 399
  poetry during, 622
  qadis during, 425
  reign of, 686–687
  thought trends during, 735
  wall paintings, 589
Safavid Iran, 69
Safawid Shah Tahmasp, 334
Safed, 547–548
Saffarids, 458
Safinat al-Awliya', 195
Safiyat al-Din, 466
Safiyy al-Din al-Hilli, 261
Safiyya bint ʻAbd al-Muttalib, 867, 868
Sahabi, 109
Sahib al-ʻimama, 160
Sahib Ibn ʻAbbad, al-, 311, 452, 798
Sahib ibn al-ʻAbbad and Abu 'l-Fadl ibn al-ʻAmid, 798
Sahidic Coptic, 172
Sahifa al-Sajjadiyya, al-, 505
Sahifat al-Rida, 36
Sahih, 357
Sahih al-Bukhari, 122
Sahih Muslim, 536
Sahname, 148
Sahnun, 19
Sahykh Arslan, 395
Sa'ib Khathir, 859
Saʻid al-Andalusi, 827
Saʻid al-Samiri, 452
Saʻid Ibn Uthman, 693
Said Nursi, 150
Sailendras, 412
Saint Vincent church, 176
Sainthood, 688–689
Saints, 688–689
Sakinat al-Awliya', 195
Sala de la Barca, 33
Saladin
  Aleppo rule by, 27, 689
  Aqsa mosque and, 50
  ʻAyn Jalut battle, 82–83
  biographical information about, 689–690
  in Damascus, 690
  description of, 11
  iqta' system, 599
  Jerusalem capture by, 690
Salaf al-salih, al-, 402
Salafiyyah, 165
Salah al-Din, 129, 184, 252, 448, 451
Salah al-din ibn Ayyub, 319
Salah al-Din Yusuf ibn Ayyub, 225, 568
Salam al-Farisi, 878
Salama ibn al-Fadl al-Razi, 357
Salaman o Absal, 412
Salamis, 188
Salat, 636–637
Salih Ayyub, al-, 101, 729–730, 756
Salihi Mamluks, 472
Salim Ibn Rashid, 744

Saljuqs, 142, 521
Salman al-Farisi, 171, 573, 690–691
Salman the Persian, 570
Sama‘, 534
Sama‘ shar‘i, 194
Samak-e Ayyar, 630
Samanaids
  collapse of, 121, 141
  description of, 2, 141
  Farsi language under, 398
  Ghaznavids and, 294
  reign of, 447
  translations by, 824
Samanids, 691–693
Saman-Khuda, 691
Samaria, 590
Samarkand, 864
Samarqand, 62, 281, 588–589, 693–694
Samarqandi, 148
Samarra
  description of, 62, 92, 259, 694–696
  founding of, 2
  glass mosaics at, 516
  Great Mosque at, 520
  houses in, 330–331
Samau‘al al-Maghribi, 318
Samaw’al al-Maghribi, 80
Samh ibn Malik al-Jawlani, al-, 175
Samsam al-Dawla, 16, 798
Samuel ben Hophni Gaon, 709
Samuel ha-Levi ben Nagrila, 33
Samuel Ibn Naghrela, 223, 618
San‘a’, 776
Sanabad, 438, 838
Sanbusak, 204
Sancak Beys, 188
Sanctuary of Abraham, 318–319
Sanhaja murabitun, 39
Sanjan, 878
Sanjar, 121, 142, 719
Saqaliba, 760
Sâqiya, 51, 273
Saraf al-Dini al-Tusi, 32
Sarajevo, 182
Saraqusti, al-, 477
Sargudhasht-i Sayyidna, 316
Sarh al-Qanun, 347
Sarh tasrih al-Qanun, 347
Sarjis ibn Hiliya, 647
Sasanians
  administration of, 697
  architecture by, 698–699
  art by, 698–699
  court ceremony by, 697
  defeat of, 443, 877
  description of, 234, 319, 602, 604, 697
  government of, 697
  legacy of, 699
  literature by, 697
  mathematics by, 697–698
  Nawruz, 559
  palaces of, 698
  philosophy of, 698
  religion of, 698
  science by, 697–698
Satrang, 148
Sawad al-A’zam, 824
Sayf al-Dawla, 27, 142
Sayf ibn Dhi Yazan, 232
Sayl al-jarrar, al-, 731
Sayyid al-Husayn al-Karaki, 505
Sayyid Haydar, al-, *See* Amuli, al-
Sayyid Muhammad Baqir ibn Shams al-Din Muhammad al-Husayni al-Astarabadi, *See* Mir Damad
Sayyid Muhammad Husayni, *See* Gesudaraz
Sayyid Sabiq, 730
Sayyid Salar Mas‘ud, 644
Sayyida al-Hurra al-Malika Arwa, al-, 777
Sayyida ‘Atika, 274
Sayyida Ruqayya, 274
Scanlon, George T., 273
Scholar libraries, 452–453
Scholars, 700–702
Scholarship, 700–702
School(s)
  of jurisprudence, 702–704
  primary, 641
School of Hadith, 351
Science
  commentary on, 167
  translation of subjects involving, 825
Scribes, 704–706
Script styles, 134
Scriptural exegesis
  Islamic, 706–708
  Jewish, 708–711
Sculpture, 711–712
Sea of China, 817
Sea of Harkal, 817
Sebuktigin, 293–294, 458, 837
Second Crusade, 184
Secret History of the Mongols, The, 280, 511
Sedentarism, 712–714
Sedentization, 712
Seeking knowledge, 714–716
Sefer ha-Bahir, 431
Sefer ha-‘Egron, 685
Sefer Yesirah, 431
Sehzade Selim, 795
Sekandarnameh, 560
Select Work on the Treatment of the Eye, The, 578
Selection of [the books] in the Libraries of Aleppo, The, 453
Selections for Badi al-Jamal, 490
Seleucids, 602
Self-imposed Compulsion, The, 6–7
Self-narrative, 80–81
Selihot, 354
Selim I, 226, 263, 425, 581
Selim II, 82, 520, 717
Selim III, 753
Selimiye, 189
Selimiye Mosque, 717–718
Seljuk(s)
  in Baghdad, 782
  description of, 62, 93, 124, 718–719, 833
  diplomacy by, 207
  Isfahan during reign of, 399
  pottery by, 144
Seljuk ibn Duqaq, 40
Seljuk Iran, 588

Seljuk Ribat-i Sharaf, 62
Seljuq dynasty, 562
Seljuqid Kayqubadh, 2–3
Semitic language family
  Arabic as member of, 56
  description of, 56
Semiz Ali Pasha mosque, 751
Ser-djarrahin, 784
Sergius, 491
Serjeant, R.S., 802
Servants, 242–243
Seven Heavens, 527
Seven Portraits, The, 560
Seven Secrets, The, 870
Seven Sleepers, 719–720
Seven Thrones, 412
Sevilla, 328–329
Seville
  description of, 355, 593, 720
  history of, 720–721
  Islamic heritage in, 721–725
Sexual intercourse
  adultery, 16–17
  hadd penalty for, 17
Sexuality, 192, 278–280
Sha'ban, 196
Shabbatay Zevi, 548
Shabbatians, 548
Shadid, 481
Shadouf, 51
Shadow plays, 722–724
Shafi'i, al-, 71, 203, 613, 703, 715, 724, 786
Shafi'i madhhab, 702
Shafi'i school, 187, 486
Shafi'is, 447
Shah, 814
Shah Isma'il, 585
Shah Jahan, 21, 91, 792
Shah jo Risalo, 752
Shah Ni'matallah Wali, 824
Shah Rukh, 142, 320, 812–813
Shah Tahmasp, 80, 210, 234, 505, 585
Shahadat al-alimiyah, 203
Shah-i javanan, 694
Shah-i zinda, 694
Shah-i Zindeh, 864
Shahid al-Awwal, al-, 732
Shahjahan, 194
Shahnama, 63, 144, 323, 585, 605, 727–729
Shahnameh, 227, 233–234, 253, 261, 560, 605
Shahrastani, al-, 840
Shahr-i Sabz, 62
Shahryarnameh, 234
Shaikh-al-Islam, 774
Sha'ir, 233
Shajarat al-Durr, 516, 729–730
Shakyh Ahmad ibn 'Abd al-Ahad Faruqi Sirhindi, *See* Sirhindi
Shakyh Baha al-Din al-'Amili, 530
Shakykh Salim Chishti, 275
Sham, 109
Shamarikh fi 'Ilm al-Ta'rikh, al-, 785
Shamil, al-, 428
Shams al-Din, 665
Shams al-Din al-Khafri, 78
Shams al-Din al-Sakahawi, 716
Shams al-Din al-Samutra'i, 465
Shams al-Din Ibn Daniyal, 260
Shams al-Din Muhammad al-Shahrazuri, 166, 385
Shams al-Din Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Kishi, 324
Shams al-Ma'arif al-Kubra, 795
Shams al-Mulk, 469
Shams al-Mulk Duqaq, 123
Shams al-Muluk Isma'il, 123
Shapur I, 253
Shapur II, 253
Shaqiq al-Balkhi, 71
Sharab, 106
Sharaf, al-, 329
Sharafaddin Sabunjuoghlu, 492
Sharayit-i Jarrahi, 490
Sharh al-burhan li-Aristu, 167
Sharh diwan al-Mutanabbi, 167
Shari' Abi Ahmad, 695
Shari'a, 16, 183, 186, 596, 622
Shari'al-Khalij, 696
Sharif al-Idrisi, al-, 140
Sharif al-Murtada, al-, 75, 452, 732
Sharif al-Radi, al-, 37
Sharif 'Amili, 733
Sharifism, 257
Shatibi, al-, 302
Shatt al-Arab, 99
Shawkani, al-, 730–731, 731
Shawwal, 196
Shaybani, al-, 6
Shaykh 'Adi ibn Musafir, 870
Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi, 678
Shaykh al-Husayn ibn 'Abd al-Samad, 505
Shaykh al-Islam, 725, 775
Shaykh al-Mufid, al-, 94
Shaykh al-Yunani, al-, 610
Shaykh Baha' al-Din al-'Amili, 505
Shaykh Baha'i, 725
Shaykh Farid al-Din Ganj-i Shakar, 563
Shaykh Isma'il, 256
Shaykh Mubarak, 9
Shaykh Nasir al-Din, 564
Shaykh Shihab al-Don 'Umar al-Suhrawardi, 384
Shayzar, 851
Shehy ül Islam, 188
Shehy Yuyo, 97
Shehzade Cami, 750
Sheikh, 49
Shelter for the poor, 147
Sher Khan Suri, 334
Shi'at 'Al, i, 132
Shibab al-Din Mahmud, 123
Shibam-Kawkaban, 870
Shibani Khan the Uzbek, 121
Shidda al-'uzuma, al-, 777
Shifa' al-'Alil fi masa'il al-qada wa'l-qadar wa'l-hikma wa'l-ta'lil, 363
Shihab, al-, 677
Shihab al-Dawla Harun ibn Sulayman ibn Bughra Khan Ilek, 142
Shihab al-Din Abu 'Abdallah Yaqut, 139
Shihab al-din Abu Hafs 'Umar al-Suhrawardi, *See* Suhrawardi, al-
Shihab al-Din al-Shurawardi, 69

Shihab al-Din Nagawri, 490
Shihab al-Din ‘Umar al-Suhrawardi, 299
Shi‘i(s)
  defeat of, 500
  description of, 169, 315
  Karbala pilgrimage by, 434
  law of, 731–732
  opposition of, 625
  scriptural sources recognized by, 733
Shi’i Fatimids, 649
Shi’i festivals, 255
Shi‘i Imam
  description of, 191
  Ja’far al-Sadiq as, 409–410
Shi‘i Imam Ja‘far al-Sadiq, 210
Shi‘i Mahdi, 238
Shi‘i Muslims, 24
Shi‘i thought, 732–736
Shi‘is Buyid amirs, 2
Shi‘ism
  description of, 54, 105, 736–738
  doctrinal specificity of, 733–736
  dual vision view of, 734–735
  eras in, 737–738
  gnosis in, 299
  imam’s meaning in, 386
  Ja’far al-Sadiq’s role in, 409–410
  Majlisi, al- in, 460
  Nusayrism and, 569
  Twelver, 108, 299, 531, 570, 732–733, 735–737
Shipbuilding, 738–741
Ships, 738–741
Shiraz, 524, 585, 621
Shirk, 378
Shirkuh, 873
Shuhada’, 18
Shura, 171–172, 424
Shurta, 622–623
Sibawayhi, 57, 167, 300, 706, 741–742
Sibt ibn al-Jawzi, 742–743
Sicily, 744–745
Siddiq, al-, 5
Sifat al-safwa, 345
Significations of the Qur’an, The, 701
Sijistani, al-, 615
Sikka, 163
Silk, 179, 745–746, 803
Silk Roads
  in ‘Abbasid Dynasty, 746–747
  chronology of, 746–748
  decline of, 747–748
  definition of, 745
  history of, 746–748
  Mongol influence on, 748
  Tamerlane’s influence on, 748
  topography of, 745
Silver coinage, 163
Silver mines, 505
Simancas, 4
Sinan
  aqueducts built by, 51–52
  biographical information about, 749–751
Sinan Pasha, 130, 751
Sinan the Great, 750
Sindh, 751–752
Singers, 599
Singing, 752–753, 866
Singing Birds and the Gazelles, The, 229
Sira, 232, 330, 754
Sira al-nabawiyya, al-, 357, 595
Sira al-nabawiyya, al-, 629
Sira ‘Antar, 630
Sirafi, al-, 151
Siraj al Hidayah, 774
Siraj al-Din al-Sakkaki, 427
Siraj al-Muluk, 825
Sirat ‘Ali al-Zibaq, 229
Sirat al-Mu’ayyad fi al-Din, 522
Sirat al-Mustaqim, 465, 665, 767
Sirat al-Zahir Baybars, 630
Sirat ‘Antar, 46–47, 153, 229
Sirat Bani Hilal, 232–233
Sirat Bani Hilal al-Kubra, 630
Sirat Saif ibn Dhi Yazan, 630
Sirat Salah al-Din, 368
Sira-Tabaqat Fuhul, 867
Sirhindi, Ahmad, 754–755
Sirr al-Asrar, 825
Sirr-i Akbar, 195
“Six Pens,” 135
Siyar al ‘Arifin, 774
Siyar a‘lam al-nubala’, 110–111
Siyar al-awliya’, 152
Siyar al-Fazari, 476
Siyar al-muluk, 148
Siyasa, 623, 627
Siyasa al-Shar‘iyya, al-, 372
Siyasat nama, 207, 565, 606, 692
Siyasat-name, 856
Slave trade, 757–758, 760–761
Slavery
  in eastern Islamic world, 757–758
  entrapment methods, 757
  military, 755–757
  in western Islamic world, 758–761
Slaves, 757–761
Slip-painted pottery, 143–144
Snow, 859
Social hierarchy, 205–206
Socializing, 762–763
Societal classes, 178
Sogdiana, 140
Sogdians, 829
Sokollu Mehmet Pasha, 751, 856
Solomon ben Judah ibn Gabirol, *See* Ibn Gabirol
Solomon Ibn Gabirol, 618
Solomon Ibn Saqbel, 477
Somnath, 387
Song dynasty, 747
Songhay empire
  decline of, 765
  origin of, 763–764
  Sunni kings, 764–765
Sons of Aaron, 497
Sons of Netira, 497
Sophistici elenchi, 377
Sophronios, 205
Soup kitchens, 146
Source of Life, The, 355
South Asia, 773–775

Southeast Asia
culture of, 765–766
history of, 765–766
languages of, 766–767
literature of, 766–767
trading ports in, 765
Southern Song dynasty, 747
Spark of the Tinderbox, The, 6
Spherical trigonometry, 289–290
Spices, 767–768
Spies, 239–240
Spiritual concerts, 194
Splendid Garden, The, 680
Splendid History, The, 342
Sports, 768–770
Sports gambling, 275
Srivijaya, 462
St. Epiphanios, 188
St. John, 191
St. Mark, 30, 173
St. Sergius, 688
St. Sophia, 82
Stained glass, 298
Stations of the Travelers, The, 363
Steppe humanism, 332
Stillman, Yadida, 802
Stonepaste, 143
Story of Sanjan, 877
Story of the Hunchback, The, 577
Story of the Three Apples, The, 577
Straight edge, 705
Straits of Gibraltar, 294
Stranca Mountains, 51
Stucco, 698, 711
Sübetei, 509
Subh al-a'Sha fi Sina'at al-Insha', 680
Sublimation of Belief, 840
Subtle Blessings, The, 807
Sudan, 770–771
Suffering, 771–773
Sufi(s)
dancing by, 192
description of, 75
Ja'far al-Sadiq's ideas, 410
moral education promoted by, 280
poets, 619
Qabbalists and, 547
Sufi, al-, 583
Sufi orders, 773
Sufism
in Andalusia, 545
description of, 431, 633, 773–775
development of, 305
epic poetry about, 229
gnosis in, 299
growth of, 38
Ibn 'Arabi's work in, 350
institutionalization of, 633
Jewish mysticism and, 545
music and, 534
Sufriya, 436
Sufyan al-Thawri, 389, 552
Sufyan ibn 'Uyayna, 71
Sufyani, 238
Sufyn ibn 'Uyayna, 701
Sugar mills, 800
Suhrawardi, al-, 290, 384, 615, 775–776
Suhrawardi Sufis, 774
Suicide, 198
Sulalat al-Salatin, 464
Sulami, al-, 410
Sulayhids, 70, 776–778, 871
Sulayman al-Bustani, 230
Sulayman ibn 'Abd al-Malik, 424
Sulayman ibn Muhammad al-Mahri, 556
Sulayman ibn Qutulmish, 470, 719
Süleyman the Magnificent
aqueducts built by, 51
architectural works by, 521
description of, 581, 688
in Istanbul, 407
judicial system of, 425
Sinan's work under, 749
Süleymaniye Mosque, 480, 751, 778–780
Sulh, 595, 596
Sullam ha-'Aliyyah, 547
Sultan, 780–781, 814
Sultan al-'adil, al-, 606
Sultan al-qalam, 290
Sultan Barquq, 156
Sultan Husayn, 585
Sultan Ibrahim, 20
Sultan Mahmud, 588
Sultan Mahmut library, 189
Sultan Nur al-Din, 50
Sultan Qalawun, 156, 541
Sultan Qutuz, 82
Sultanate of Mataram, 413
Sultanate of Shawa, 12
Sultanate of Yifat, 12
Sultaniya, 574
Sultan's Rare Qualities and the Excellences of Yusuf, 368
Sum of Clarity Concerning the Interpretation of the Verses of the Qur'an, 701
Sumatra, 462
Sung Dynasty, 817
Sunjata, 466
Sunjata epic, 466–467
Sunna, 307, 403
Sunni Aghlabids, 250
Sunni Ali, 764, 781–782
Sunni hermeneutics, 707
Sunni Islam
apocalyptic works in, 237–238
circumcision practices, 156–157
Ghazali, al-, 292–293
imam meaning in, 386
jurisprudence schools, 187
Mahdi in, 238
Sunni Muslim, 238
Sunni Revival, 345
Sunni revival, 782–783
Sunni theology, 809–810
Sunni ulema, 9
Suq al-Warraqin, 94
Sura[h] al-Ma'muniyaa[h], 138
Surat al-Ard, 139, 561
Surat al-Buruj, 688
Surat al-Kahf, 688
Surat al-Waqi'a, 638

Surface areas, 289
Surgery, 783–784
Surgical techniques, 783–784
Surra Man Ra'a, 695
Surur al-sudur, 152
Suryani, 397
Suryaye, 60
Suyuti, al-, 80, 187, 199, 220, 466, 708, 784–786
Sweetmeats, 204
Symposium, 614
Synagogue, The, 22–23
Synagogues, 786–787
Syr Darya, 829
Syria
  al-'Aziz in, 251
  Aramaean and, 60
  Damascus, 191
  description of, 787–788
  earthquakes in, 219–220
  Fatimids in, 787
  glassware in, 298
  Greater, 787–788
  interfaith relations in, 393
  iqta' grants in, 448
  Khalid ibn al-Walid in, 435
  Mamluks in, 472, 788
  Muslims in, 238
  Nusayris in, 570
  Ottoman conquest of, 226
  sculpture in, 711
Syriac, 789
Syrian medical literature, 491
Systematic residuary entitlement, 389

T

Ta'ahhud, 597
Tabaqat, 366
Tabaqat al-Atibba', 394
Tabaqat al-Kubra, al-, 110, 867
Tabaqat al-shaf'iyya, al, 362
Tabaran-Tus, 292
Tabari, al-, 171, 232, 357–358, 438, 440, 483, 517, 641, 659–660, 707–708, 715, 754, 791–792, 859
Tabaristan, 791
Ta'bir manuals, 214–215
Table-Talk of a Mesopotamian Judge, 13
Tabriz, 383, 573, 687
Tabyin kadhib al-muftari 'ala Abi al-Hasan al-Ash'ari, 351
Tactica, 557
Tacuinum sanitatis, 609
Tadhkirat al-abniya, 749
Tadhkirat al-Awliya', 79
Tadhkirat al-bunyan, 749
Tadhkirat al-Fuqaha' 'ala Talkhis Fatawi al-'Ulama', 325
Tadhkirat al-kahhalin, 578
Tadhkirat al-mi'marin, 749
Tadhkirat al-muluk, 108
Tadhkira-yi Ibrahimi, 108
Tadrib al-Rawi fi Sharh Taqrib al-Nawawi, 785
Tafsir, 706
Tafsir, 791–792, 824
Tafsir al-Jalalayn, 166
Tafsir al-Kabir, al-, 670
Tafsir-i Para-i 'Amma, 774
Tafsiur al-Jalalayn, 785
Taha Husayn, 200
Tahafut al-Falasifa, 293, 611, 811
Tahafut al-Tahafut, 811
Tahart, 341
Tahdhib, al-, 732
Tahdhib al-Ahkam, 839
Tahdhib al-Akhlaq, 241, 615, 826, 840
Tahdhib al-kamal fi asma' al-rijal, 111
Tahdhib al-tahdhib, 111
Tahdîd Nihâyât al-Amâkin, 483
Tahir ibn al-Husayn, 473
Tahirids
  Aden capture by, 15
  Bukhara during reign of, 121
  coinage used by, 163
  Iranian rule by, 562
  lineage of, 141
Tahkemoni, 618
Tahmasp, 210, 687
Tahrir al-ahkam fi tadbir ahl al-islam, 780
Ta'if, 843
Taifa kingdoms, 594
Ta'ir al-Anam fi Tafsir al-Ahlam, 215
Ta'iyaa al-Kubra, al-, 229
Ta'iyya al-Kubra, 844
Ta'iz, 871
Ta'izz, 669
Taj al-Alam Safiyat al-Din Shah, 466
Taj al-Din Ali Shah, 667
Taj al-Din 'Ali Shah Gilani, 572
Taj al-Din al-Subki, 145
Taj al-Mulk, 400
Taj al-Muluk Böri, 123
Taj al-Salatin, 465
Taj Mahal, 792–794
Tajarib al-Salaf, 825
Tajarib al-Umam fi Akhbar Muluk al-'Arab wa-l-'Ajam, 825
Tajdid, 678–679
Tajik, 725
Tajikistan, 828
Tajrid al-I'tiqad, 840
Tajrid al-i'Tiqad, Kashf al-Murad fi Sharh al-i'Tiqad, 325
Takhkira al-Harawiyya fi 'l-Hiyal al-Harbiyya, 313
Takht-i Sulayman, 63, 588
Talab al-'ilm, 714
Talaba, 38
Talaq, 211
Talbis iblis, 345
"Tales of the Ancients," 629
Tales of the Prophets, 415, 644–646, 658
Talib al-Haqq, 54
Taliban, 119–120
Ta'limiyya, 317
Talismanic objects, 794–796
Talismans, 794–796
Talkhis al-Miftah, 680
Talmud
  alms in, 147
  description of, 283
  education about, 223
Tamahar, 104
Tamajeq, 104
Tamasheq, 104
Tamazight, 103–104

Tamerlane, 401, 490, 502, 513, 580, 748, 796–798
Tamhui, 147
Tamil Cholas, 766
Tamzabit, 104
Tanbih al-Hadi wa'l-Mustahdi, 442
Tanqih al-manazir, 579
Tanriverdi al-Mahmoudi, 188
Tansuqnama-yi Ilkhani, 490
Tanukhi, al-, 763
Taq Kisra, 62
Taqbaylit, 104
Taqi al-Din 'Abd Allah ibn al-Sabbagh Kufi, 324
Taqi al-Din Abu Bakr ibn Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn 'Umar, *See* Ibn Qadi Shuba
Taqi al-Din Ahmad ibn 'Ali al-Maqrizi, *See* Maqrizi, al-
Taqi al-Din Ahmad Ibn Taymiyya, *See* Ibn Taymiyya
Taqiyya, 240
Taqwim al-Abdan fi Tadbir al-Insan, 491
Taqwîn as-sihha, 609
Tarcama-i hulasa fi fenni'l-ciraha, 783
Targitas, 837
Ta'rif bi-Ibn Khaldun, 359
Tarifit, 104
Ta'rikh, 440
Ta'rikh al-bahir, al-, 342
Ta'rikh al-Duwal wa-al-Muluk, 343
Ta'rikh al-Fattash, 459
Ta'rikh al-Kabir, 122, 859
Ta'rikh al-Khulafa', 785–786
Ta'rikh al-Mustabsir, 115, 766
Ta'rikh al-Rusul wa'l-Muluk, 140, 791, 859
Ta'rikh al-Yamini, 825
Ta'rikh Baghdad, 111, 402, 437
Ta'rikh ibn qadi shuhba, 362
Ta'rikh madinat Dimashq, 351
Tarikh-i Bayhaqi, 8
Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi, 98
Tarikh-i Jahan-gusha, 667
Tarikh-i Mubarak-i Ghazani, 667
Tarim, 871
Tariq ibn Ziyad, 175, 294
Tariqa Mavlawiyya, 194
Tarjuman al-Mustafid, 466
Tarjuma-yi Tafsir-i Tabari, 824
Tashawit, 104
Tasiwit, 104
Tasliyah, 704
Tasmiyat Wulat Misr, 440
Tasso, Torquato, 243
Tatars, 511
Tathqif al-Ta'rif, 66
Tavernier, Jean Baptiste, 766
Tawabil, 767
Tawakkul, 71–72
Tawashis, 243
Tawhidi, al-, 426, 798–799
Taxation
  Byzantine system of, 173–174
  dhimmis, 206
  rebellions against, 174
Taylasan, 162
Tayyibi, 406
Tayyibi Da'wa, 70, 778
Tea, 106
Teachers, 641
Technology, 799–801
Tell Dan, 60
Temple Mount, 415
Temuchin, *See* Genghis Khan
Temüjjin, 280
Ten Treatises on the Eye, The, 578
Tetrabiblos, 648
Textiles
  in 'Abbasid dynasty, 179
  description of, 801–805
  in Famitid dynasty, 180
Textual transmission, 202
Tezkiretü'l Bünyan, 52
Tezkiretü'l Ebniye, 52
Tha'alibi, 89
Tha'alibi, al-, 13, 295, 826
Thabit al-Bunani, 71
Thabit ibn Qurra, 68, 288, 289, 344, 485, 827
Tha'labi, al-, 645, 708
Thaniyyat al-Wada', 553
Thawb, 159
Thawri, al-, 701
Theater
  in al-Andalus, 807–808
  Arabic, 806–808
  audience of, 805
  general features of, 805
  historical development of, 805–807
  themes of, 805
Thecla, 688
Themistius, 2
Theodicy, 269
Theodosius II, 81, 719
Theologus Autodidactus, 348
Theology
  commentary on, 166
  description of, 808
  Islamic, 416
  Jurjani, al-'s work with, 427
  Mu'tazilites, 241, 315, 486, 544–545
  philosophy and, 611–612
  Qur'anic, 808–809
  Razi, al-'s views on, 670
  suffering and, 772
  Sunni, 809–810
Theology mimar I, 611
Theology of Aristotle, 610
Theophilus, 126
Theophrastus, 502–503
Third Crusade, 184
Those Who Lived After Death, 18
Thousand Tales, The, 575
313 Edict of Milan, 172
Throne, 272
Thunderstorms, 860
Thurayya, 62
Tibb al-Nufus, 223
Tibrizi, al-, 46
Tibyan, The, 361
Tibyan fi ma'Rifat al-Adyan, al-, 665
Tien Shan, 287
Tifashi, al-, 876
Tigris, 258
Tigris River, 312
Timaeus, 579

Timbuktu, 764
Time
  Avicenna's modalities of, 506
  concepts of, 810–812
Timothy I, 393
Timur, 87, 502, 796–798
Timur Leng, 121, 694
Timur Lenk, 142
Timur-i Leng, 580
Timurid Miran Shah, 838
Timurids, 273, 513, 585, 812–813
Tiraz, 160, 801
Tirmidhi, al-, 307
Titles
  Arabic, 813–814
  description of, 813
  Persian, 814
  Turkish, 814
Toghril Beg, 40, 93, 476, 718–719, 782
Toghril III, 719
Toledo, 593
Toledo garden, 328
Topkapi, 62
Topkapi Palace, 407, 501
Topkapi Saray, 62–63, 330
Torah, 107
Torment, 771
Torre de las Damas, 588
Towns, 849–851
Tract on the Soul, 579
Trade
  African, 815–816
  Indian Ocean, 816–818
  Mediterranean, 818–821
Translation Movement, 336
Translations
  Arabic into Hebrew, 821–823
  Arabic into Persian, 823–826
  pre-Islamic learning into Arabic, 826–828
Transoxania, 68, 87, 140–141, 281, 398, 469, 513, 592, 606, 691, 693, 718, 746, 828–830
Travel, 830–832
Treachery, 327
Treasures, 798
Treasure-Trove of Things Delicious for the Diversification of the Table's Dishes, The, 683
Treasury of Adab, The, 13
Treasury of Secrets, 560
Treatise Against the Believers in Free Will, 316
Treatise of Living Creatures, The, 25, 411
Treatise of the Garden, 710
Treatise of the Pool, The, 546
Treatise on Asceticism, 316
Treatise on Clarity and Clarification, The, 411
Treatise on Government, 565
Treatise on Legal Verdicts, The, 25, 411
Treatise on Light, 344, 579
Treatise on Place, 344
Treatise on the Here and the Hereafter: On Aphorisms, Managing People and Ways of Dealing with Them, The, 411
Treatise on the Soul, 370
Treaty of Carlowitz, 581
Treaty of Devol, 539
Treaty of Hudaybiyya, 171, 529
Trebizond, 539
Trepidation, 78
Tribal customary law, 187–188
Tribal customs, 832–834
Tribal humanism, 332
Tribes, 832–834
Trifsht, 104
Trigonometric quadrant, 76
Trinity, 569
Tughluq dynasty, 564
Tughril, 400
Tughril Bek, 448, 452
Tuhfa-i Mubarizi, 491
Tuhfat al-Nuzzar fi Ghara'ib al-Amsar wa-'Aja'ib al-Asfar, 352
Tuhfetü'l Mimarin, 52
Tulun, 374
Tulunids, 447, 802, 834–835
Tu'ma, 447
Tuman, Dankaran, 467
Tunics, 159
Tunna', 599
Turanshah, 101
Turban, 159–160
Turcopoles, 188
Turkic languages, 835–837
Turkish folk literature, 262–263
Turkish languages, 835–837
Turkish medical literature, 491–492
Turkish mosques, 521
Turkish titles, 814
Turks, 837–838
Türküs, 263
Tus, 562, 838–839
Tusi, al- (Muhammad ibn Hasan), 307, 483, 501, 839
Tusi, al- (Nasar al-Din), 839–841
Tustari, al-, 431, 707
Twelver ritual, 94
Twelver Shi'is, 35, 352, 500–501, 647
Twelver Shi'ism, 108, 299, 531, 570, 732–733, 735–737

U

U'ahada, 597
Ubada ibn as-Shamit, 188
Ubaidullah Ahrar, 88
Ubay ibn Ka'b, 660
'Ubayd Allah ibn Ziyad, 121, 436
'Ubaydallah ibn Yahya, 791
Uhud, 18
Uighur Turks, 511
'Ukba Ibn Nafi', 649
Ukskudar Mirimah Sultan Mosque, 750
'Ulama, 19, 179, 181, 594, 764
'Ulayya, 866
Uljaytu, *See* Öljeitü
Ulu Cami, 779
Ulugh Beg, 485, 812
'Ulum al-Din, 678
'Ulum al-hadith, 701
'Umar al-Khayyam, 32
'Umar I, 877
'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, 131, 160, 205, 316, 678, 843–844
'Umar ibn Abi Rabi'a, 752
'Umar ibn al-Farid, 844

'Umar ibn al-Khattâb, 168
'Umar ibn al-Khassab, 552
'Umar ibn al-Khattab, 556, 558
  Aqsa mosque and, 50
  biographical information about, 844–845
  description of, 30, 160, 171, 195, 205, 228, 318
  Jerusalem's conquest by, 415
  Khalid ibn al-Walid and, 435
  property inheritance laws under, 388
'Umar Khayyam, 400
'Umar Walashama, 12
Umara al-Yamani, 80
Umara' Misr, 440
Umayya ibn Khalaf ibn Wahb ibn Hudhafa al-Jumahi, 109
Umayyad Caliphs
  'Abd al-Rahman, 425
  al-Walid ib 'Abd al-Malik, 50
  classification of, 847
  division of, 847
  establishment of, 304
  judges appointed by, 423
  Marwan, 506
  Mu'awiya ibn Abi Sufyan, 50, 423, 450
  mujaddid, 678
  palaces of, 62
  political theory debates, 625
  predestination discussions, 639
  qadiship used by, 423–424
  ruling period of, 131
  Suleiman, 525
  Walid, al, 520
  Walid II, 480
Umayyad Desert Castles, 330
Umayyad dynasty
  Arabs, 59
  astronomy, 77
  Bahraini tribes, 95
  barid during, 632
  court dress during, 178–179
  Damascus during, 191
  description of, 1, 846
  diplomacy during, 207
  downfall of, 848
  espionage in, 240
  eunuchs in, 243
  fortifications during, 64
  furniture during, 272
  gardening during, 277
  Hijaz during the, 54
  housing during, 330
  Idrisids and, 382
  library of, 451
  origins of, 846–847
  shura during, 171–172
  significance of, 847–848
  spying during, 240
  thrones used in, 272
  travel records, 285
Umayyad Mosque, 191, 514, 845–846
Umayyad palace, 277
'Umdat al-kuttab, 115
Umeyyads, 105
Umm Ayman, 868
Umm Habib, 35
Umm Haram bint Milhan, 188
Umm Kabsha, 868
Umm Kulthum, 274
Umm Muhammad bint 'Abd Allah, 693
Umm Sinan al-Aslamiyya, 868
Umm ul Haram bint Sultan, 52
Umm 'Umara, 868
Umma, 159, 170
Ummah, 535–536
Ummalhat al-awlad, 759
Underwear, 159
Universal History, The, 268
University education, 222
Unnatural death, 198
Uns al-Mala' bi-Wahsh al-Fala, 337
Unshudat al-Matar, 230
Unveiled Secrets, 396
Unveiling the Elucidation of the Exegesis of the Qur'an, 701
Urban II, 184, 719
Urbanism, 849–851
Urdunn, 590
Urgench, 142
'Urwa ibn al-Zubayr, 754
Usama ibn Munqidh, 80, 338, 616, 769, 851–852
Uses of Animals, The, 46
'Usfurids, 95
Usul al-fiqh, 449
Usul ut tariqat, 774
Usury, 852–853
'Utbi, al-, 75
'Uthman, 6, 443, 846
'Uthman al-'Amri, 501
'Uthman al-Batti, 6
'Uthman Dan Fodio, 765
'Uthman ibn 'Affan, 131, 167, 556, 854, 866
'Uyun akhbar al-Rida, 35
'Uyun al-Akhbar, 364, 679
Uzbeg, 687
Uzun Kemer, 51

V

Vairagyasataka, 88
Vakf, 182
Valencia, 593
Valens, 51
Valide mosque, 407
Valor, 11
Varqa va Gulshah, 144
Vazirs, 606
Veiling, 160
Verified Compendium on the Merits of the Aqsa Mosque, The, 352
Vers irregulier, 230
Vestimentary system, 160–162
Victory of the Almighty, 730
Virahini, 620
Virgin Mary, 192, 279
Virtues of Holy War, The, 368
Virtuous City, The, 615
Vizierate, 206
Viziers, 252, 254, 855–856
Vowels, 133

W

Wadi al-'Allaqi, 505
Wadi al-kabir, *See* Guadalquivir River
Wadi al-Khaznadar, 510
Wadi al-Sughd, 829
Wadi Batha, 713
Wadi Fas, 257
Wahb ibn Munabbih, 358, 476, 754
Wahdat al-wujud, 290, 620
Wahdat ash-shuhud, 290
Wahhabis, 434
Wahidi, al-, 708
Wajib, 157, 171
Walashama dynasty, 12
Walayat al-faqih, 735
Wali, 620
Walid, al-, 3, 514, 520, 525, 845, 848
Walid ibn 'Abd al-Malik, al-, 50, 191
Walid ibn Yazid, al-, 753
Walid II, 480
Wall painting, 588–589
Wallada, 866
Wallada Bint al-Mustakfi, 308
Waqf, 145–146, 857–858
Waqf deeds, 66
Waqf Nama-i Rab'-i Rashidi, 666
Waqidi, al-, 366, 452, 754, 858–859
Waqifiyya, 35
Waqwaq, 549
War of Ajnadayn, 59
Waraqa, 527
Warfare
  Mongol, 508–511
  Muslim-Byzantine relations, 537–539
Washsha', al-, 161
Wasil ibn Ata, 99, 544, 676
Wasiti, al-, 116
Wasiyya, 387
Water mills, 799–801
Wathiq, al-, 11, 356, 403, 438
Wattasids, 479
Wayfarers, 635
Weak and Geminate Verbs, 301
Weapons
  composite bow, 510
  Mongol use of, 510
Weather, 859–860
Weddings
  Islamic, 481
  Jewish, 481
Weeping over the Ruins, 618
Weightlifting, 769
Well Established Confluent of the Alphabetical Index, 716
Well of Zamzam, 429, 431
Well-Preserved Pearl, The, 548
What Is Desirable in the Pursuit for the History of Aleppo, 341
What is Sufficient in the Knowledge of the Faith, 443
White Mosque, 480
Wiet, Gaston, 801
William of Rubruck, 540
Wind mills, 799–801
Wind's Breeze on the Juicy Andalusian Branch, The, 478
Windstorms, 859
Wine, 10, 26, 860–861
Wine Ode, 844
Wine poems, 27
With the Prophets in the Glorious Qur'an, 645
Wizarisn i Catrang ud Nihisn i New-Ardaxsir, 88
Women
  circumcision of, 156–157
  clothing worn by, 181
  cosmetics use by, 177
  dancing by, 192
  economic activities of, 862–863
  education of, 862
  equality for, 278
  in Geniza period, 862–863
  jewelry worn by, 416–417
  Jewish, 861–863
  legal system effects on, 863
  license to issue legal opinions, 203
  as patrons, 863–865
  as poets, 865–867
  poverty among, 635
  segregation of, 330
  veiling of, 160
  as warriors, 867–868
Wonders of Created Things and the Oddities of Existing Things, The, 651–652
Wonders of Creation, The, 651–652
Wonders of Regions, 548
Wonders of the Lands, The, 651–653
Wrestling, 769
Wrestling With the Wrestling, 840
Writers, 201
Writing
  "cursive" form of, 134
  forms of, 134
  "monumental" form of, 134
  tools for, 134
Wu Zixian, 120
Wula al-harb, 591
Wuzurgmihr, 88, 148

X

Xenophon, 328
Xenopsylla cheopis, 113
Xerxes, 604
Xi Xia dynasty, 280, 747

Y

Yahudiyya, 399
Yahyâ al-Shabihi, 274
Yahya Bey, 97
Yahya ibn 'Adi, 68, 377, 610, 827
Yahya ibn al-Husayn, 871
Yahya ibn 'Umar, 39
Yahya ibn 'Umar al-Lamtuni, 39
Yahya ibn Yaya al-Laythi, 468
Yahya II, 382
Yamama, 55
Yamin al-Dawla Mahmud, 142
Yang, 280
Ya'qub al-Laith, 691
Ya'qub al-Qirqisani, 709
Ya'qub ibn akhi Hizam, 45
Ya'qub ibn Killis, 623, 869
Ya'qub Lais, 603

Ya'qubi, al-, 108, 285–286, 291, 483, 645, 696, 826
Yaqut, 287, 686, 869–870
Yaqut al-Hamawi, 80, 799
Yaqut al-Musta'simi, 135, 705
Yaqut al-Rumi al-Hamawi, 869–870
Ya'roub, 59
Yasa, 281, 511
Yathrib, 167, 228, 528
Yatimat al-dahr, 692
Yazdagird III, 729, 825
Yazdgird III, 697
Yazid, 769
Yazid I, 847
Yazid ibn Abi Habib, 192, 434
Yazid ibn al-Muhallab, 575
Yazidis, 870
Yemen
  Arab 'Aribah in, 59
  description of, 778, 870–872
  Rasulid dynasty in, 668
Yemenite Jews, 547
Yersinia pestis, 113
Yeshivot, 223
Yilm al-Iiyal, 392
Ying, 280
Yuan dynasty, 512
Yu'furids, 870
Yuhanna ibn Haylan, 394
Yuhanna ibn Masawaih, 578
Yunus al-Katib, 533
Yunus Emre, 753
Yunus ibn al-A'la al-Misri, 715
Yunus ibn Bukary, 358
Yusuf 'Abd al-Rahman, 176
Yusuf 'Adil Khan, 108
Yusuf al-Bahrani, 80
Yusuf al-Basir, 433
Yusuf bin Tashufin, 720
Yusuf ibn Hasan Husayni Shafi'i Rumi, 825
Yusuf ibn Tashfin, 365, 595
Yusuf o Zuleikha, 412
Yusuf-Zulaykha, 620
Yzid ibn 'Amr, 5

Z

Zabaj, 462
Zabid, 870
Zafarnameh, 234
Zafir, al-, 250
Zagros Range, 713
Zagwe dynasty, 12
Zahawi, al-, 230
Zahir, al-, 145, 250, 516
Zahir ad-Din Babur, 333
Zahir al-Din Tughtigin, 123
Zahir Barquq, al-, 226
Zahir Baybars, al-, 347, 516
Zahire-i Kharezmshahi, 492
Zahra, al-, 249
Zaitoon, 151
Zajals, 365
Zakariya al-Qazwini, 287, 774
Zakat, 145
Zakat al-fitr, 254
Zamakhshari, al-, 300, 708
Zaman, al-, 811
Zamil ibn Jabir, 95
Zamyad Yasht, 727
Zamzam, 861
Zanadiqa
  definition of, 48
  Malik ibn Anas' view of, 48
Zanata, 257
Zanj, 95, 99
Zanjan, 384
Zanki, 184, 851, 873
Zankids, 123, 788, 873–874
Zanzibar, 816, 830
Zara Yaqob, 12
Zarafshan River, 121, 828–829
Zaragoza, 593–594
Zarathushtra, 604, 877
Zaratushtnama, 398
Zardushtig den, 876
Zartoshtiyan, 877
Zawiya of Sidi 'Abid al-Gharyani, 651
Zawiya of Sidi Sahib, 651
Zawiyas, 256
Zayd ibn Thabit, 45, 874
Zaydi-Hasani rebellion, 553
Zaydis, 132, 669, 732, 874–875
Zaydism, 731
Zaydiyyah, 164–165
Zayla, 12
Zayn al-Din 'Ali Ansari, 490
Zaynab, 613
Zaytuna Mosque of Tunis, 19
Zij, 77
Zîj al-Hâkimî, al-, 376
Zij al-muyassar, al-, 648
Zij al-Sindhind, 77
Zij Batlamiyus, 648
Zîjes, 483
Zij-i Ilkhani, 840
Zina, 16–17
Zir Salim, al-, 232
Zirids, 302
Ziryab, 875–876
Ziyadatallah, 19–20, 744
Ziyadids, 870
Ziyara, 614
Ziyarat, 287
Zoroastrianism, 346, 604, 698, 876–878
Zoroastrians, 206, 234, 253, 397
Zubayr ibn al-Bakkar, al-, 75
Zubdat al-Tawarikh, 812
Zubdt al-halab fi ta'rikh Halab, 341
Zuhri, al-, 660
Zujaj, 297
Zu'l-Hajja, 135
Zuray'ids, 871

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