

الحادي عشر الميلادي ما عدا جزيرة أوال ومدينة الإحساء (83) اللتان ظل سلطانهم عليهما حتى منتصف القرن الخامس الهجري، بعدها خرجت جزيرة أوال عن طاعة القرامطة سنة 458 هـ وخضعت للعباسيين (84) وهكذا اضطر القرامطة إلى الارتداد إلى الإحساء. وكانت هذه الهزائم التي حلت بالقرامطة دافعا للعباسيين وحماتهم السلاجقة لإرسال الجيوش إلى الإحساء لملاحقة القرامطة في آخر معاقلمهم بقيادة امهر القادة، ونجحت الدعوة ضد القرامطة فأعلن كثير من أهالي البحرين انضمامهم إلى صفوف العباسيين حتى أحاطت الجيوش العباسية بالقرامطة في شمال الإحساء وانتصروا عليهم في موقعه الخندق سنة 470هـ/1077م وكان لهذا الموقعة أثر كبير في التاريخ الإسلامي حيث أنها أنهت سيطرة القرامطة على البحرين والإحساء بعد أن استمرت ما يقرب قرنين من الزمان أزعجوا فيها الدولتين العباسية والفاطمية (85).

على أن هزيمة القرامطة في البحرين والإحساء وغيابهم عن الساحة السياسية لم تلبث أن أحدثت فراغا أتاح المجال لبعض الأسر والقبائل العربية من سكان البلاد أن تشغل الفراغ الذي خلفه غياب القرامطة.

17 Kasım 2016

İADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN  
SONRA CELEN DOKÜMAN

İşgalü'l-mülteka'd-devliyyi'l-hamis havle'l-hareketi'l-ictimaiyye fi'l-alemi'l-Arabiyyi'l-İslami: İşgalü'l-Mülteka'd-Devliyyi'l-Hamis Havle'l-Hareketi'l-İctimaiyye fi'l-Alemi'l-Arabiyyi'l-İslami (V : 2008 : Tunis), neşr. E. Radi Dağfus, E. Halid Kişir, Tunus: Camiatu Tunis Küllliyyetü'l-Ulumi'l-İnsaniyye ve'l-İctimaiyye, 2011. İSAM DN. 340365

## العيارون والشطار في ظل التسلط الأجنبي

" بني بويه "

334-447هـ/945-1055م

Ayyar  
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Settar  
G183217

أ. د. د. شكران خربوطلي (\*)

كان للتسلط الأجنبي المتمثل في بني بويه والسلاجقة دور كبير في ازدياد الفجوة بين الحاكمين والمحكومين، ونتيجة لذلك التسلط الأجنبي ورداً عليه ازدادت حركة المقاومة الشعبية وعلى رأسها حركة العيارين والشطار.

ففي العصر البويهي 334-447هـ/945-1055م أقلق العيارون والشطار بالسلطات البويهية حيث كانوا يصطدمون بها دائماً حتى إنهم أعيوهم، ولم تسلم دور رجال الحكومة ولا أرواحهم من العيارين حيث قتلوا الكثيرين من رجال الدولة ومن المتعاونين معهم.

وقد تركزت تحركات العيارين والشطار في المدن العباسية وخاصة بغداد عاصمة الخلافة العباسية، حيث تميز المجتمع البغدادي بتعدد حياته، وتطور سكانه، واستطاعت حركة العيارين والشطار استقطاب عناصر كثيرة من أصحاب المهن والصناعات الصغيرة والعاطلين والمتدمرين من السياسة القائمة.

(\*) جامعة دمشق

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DIA

**AYYÂR**

**Madde Yayınlandıktan Sonra Gelen Doküman**

**21.08.2017**

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An Islamic echo of the 'Trickster'? The 'ayyârs of Indo-Persian and Malay romances .-- Istituto  
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5887 TOR, D.G. *Violent order: religious warfare, chivalry, and the 'ayyār phenomenon in the medieval Islamic world.* Würzburg: Ergon, 2007 (Istanbul Texts and Studies, 11). 318 pp. Armed brotherhoods, appearing in Sistan in the 9th century, and implicated in the disorders in Baghdad in the 10th-11th centuries.

Ayyar  
012383

30 Hisan 2018

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN  
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

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01 Haziran 2019

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN  
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

## The Ethics and Praxis of Mehr and Mithras and the Social Institution of the 'ayyār's in the Epic Romance of *Samak-e 'ayyār*\*

D4256

Parvaneh Pourshariati  
The Ohio State University



### Abstract

Giving a very brief and introductory summary of the many avatars of the Iranian god, Mithra, throughout Eurasia, as well as the primordial functions of the god, this article proceeds to discuss the Iranian Mithraic world-view, as seen in the ethics and practices of the "chivalrous" brotherhoods and sisterhoods of the 'ayyār's. Through a preliminary examination of the Parthian epic romance of *Samak-e 'ayyār*, we shall argue here that this literary epic provides us with a fascinating template for decoding not only; 1) the ethics, "ideal" social mores and praxes and the ideological super-structures of the "chivalrous" brotherhood, or 'ayyars, of Iran, but also; 2) what was in effect the ethics of Mithraic brotherhoods and sisterhoods of the Iranian world.

### Keywords

Mithra, Mehr, 'ayyars, *Samak-e 'ayyār*, Mithraism

Dear colleagues and friends, greetings! It is with great privilege that I stand before you today as the representative of an intellectual community whose ideals I have come to believe in with all my academic fervor. Thank you all for being here! For confirming that the vision of the ASPS, namely the culturally urgent task of further studying and promoting the interconnections of the Persianate world from the ancient period to the present, does in fact give due credence to an historical and contemporary reality, a contemporary reality that is underwritten by your very presence here.

I begin the term of my Presidency of the ASPS with a mandate from its Board of Directors to expand the historical reach and purview of the scholarly

\* "Presidential Address" to the Fifth Biennial Convention of the *Association for the Study of Persianate Societies* I have been working on this ongoing project, the main theses of which I only touch upon in the present paper, for a long while. I hope to be able to publish a monograph on the topic in the near future. A small part of this research was incorporated in the author's work, *Decline and Fall*.

Hellenistic philosophy and Aristotelian thought upon its authors, as well as the involuted Books VIII and IX – perhaps from CGC's pen?

For those who find themselves repelled by the harsh, telegraphic style of the Pahlavi of the priestly compilers, assurance is doubly assured by CGC throughout by giving full rein in his inimitable renditions to these ninth-century authorities to whom present-day Pahlavi studies are deeply indebted. With such felicitous translations at our disposal, we cannot urge strongly enough a faithful English re-translation, and the sooner the better. Pahlavi studies have yet a long way to go through new approaches, fresh reassessments and open attitudes. The texts encapsulate the wisdom of the post-Sasanian Mazdean sages, and Carlo Ceretti's excellent volume has clearly marked out the routes for future students, historians of religions, and comparative theologians.

FARROKH VAJIFDAR  
London

VIOLENT ORDER: RELIGIOUS WARFARE, CHIVALRY, AND THE 'AYYAR PHENOMENON IN THE MEDIEVAL ISLAMIC WORLD. By D. G. TOR. pp. 318. Würzburg, Orient-Institut Istanbul, Istanbul Texte und Studien, 11, 2007.

doi:10.1017/S1356186308008389

Deborah Tor's book presents a fascinating study of the phenomenon of 'ayyari in the eastern Islamic world in the ninth to eleventh centuries. 'Ayyari is a term that has generally been understood as having negative connotations, and has traditionally been associated with brigandage. Tor's book overturns our understanding of the term, and shows how the 'ayyars were originally associated with religious warfare. The bulk of *Violent Order* analyses 'ayyari with a particular emphasis on the first Saffarid dynasty that ruled Khurasan and Sistan in the ninth and early tenth centuries, before losing most of their territories to the Samanid rulers of Transoxiana. The Saffarids were the first and only 'ayyari state of the Islamic world and at least two thirds of the book is devoted to them, making this a study of prime importance for our understanding of this little known state, which to date has been the subject of only one monograph in a western language, by C. E. Bosworth.

The first chapter of *Violent Order* is devoted to analysing the history of the term 'ayyar, and Tor ably demonstrates that at least until the late tenth century it did not have any negative connotations, and gained chivalric connotations in the eleventh century with the involvement of 'ayyars in the sectarian politics of Baghdad. Chapter Two discusses the origins of the 'ayyars, and links the development of the 'ayyar phenomenon to the proto-Sunni *mutatawwi'a*, an ascetic group devoted to pursuing jihad on the frontiers of the Islamic world against the unbelievers beyond. During the eighth and ninth centuries these *mutatawwi'a*, who were closely linked to the 'Traditionists', carried out warfare, especially against Byzantium and the Turks east of Transoxiana, as a group entirely separate from the 'Abbasid government, whom they regarded with some suspicion. As well as fighting the infidel, the *mutatawwi'a* fought Muslim heretics, and especially the Kharijites, who had gained considerable strength in the east, especially Sistan. It seems, as far as one can make out on the basis of the rather sketchy sources, that 'ayyar was the name given to members of what were effectively *mutatawwi'a* bands who undertook jihad against the Kharijites of Sistan.

It was in this milieu that the Saffarid dynasty emerged, the subject of Chapters Three, Four, Five and Six of *Violent Order*. That the Saffarids originated as anti-Kharijite militia has long been known, but Tor demonstrates that the association of the dynasty with brigandage is the product of later historiography. Rather, she paints an entirely new picture for us of the founder of the Saffarid dynasty, Ya'qub b.

al-Layth, as neither a brigand nor a Persian nationalist (as some scholars have assumed on rather slight evidence), but rather as an ascetic and devout figure motivated above all by the desire to promote Islam, both during his early career and later when he had developed a sizeable empire. Tor shows how the Saffarid dynasty was strongly supported by the Sunni scholars, and how Ya'qub drew widespread support, even from former Tahirid supporters, for his occupation of the Tahirid lands of Khurasan owing to that dynasty's failure to adequately combat religious dissent (from a Sunni 'Traditionist' point of view). Especially valuable is Chapter Five, dealing with the relationship between the Caliphate and the Saffarids, which casts new light on the caliphs' attempts to use the emergent dynasties of the eastern Islamic world to shore up their own position, and set them at odds with each other to weaken them to the caliphs' advantage.

Chapters Seven and Eight focus largely on 'ayyars in the post-Saffarid period. Chapter Seven deals with the connection between 'ayyars, *futuwwa* (very roughly: chivalry) and Sufism, and Tor argues that by the tenth century, *futuwwa* and 'ayyari were starting to be linked, although the only references to support this are a brief reference in Tabari and one in Bal'ami – and it should be noted that the text of the latter's work is too problematic to allow us to attribute this phrase to the tenth century with certainty. The evidence from the eleventh century is much more convincing, with an unambiguous passage in the *Qabusnama* showing the existence, at least for some circles, of a clear connection between 'ayyari and chivalrous behaviour. The final chapter of the book draws interesting comparisons between the 'ayyars and the knights of mediaeval Europe. Tor argues that violence was as much of a part of the 'ayyar ethos as it was for the western knight, and that the 'ayyars use of force was often linked to power struggles in the elite or to disputes between the Sunnis and Shi'ites of Baghdad. Indeed, she ably demonstrates that the 'ayyars often formed part of the elite themselves.

Tor's book is well researched and thoughtful, as well as being a pleasure to read. Her basic argument is convincing, but there are a few areas where this reviewer feels that she overstates her case. In particular, she argues that the negative image of the Saffarids is due to a deliberate programme in Samanid historiography to blacken their reputation which has then fed into later works, such as Ibn Khalikan's influential passage on the dynasty, which relied on a lost Samanid work by al-Sulami. However, very little Samanid historiography survives, and thus much of this argument is based on what she presumes Samanid historical works said, rather than what we know they did. Her argument is even less convincing when the work is extant. For example, she suggests that Bal'ami's tenth-century Persian history is silent on them because the author 'had nothing bad to say about the Saffarids, and therefore refrained from saying anything about them at all in order not to displease his Samanid master' (p. 91). Yet Bal'ami has nothing to say about the Samanids either, not for any superficial political reason, but because writing contemporary or near-contemporary history was not his purpose. Equally, al-Maqdisi's history, the *Kitab al-Bad' wa-l-Ta'rih*, which was probably composed for a Saffarid<sup>8</sup> (and is not mentioned by Tor), has nothing of interest to say about either the Samanids or the Saffarids, because it did not fit in with the author's historiographical project. This theory of a successful Samanid campaign to blacken the Saffarids leads the author into some further errors. For instance, Hamzah al-Isfahani's *Ta'rih Sini Muluk al-Ard* is described as a "Samanid source" (p. 209, n. 157), whereas as far as we know Isfahani wrote for the Buyids and on the few occasions he left his native town, it was to visit Baghdad. A Samanid connection is completely lacking. Tor's argument is based partly on the fact that she believes the Samanids were competing with the Saffarids for legitimacy as *ghazi* leaders. Doubtless the Samanids did wish to act as *ghazi* leaders on occasion (although jihad in tenth-century Transoxiana evidently remained to a fair extent in private hands). However, she places far too much

<sup>8</sup>M. Tahmi, *L'Encyclopédisme musulman à l'âge classique: Le Livre de la création et de l'histoire de Maqdisi*, (Paris, 1998).

## اشكالية العلاقة بين العيارين والشطار

### والسلطة البويهية

٥٣٣٤هـ - ٤٤٤٧هـ / ٩٤٥ - ١٠٥٥م

د. موفق سالم نوري

جامعة الموصل - كلية الآداب

#### ملخص البحث :

تناول البحث حركة العيارين والشطار بوصفها ظاهرة اجتماعية لافتة للنظر احاطها الباحثون بقدر كبير من العناية ونعتوها بالمقاومة الشعبية المسلحة والثورة الشعبية التي تصنفت للغزو البويهي، فعرض البحث لهذه الفرضية. وقد تم التوصل الى انه لم يكن للحركة اية ابعاد سياسية. وان هذه الفرضية انطلقت من قراءة ايدولوجية. وقراءة منهجية مخطئة لهذه الحركة ووقائع تاريخها. فهي لم تكن اكثر من فرز طبيعي لواقع اقتصادي سيء عانى فيه الفقراء ظروفها قاسية الى حد كبير مع عدم وجود اية محاولات جادة، وحقائقية لمعالجة هذه (الاوراع) فكان من الطبيعي ان تتولد عن ذلك ردود فعل سلبية خطيرة تمثلت بحركة العيارين والشطار.

وسلم) له بوجوب مغادرته المدينة المنورة إذا بلغ العمران فيها سلعاً على مسافة ثلاثة أميال من المدينة نفسها، فاختر (رضي الله عنه) الذهاب الى الريدة وتحققت نبوءة الرسول (صلى الله عليه وسلم) بشأنه، يعيش وحيداً، ويموت وحيداً، ويبعث يوم القيامة وحيداً أمة واحدة وحده، إذ توفي في الريدة في عام (٣٢ هـ / ٦٥٢ م) ودفنته عصابة من المؤمنين (رضي الله عنهم).

Ayyar (012 389)

D77



30 Ocak 2008

MADDELERİNİN İZLENİMLERİ  
SUNARAK SUNULMUŞTUR

انظر

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(20) Michel souchon. «L'apprentissage des signes Sociaux par la Television.» La Fonction Educative des Media, pp.9 - 25 .

(٢١) المصدر السابق

(٢٢) المصدر السابق

(٢٣) المصدر السابق

(٢٤) المصدر السابق

(٢٥) حول هذه الملحوظات أثنان انظر :

«School and the power of Television.» An Interview of Terry. Hemdon INA Executive Director, by Maria Robins . Television and American Culture. Carl Lowe (Ed). (The H. W. Wilson Co. N. Y., 1981), PP. 131 - 38 .

(٢٦) المصدر السابق

(٢٧) حول هذه الملحوظات الأربع مراجع

Richard C. Burke «Some Questions.....»

(٢٨) عن أساليب التعليم الأربعة هذه انظر

Elie Reboul. Information et pedagogie. (Casterman : Paris, 977). pp. 55 - 69 .

(29) Richard C. Burke. «Some Questions.....»

(٣٠) في هذا العدد انظر

خوان سوما فيا ديموقراطية وسائل الاعلام في احتكار اجتماعي للأقلية إلى تمثيل اجتماعي للأغلبية . الثقافة العالمية ، عدد ٦ ، المجلد ١ سبتمبر (البلو) ١٩٨٢ ، ص ٧ - ٢٨ .

(31) James W. Carey and Albert Krelling. «Popular Culture and Uses and Gratifications : Nots Toward An Accomodation. »The Uses of Mass Communications : Current perspective on Gratifications Research. Vol. III. (Sage : Beverly Hills, 1974) P.244 .

(32) Lawrence R. Whee Less and H. Thomas Hurt. «Instructional Communication Theory and Research : .....»

(٣٣) حول جماهير أجهزة الاعلام انظر

C. Brown, T. Brown and W. Rivers. The Media and The people. (Holl, Rinehart and Winston : N. Y. 1978) . pp.63 - 6.



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Sutter

## العيارون والشطار وأثرهم في الدولة العباسية

19 AGUSTOS 1992  
MADDE TAYINLANDIKTAN  
SONRA GELEN DOKUMAN

الدكتور توفيق سلطان اليوزبكي

أستاذ مشارك

مكتب التربية العربي لدول الخليج

( العيارون )<sup>(١)</sup> و ( الشطار )<sup>(٢)</sup>

لقد اختلف المؤرخون والباحثون في أصل تسميتهم وعوامل ظهورهم ، فكلمة ، ( عيار ) تعني المحتال أو الشحاذ أو المتشرد ، وقد اطلقت هذه الكلمة في أواخر القرن الثاني وأوائل القرن الثالث الهجري على مجموعة من الأشخاص ، الذين تجمعوا تحت اسم الفتوة .<sup>(٣)</sup>

أما الشطار : فهم طائفة ثانية من العامة ، كانوا أكثر انتشاراً من زملائهم العيارين في البلاد الاسلامية ، كما أنهم كانوا أطول بقاءاً منهم وكانوا يمتازون بملابس خاصة بهم . فلهم متزريزون به على صدورهم يعرف بأزر الشطار .<sup>(٤)</sup>

ولقد اختلفت تسميتهم في الأمصار الاسلامية ، ففي العراق والجزيرة ، يعرفون بالعيارين والشطار ، وفي شرق الدولة العربية الاسلامية وفي خراسان بسمون (سرايدران) وفي المغرب والأندلس ، يعرفون باسم (الصفورة) وساهم ابن بطوطة بـ (الفتاك)<sup>(٥)</sup> نتيجة لسطوتهم وانتشار شرورهم ، وعرفوا في الشام باسم (الفتيان) و(الأحداث) وفي مصر بـ (العياق)<sup>(٦)</sup> و(الزعار)<sup>(٧)</sup> و(الحرافيش)<sup>(٨)</sup>

the source of perpetual conflicts, even of actual civil wars. With the increase in the mystical forms of religion, prominent rôles were taken by the Šūfis, but in the classical period all the religious leaders and men of the law were important. There was an overlapping of the dividing-lines between doctrines and often between quarters of the town. Sometimes a cross-division could result from the inhabitants of two quarters sharing one ethnic or geographical origin; another time it might happen that the economic activities of the various quarters were not the same and gave rise to conflicts. It has to be admitted, however, that we know little about them.

This question is also related to another, which has received greater attention without being fully elucidated, that of the *futuwwa*. Here evidently there is a mixture of tradition and vocabulary, on the one hand Arabic, on the other Iranian. Arab tradition contributed the *fatā* (plural *fityān*), meaning a brave, generous, chivalrous individual. But in all the old Sāsānian cities there were groups of young men (Persian *javānmardān*) whose community spirit led them to pool their resources in order to achieve the best possible life together, materially and sometimes morally. They had a religion, but it does not appear that religion was the factor which united them, and in any case they came from different religious groups. Almost all of them followed professions, but it would not seem, at any rate before the Turco-Mongolian period, that their union was based on a common profession: their co-operation was of other kinds. It so happened that some of them were poets and from half way through the Middle Ages onwards, the development of certain groups showed a deep appreciation of spiritual values. At the same time certain groups of Šūfis, now organized into communities, were becoming aware of the example of communal life presented by the *fityān/javānmardān*. Since clearly these were the circles more than any others which produced the writers, there came into existence a complete literature which hinged on the spiritual aspect of the *futuwwa* (literally "the youth"), a name which was given to their moral principle of cohesion, regardless of the fact that these *fityān* also had other activities of apparently quite a different kind. In fact they freely professed the legitimacy of theft, provided that it was executed with chivalry to the detriment of the rich and for the corporate benefit of the restricted community. Historians and other authors, in describing the *fityān* during periods of diminished authority, called them by contemptuous names (adopted as a matter of pride by those concerned), such as

*'ayyār(ān)*, *aubāsh*, *shuṭṭār*, etc. (that is, scoundrels, ragamuffins, outlaws) and alleged that they abandoned themselves to various kinds of disorderly behaviour and imposed their "protection" on merchants and on notables at a price. In the large towns the official police forces and the army garrisons held them more or less in respect; in other places, however, they themselves constituted the police, often even to the extent of imposing their own candidate as the head of the town. They frequently had as their leader a *ra'īs*, whose position and functions it is difficult to describe precisely, because the term, which simply means a chief, can perhaps be applied in different ways: sometimes it signifies a kind of local mayor, to confront or oppose the political authority of the prince. Certainly the movements in question were substantial factions (*'aṣabiyyāt*), broader than the communal groups of *futuwwa* in the strict sense. But there is no doubt that these latter represented both their kernel and their most conspicuous form, a fact which was to be grasped by those ambitious persons who tried to rally the groups of *futuwwa* in support of themselves. The Šaffārid dynasty in Sīstān owed its origin to them.

It is true that in the Semitic, non-Sāsānian, countries of the Near East, there also existed militias, often called *aḥdāth* - another Arabic word meaning "young people", while the *fityān/'ayyārān* had an actual organization with initiation rites and special insignia (including the "futuwwa trousers"), as well as the moral complexities of their outlook. These features were not to be found among the *aḥdāth*; indeed the latter were aggrieved with those of their number whom they suspected of wishing to develop along such lines. It is certain therefore that the *futuwwa* contained an element which, if not purely Iranian, was at least of Iranian-Iraqi and so of Sāsānian origin, representing the strong influence of an Iranian past. Examination of the subject is further complicated by the fact that certain texts appear to confront the reader with the existence not of urban and relatively democratic *fityān/javānmardān*, but of troops of young aristocrats, of "cavaliers", so to speak, who may have been unrelated to the *'aṣabiyyāt* of the towns. Such questions could perhaps be resolved without much difficulty if anything comparable were known in the time of the Sāsānians.

Since the time of the Achaemenids there had been organizations of a similar kind in many other societies but having a purpose which was essentially religious, and it is difficult to form any idea of the manner in which they continued under the Sāsānians. They may have developed



Mohsen ZAKERI, *Sāsānid Soldiers in Early Muslim Society: The Origins of 'Ayyārān and Futuwwa*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1993, 391 p. avec bibliographie et index. DM 108.

Depuis les travaux pionniers de J. von Hammer-Purgstall, au milieu du siècle dernier, jusqu'à ceux de Cl. Cahen, bien des discussions et des hypothèses ont été avancées pour rendre compte de la nature et des origines de la *Futuwwa* et de la *'Iyāra*. Jugeant ces travaux insuffisants, Mohsen Zakeri se propose de reprendre en détail la question en étudiant les premières formes de cette "institution socio-économique," son idéologie, sa fonction politique et son évolution depuis les Sassanides jusqu'aux Abbasides. La thèse principale de l'auteur est que les *'ayyārān* [sic] des premiers siècles islamiques sont les "descendants" des *asbarān*, troupes d'élite sassanides.

M. Zakeri commence par examiner la structure sociale de l'Empire, la nature du pouvoir central et ses rapports avec les *azādān*: petite noblesse constituée de *marzbānān*, *dihqānān* et *asbārān*, propriétaires terriens, agissant comme chefs de villages et collecteurs de l'impôt et fournissant une partie de l'entourage de l'Empereur et des cavaliers pour sa garde. Avec les grandes réformes économiques et militaires d'Anūšīrwān et l'échec du mouvement mazdakite qui entraîna l'affaiblissement de l'ancienne aristocratie, ces *azādān* renforcent leur position sociale et politique et se constituent une éthique qui sera au fondement des vertus et des pratiques de la *Futuwwa*. Ils seront l'agent déterminant de la "persanisation de la culture arabe bédouine."

Ensuite est étudié le rôle de ces mêmes *azādān* sous les Umayyades. Leur cohésion sera souvent source de désordre et de déstabilisation. Considérés comme "sujets de seconde zone," *mawālī*, ils iront grossir les rangs des révoltés šī'ites et hāriǧites, avant de s'allier aux Abbāsides, grâce auxquels ils retrouveront une partie de leurs privilèges.

Les membres de ce groupe ont servi, depuis les débuts de l'Islam, dans la garde califale, l'armée ou la police, aussi bien à Baṣra, à Kūfa que dans les principales villes de l'Empire naissant. C'est grâce à eux que les musulmans connaîtront les idéaux de la noblesse guerrière et que l'institution de la *Futuwwa* verra le jour. La synthèse entre idéaux "persans" et vertus éthiques arabo-islamiques sera l'œuvre des *dihqānān*, des "intellectuels" qui étaient engagés non pas dans des conflits armés mais dans des mouvements comme ceux de la *Šu'ūbiyya* ou du Mu'tazilisme. Ils feront ainsi ressusciter le passé glorieux de la Perse et propager les valeurs des *azādān* comme caractéristiques propres aux iraniens et aux hommes "libres." Cependant que la composante militaire sous-privilegiée rejoignait les milices urbaines ou les bandes des rebelles.

L'espace qui est imparti à ce compte rendu et notre incompétence pour ce qui est de l'histoire sassanide ne permettent guère de reprendre dans le détail tout ce qui est avancé par l'auteur et qui ne manque pas de soulever des questions. Aussi, laisserons-nous le soin aux spécialistes de l'Iran pré-islamique de se prononcer sur le bien fondé de ce qui est avancé concernant le système social de l'Iran au VI<sup>ème</sup> siècle (féodal ou non?), la place qui y est faite aux *azādān*, les rapports qui existaient, sinon l'identité, entre *dihqānān*, *marzbānān*, *asbārān*, *bandgān*, *ayyārān*, *jānbāzān*, et l'éventuelle existence d'un code d'honneur qui les unissait.

Pour ce qui est de la période islamique et des sources arabes, plusieurs caractéristiques de ce travail mettent en doute la validité de la thèse défendue:

On ne peut, sans le signaler, faire référence à deux éditions différentes d'un même ouvrage et n'en faire figurer qu'une seule dans la bibliographie<sup>2</sup>). C'est le cas des *Futūh al-Buldān* d'al-Balādhūrī. L'auteur renvoie tantôt à l'édition orientaliste<sup>3</sup>), qui est dans la bibliographie, tantôt à celle établie par Š.-D. al-Munaǧǧid<sup>4</sup>). En voici deux exemples parmi un assez grand nombre:

p. 242, note 700: lire p. 66 de l'éd. M.J. De Goeje au lieu de 80;

p. 268, note 817: "al-Balādhūrī, *Futūh*, p. 200; but on p. 237 he spells it Qirmiz [..]; *ibid.*, 234." la p. 200 (199 en réalité) correspond à la p. 237 dans l'éd. al-Munaǧǧid et la p. 234 renvoie à cette dernière.

Certains renvois ne correspondent à rien. Nous avons consulté les éditions auxquelles l'auteur fait référence, mais en vain, comme pour:

p. 88, n. 360: *al-Aghānī*, 23:232 (alors que le renvoi de la n. 356 au même ouvrage, 15:216, est parfaitement correct);

p. 98, n. 4: *al-Aghānī*, 23:232 (lire 17:313);

p. 175: citant al-Mas'ūdī (*Murūǧ al-Dahab*, I, 309), l'auteur écrit: "The seal of *ma'ūna*, of deep blue hyacinth, with the engraving *al-hullī* [sic] (temperance)." Or le texte arabe donne: *wa ḥātām al-ma'ūna faṣṣuḥu yāqūt kuḥlī naṣṣuḥu l-ta'anni*;

p. 228, nous lisons: "Arab settlement in Khurāsān was unique in that the Arab tribesmen were dispersed among the local population. Unlike in 'Iraq, they were not concentrated in the Arab garrison towns (*amṣār*). An important feature in the treaty of Marw was that the inhabitants had to make room for the Arabs in their houses. This was an unpopular measure and ignited a rebellion of the *dihqānān*, 'ayyārān, and people of the market, who tried to prevent it without success." À l'appui de ces affirmations, l'auteur renvoie tour à tour à M. Sharon<sup>5</sup>), *Kitāb al-Futūh* d'al-Balādhūrī, le *Ta'riḥ* d'al-Ya'qūbī, le *Zayn al-Aḥbār* d'al-Ġardīzī, *The 'Abbasid Revolution* de M.A. Shaban<sup>6</sup>) et au *Ta'riḥ* d'al-Ṭabarī<sup>7</sup>). La vérification de ces références autorise les remarques suivantes. Les deux premières phrases (jusqu'à "garrison towns" sont la reprise textuelle de *Black Banners from the East*<sup>8</sup>), et l'on s'étonne qu'il n'y ait pas de guillemets. On relèvera que M.A. Shaban et M. Sharon ne parlent pas de "maisons," alors qu'al-Balādhūrī, contrairement à al-Ṭabarī<sup>9</sup>), dit bien *wa kāna fī ṣulḥihim an yuwassi'ū li-l-muslimīn fī manāzilihim*<sup>10</sup>), tout comme d'ailleurs al-Ya'qūbī<sup>11</sup>). Nous pensons enfin que c'est commettre un anachronisme que de rendre *manāzil* par "houses." Il s'agit, vu l'époque, des "lieux d'établissement" ou "de séjour," c'est-à-dire tout simplement les quartiers<sup>12</sup>) et les faubourgs de Marw ou qui en dépendent.

Plusieurs affirmations nous paraissent dénuées de fondement. Poser, par exemple, que *ghulām al-fatā*, *ghulām al-ḥadath*, *shāb al-ḥadath* désignent un jeune homme fort ou sans peur<sup>13</sup>) est proprement inacceptable. Non seulement la construction est syntaxiquement incorrecte (le premier terme doit être défini par l'article), mais *ḥadaṭ* ne fait que préciser le très jeune âge, non une quelconque qualité physique ou morale.

L'usage qui est fait des citations ne manquera pas lui aussi de soulever des interrogations. Un exemple, parmi un très grand nombre. M. Zakeri commente ainsi ce passage d'al-Zabīdī (*Tāǧ al-'Arūs*) *wa qāla Ibn al-'Arabī: wa l-'Arab tamdaḥu bi-l-'ayyār wa taḍummu bihi. Yuqālu ḡulām 'ayyār naṣīṭ fī l-ma'āṣī wa ḡulām 'ayyār naṣīṭ fī ṭā'at Allāh: "In the descriptions of Arab grammarians, and this is important, 'a young man or "ghulām" is called 'ayyār when he is submissive to God. Or when they say "so and so is a 'ayyār," that means, he is bustling in subordination."*<sup>14</sup>) On aura remarqué que la deuxième partie de ce commentaire dit tout à fait le contraire de ce que rapporte al-Zabīdī.

Plus fondamentalement, ce travail nous paraît sujet à caution, car orienté. L'auteur tient à tout prix à prouver que la culture arabo-islamique a été façonnée sous l'influence décisive de la Perse. Pour ce faire, il a fait feu de tout bois, allant jusqu'à solliciter parfois les textes qu'il cite et sur lesquels il fonde sa démonstration (nous pensons à tout ce qui est écrit sur les *Abnā'*, et à l'utilisation injustifiée de l'ouvrage d'al-Ġāḥiẓ sur les mérites des Turcs). Nous aurions préféré voir M. Zakeri s'interroger davantage sur les problèmes des influences culturelles, de l'accléuration, des rapports entre "groupes" dominés et groupes dominants.

A. CHEIKH-MOUSSA

1) Nous avons reproduit la graphie de l'auteur qui est fort incohérente, car elle mêle l'arabe et le persan, ou le pehlevi. Par ailleurs, elle est très souvent fautive pour ce qui est de l'arabe. En voici quelques exemples: *sattāra* pour *sītāra*, *siyābaǧalsayābiǧa*; *jarrādat al-ṣafrā'* *al-Ġarāda* *'l-ṣafrā'* (sobriquet de Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān); *Baṭīkha*, *Baṭā'ikh*/*Baṭīḥa*, *Baṭā'ih*; *jalwāz/jilwāz*; *Ghulām al-fatā*, *ghulām al-ḥadath*, *shāb al-ḥadath*/*Ghulām fatā*, *ghulām ḥadath*, *shāb ḥadath*; *fatā'*/*ilfatāya*; *ṣū'ālik*/*ṣa'ālik*; *ḥarrāsūn*/*harrātūn*; *'Ikramal*/*'Ikrima*; *ru'ā'*/*ra'ā'*.

در این مقاله کوشش بر آن است که تأثیر و تطوّر اصول اخلاقی عیاران در تصوّف و آیین ملامتی بررسی گردد، به همین منظور نخست به آن اصول اشاره می‌شود و سپس از آنچه درباره جوانمردی در آثار صوفیان آمده است، سخن می‌رود و در پایان ضمن شناساندن آیین ملامتی، پیوند برخی از اندیشه‌ها و اصول ملامتیان با آیین عیاری نمایانده می‌شود.

### اخلاق در آیین عیاران و جوانمردان

هر آن کس که به جمع عیاران می‌پیوست، موظّف بود که قوانین اخلاقی آنان را رعایت کند و اگر در این کار سستی می‌نمود، عیاران او را از خود نمی‌شماردند. نویسنده قابوس نامه قوانین اخلاقی عیاران را این گونه یاد می‌کند: «بدان که جوانمردی عیاری آن بود که او را از آن چندگونه هنر بود: یکی آنکه دلیر و مردانه و شکیبا بود به هرکاری، و صادق الوعد و پاک عورت و پاک دل بود، و زیان کسی به سود خویش نکند و زیان خود از دوستان روا دارد، و بر اسیران دست نکشد، و اسیران و بیچارگان را یاری دهد، و بدبختان از نیکان باز دارد، و راست شنود چنانکه راست گوید، و داد از آن خود بدهد، و بر آن سفره که خورد، بد نکند، و نیکی زبندی مکافات نکند، و از زنان ننگ دارد، و بلا راحت بیند.»<sup>۴</sup> پس از آنکه زهد و تصوّف با آیین عیاری در آمیخت و آیین «فتوّت» پدید آمد، بزرگان فتّیان برای اینکه اخلاق جوانمردی را به تازه جوانمردان بیاموزند، اصول عیاری را با عنوانهایی چون ارکان فتوّت، خصلت‌های اهل فتوّت و شرایط فتوّت‌داری در فتوّت‌نامه‌ها یاد کردند؛ شمار این اصول در همه فتوّت‌نامه‌هایی که امروزه در دست داریم، یکسان نیست،<sup>۵</sup> مهمترین آنها همراه با شواهد از چند فتوّت‌نامه در ذیل ذکر می‌گردد:

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### تأثیر منش عیاری در تصوّف و آیین ملامتی

مهران افشاری

عیاری یکی از آیین‌های طبقه عامّه ایران بوده است؛<sup>۱</sup> پیروان این آیین به اصولی اخلاقی سخت پایبند بودند که برخی از آن اصول را، همچون اصل «رازداری»، در آیین ملامتیان نیز - که فرقه‌ای از صوفیّه بودند - می‌توان دید.

ظاهراً در سده‌های آغازین هجری عیاری و تصوّف از هم متأثر بوده است - شاید به سبب اینکه عیاران و صوفیان از یک طبقه اجتماعی بوده‌اند - تأثیر تصوّف در آیین عیاری سبب گردید که عیاری بازهد در آمیز و به آیین «فتوّت» مبدّل گردد.<sup>۲</sup> همچنین از کتابهای کهن صوفیّه می‌توان دریافت که برخی از عیاران چنان به تصوّف جذب شده بودند که عیار پیشگی را ترک گفته و به جماعت صوفیان پیوسته بودند، و طرفه این است که در تذکره‌های صوفیّه این گروه هم صوفی و هم جوانمرد دانسته شده‌اند.<sup>۳</sup> تصوّف نیز کمابیش از عیاری متأثر بوده است، آنچه که در آثار متصوّفه از زبان صوفیان نخستین درباره فتوّت یا جوانمردی نقل شده است، همان اصول اخلاقی عیاران است و این نشان می‌دهد که آنان به اخلاقیات آیین عیاری عنایت داشته‌اند، در این باره اهمیت صوفیانی را که پیش از صوفی شدن عیار پیشه بوده‌اند نباید نادیده انگاشت و شواهد چنین می‌نماید که اساس فرقه ملامتیّه را نیز برخی از همین صوفیان جوانمرد بنیاد نهاده بودند.



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Lehrstuhl für Iranistik

MOHSEN ZAKERI

FROM IRAN TO ISLAM: 'AYYĀRĀN AND FUTUWWA

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ISTITUTO ITALIANO PER IL MEDIO ED ESTREMO ORIENTE

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The study presented here argues that the militia known as 'ayyārān (Persian pl. of 'ayyār) in the early Islamic era were remnants of the Sāsānid warrior class and its élite troops called *asāwira*. These troops were recruited from the class of *āzādān* or independent small landlords who formed the lower level of nobility in the Sāsānid Empire and performed the function of tax-collectors and lords in their villages. By the middle of the 6th century, the social and moral values of the *āzādān* had crystallized into a set of ethical standards known as *āzādagī* or *jawānmardī*, which, under the early Muslims, formed the kernel of the ideals and practices gathered under the name *futuwwa*.

In the Arabic language the abstract notion of *futuwwa* (from *fatā*, pl. *fityān* 'young men'), which is not recorded before the beginning of the second century of *hijra*, refers to the idealization of the life and the manners of the Muslim warriors as well as a set of precepts current among the Muslim craftsman guilds. It is normally understood to be a moral, religious, and social code of manly conduct, variable in its details but generally upholding the virtues of courage, honor, and service. As such it has attracted the attention of modern researchers of religious sciences, philosophers and sociologists. A number of scholars have pointed to the origins of this institution in Sāsānid times,<sup>1</sup> but the history of its formation remains largely a blank at this time. The lack of material for the early history is paralleled by an even greater dearth of information on such matters as ideology, organization and political function. One clutches at straws, but it is nevertheless possible to utilize the existing sources in order to throw light on a number of aspects of these problems.

<sup>1</sup> Claude CAHEN: *Futuwwa*. In: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. 2nd ed. 1960-, II, 962; Franz TAESCHNER: *Zünfte und Bruderschaften im Islam*. Zürich - Munich 1979, 14; Louis MASSIGNON: *La 'futuwwa' ou 'pacte d'honneur artisanal' entre les travailleurs musulmans au Moyen Age*. La Nouvelle Clio 4 (1952); reprinted in his *Opera Minora*. Beirut 1963. Ed. Y. MOUBARAC, I, 396-421; idem: *Guilds: Islamic*. In: *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*. 1942, 214-16; idem: *Sur la Futuwwa*. In: *Proceedings of the XXII Congress of Orientalists, Istanbul 1951*. Leiden 1957, 277-279; idem: *Shadd*. In: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. 1st ed.; idem: *Salmān Pāk et les prémices spirituelles de l'Islam iranien*. In: *Opera Minora*, I, 443-483; Muḥammad Taqī BAHĀR: *Jawānmardī*. In: Iḥsān NARĀQĪ, ed.: *A'in-i Jawānmardī*. Tehran 1363š./1984, 112.

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-Ayyār  
-Šāter (181624)

DU 'AYYĀR AU ŠĀTER : L'ÉVOLUTION DU PERSONNAGE  
À TRAVERS LE ROMAN PERSAN EN PROSE

Marina Gaillard

Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, Paris

Si la relation entre les professions de 'ayyār et de šāter a plusieurs fois déjà été évoquée, elle n'a été qu'assez peu argumentée, et il n'a guère été accordé d'attention aux enseignements qu'apporte la prose romanesque des conteurs professionnels de l'Iran médiéval sur les dispositions physiques nécessaires aux activités respectives de ces deux personnages. De ce point de vue, le rapport entre 'ayyārī et šāterī a essentiellement été abordé à travers l'étude du zurhāne (litt. : « maison de la force »), le gymnase où se pratiquent les sports traditionnels de l'Iran et où le šāter s'entraînait aux exercices indispensables au bon accomplissement de sa profession. De plus, c'est souvent sous l'angle des préceptes moraux présidant à la fréquentation du zurhāne que le sujet a été pris en considération,<sup>1</sup> l'entraînement sportif suivi dans le cadre de cette institution impliquant en effet le respect de diverses valeurs traditionnelles qui rappellent sous certains aspects l'esprit

<sup>1</sup> Pour ces deux approches, voir Partow Beyzā'i, Hoşeyn, *Tārīh-e varzeš-e bāstānī-ye Īrān, Zūrhāne* (Tehrān : Heydari, 1337/1958) ; Mahjūb, Moḥammad Ja'far, "Tārīh-e varzeš-e bāstānī (zūrhāne)", *Rāhnemā-ye Ketāb*, II/5 (1338/1960) : pp. 681-9 ; Piemontese, Angelo Michele, "L'organizzazione della 'Zurxāne' e la 'Futuwwa'", *AION*, n.s., XIV (1964) : pp. 453-73 ; Kāzemeynī, Kāzem, "Tārīh-e moḥtašar-e zūrhāne va varzeš-e bāstānī va müjedīn-e ān : pahlavānān va 'ayyārān va šāterān", *Honar va Mardom*, LV (1346/1967) : pp. 28-35 ; *idem*, "Zūrhāne", *Honar va Mardom*, LVI-LVII (1346/1967) : pp. 55-62 ; Enşāfpūr, Gölāmrezā, *Tārīh va farhang-e zūrhāne va gorūh-hā-ye ejtemā'i-ye zūrhāne-row* (Tehrān : Markaz-e Mardomšenāsi-ye Īrān, Vezārat-e Farhang va Honar, 1353/1974), dont pp. 13-36 ; Zakeri, Mohsen, *Sasanid Soldiers in Early Muslim Society, The Origins of 'Ayyārān and Futuwwa* (Wiesbaden : Harrassowitz, 1995) : pp. 1, 310-11 ; Rochard, Philippe, "The identities of the Iranian Zūrkhānah", *IrSt*, XXXV/4 (2002) : pp. 313-40, dont pp. 317-8, 327-31 ; *idem*, "Les identités du zurkhāne iranien", *Techniques et culture*, XXXIX (2002) : pp. 29-57 ; *idem*, "Les représentations du "beau geste" dans le sport traditionnel iranien", dans Hourcade, Bernard, éd., *Iran. Questions et connaissances*, vol. III : *Cultures et sociétés contemporaines, Actes du IV<sup>e</sup> Congrès européen des Études iraniennes organisé par la Societas Iranologica Europaea, Paris, 6-10 sept. 1999* (Cahiers de Studia Iranica 27, Paris : Peeters-Association pour l'Avancement des Études Iraniennes, 2003) : pp. 161-70, dont pp. 166-7.

Koma

MADDE GAZI...  
SONRA GAZI...  
DURUMUN



08 AĞU 2007

John J. Donohue, *The Buwayhid Dynasty in Iraq 334 H./945 to*

*403 H./1012, Leiden 2003, pp. 338-346 ISAM 186970*

19 JUBAT 2010

In the latter part of the fourth century, the position of the ulama appears to have gained even greater prominence. Abū Ḥāmid al-Isfarā'inī was one of the most prominent men in the city, not by reason of learning alone, for he also had the control of alms. And the prestige which attached to the leading Alids, Raḍī and Murtaḍā, though partially due to wealth and lineage also derived from their learning. The same position was occupied for the Hanbalites and the Hanafites by Ibn Ḥāmid and Abū Bakr al-Khwārizmī. When the government, always considered a bit foreign to the majority of the people, was negligent or ineffective, it was the existing organization of the ulama that partially filled the void for the majority of the people.

The frictions between the legal schools, though conscious, were not all disruptive, still there was competition. The Shafi'ites under Abū Ḥāmid were anxious to gain political power by securing the chief judgeship of Baghdad for one of their own, and the traditionalist Hanbalites were equally anxious to stamp out the innovations of Hanafite-Mu'tazilism and Shafi'ite-Ash'arism, and to counter the favor which the Shiites enjoyed under the Buwayhids with a renovation of true Islam and a reassertion of the caliphate.

The pattern of power was intricate. The Hashimites could profit from supporting the Hanbalites against the Shiite Alids who had usurped their privilege, and the Shafi'ites could join the traditionalists in proscribing Mu'tazilism. And the Imamites also could assent to an attack on Mu'tazilism which they had identified in part with Zaidism. Consequently, the proclamation of Qādir's creed appears to be much more than a mere religious exercise. It involved a struggle for position and power among the ulama. This is not to say that the ulama saw the struggle merely in political terms. The position of the caliph and their position in relation to him was an important element in Sunnite ideology. But to the observer it seems clear that both the caliph and the orthodox ulama stood to profit in terms of power by the enforcement of orthodoxy.

*The Aḥdāth and the 'Ayyārūn*

During the period preceding Buwayhid rule of Iraq, and during the collapse of Buwayhid power, the lower classes of the urban population exerted power in the cities, especially in Baghdad. They took

over duties usually performed by the police of the city, exacted protection money from merchants in the suq, and levied tolls on shipping coming into Baghdad. In the upset which came in the last part of the fourth century and the first half of the fifth century, the lower classes referred to sometimes as the mob (*'amma*), sometimes as vagrants (*'ayyārūn*) are found in the midst of the riots, now on the side of the Sunnites, now on the side of the Shiites.

Some general lines for an appreciation of the social role of the *'ayyārūn* and *aḥdāth* have been set out by Cahen,<sup>129</sup> and a fairly complete list of the riots in the city during the fourth century has been published by Canard.<sup>130</sup> Here it will be sufficient to signify the general lines of organization of these groups and their connection with the other social groups of the period and with the ruling Buwayhids.

While the *'ayyārūn* are the group most frequently mentioned in the sources, it is not clear from the sources that the *aḥdāth* occupied a semi-official capacity in the lower levels of urban organization.

The term *aḥdāth* can have a general meaning of "youth" or "crimes, reprehensible innovation." Thus there has been some question of the meaning of the formula found in diplomas and mentioned in the sources, of authority over the *shurṭa wa'l-aḥdāth* or *ma'āwīn wa'l-aḥdāth*.<sup>131</sup>

There is, however, a more general sense in which the term is used to refer to bands of men not officially attached to a government function. Izz al-Dawla refers to the *aḥdāth* participating in the Turkish revolt against him in 363H.<sup>132</sup> Another letter to a rebel accuses him of gathering bands of his *aḥdāth* in order to put off obedience to the caliph.<sup>133</sup> And the people of Raqqa in another letter are warned to order their *aḥdāth*.<sup>134</sup> In two instances there are specific mentions of the Alid *aḥdāth* in Baghdad protecting the Vizier Sābūr, and attacking the Shafi'ite Abū Ḥāmid.<sup>135</sup> It is in this latter sense that the term is most frequently used, and does not appear to be completely distinct from the more general term *'ayyārūn*. The one distinguishing

-Ayyār

<sup>129</sup> "Mouvements populaires et autonomisme urbain dans l'Asie musulmane du moyen âge," *Arabica*, V (1958), pp. 225-250, VI (1959), pp. 25-56, 223-265.

<sup>130</sup> "Bagdād au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle de l'hégire," in *Baghdad* (Leiden, 1962), pp. 267-287.

<sup>131</sup> Cl. Cahen, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26.

<sup>132</sup> Ṣābi (ed. Arslan), p. 245.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 198.

<sup>134</sup> Ṣābi (Paris), 217a. See also *Dhayl*, p. 176, where the leading people of Mosul are told to restrain their *aḥdāth*.

<sup>135</sup> Hilāl, *Tārīkh*, p. 336; *Muntaẓam*, VII, p. 238.

*Kāna fi-mā maḍā l-qitālu qitālan  
fa-huwa l-yawma -yā 'Aliyyu- tiḡāra*<sup>102</sup>.

Ce locuteur pourrait bien être 'Alī Farāhmard, l'officier chargé par al-Amīn de la défense des palais Šāliḥ et Sulaymān, du nom des fils d'al-Manšūr, et de leurs environs<sup>103</sup>. Battu, il s'était rendu à Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn, en février 813 (ḡumādā II 197)<sup>104</sup>. Comme 'Amr b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Warrāq le mentionne, dans une autre pièce<sup>105</sup>, en même temps que deux officiers (*ra's ḡayf*) de Ṭāhir, [al-] 'Alā' [b. al-Waḍḍāh al-Azdī] et Qurayš [b. Šibīl al-Dandānī], il est fort probable que ce Farāhmard ait rejoint les troupes de Ṭāhir avec ses hommes<sup>106</sup>. L'éloge funèbre d'al-Amīn par Ḥuzayma b. al-Ḥasan semble, lui aussi, aller dans ce sens, puisque les *šuraḡin*, avec les «vilains»<sup>107</sup> et les «barbares»<sup>108</sup>, sont présentés comme étant sous le commandement de Qurayš:

*Sārat ilayhi l-manāyā wa-hya tarhabuhu  
fa-wāḡahathu bi-awḡādīn dawī 'adadī  
bi-šuraḡīna wa aḡlāmīn yaqūduhum  
Qurayšu bi-l-biḡī fi qumsīn min al-zaradī*<sup>109</sup>.

Tous les poètes cités par al-Ṭabarī étaient des partisans d'al-Ma'mūn<sup>110</sup> et certains, al-Ḥuraymī<sup>111</sup>, 'Amr b. 'Abd al-Malik et al-Qarāṭisi<sup>112</sup>, étaient ou avaient fréquenté des *muḡḡān* notoires,

<sup>102</sup> Dans la traduction anglaise 'alī a été pris pour l'un des noms divins.

<sup>103</sup> Soit le quartier situé entre la Porte du Ḥurāsān et le Tigre, au nord-est de la Ville ronde, voir G. Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1900, p. 107-108 et la carte qui suit la page 106.

<sup>104</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, VIII, 447, 454-455 = III, 871, 881; Miskawayh, *Ṭaḡārib al-umam*, à la suite de l'Anonyme, *al-'Uyūn wa l-ḥadā'iq fi aḡbār al-ḡaḡā'iq*, éd. M. J. de Goeje & P. de Jong, Leyde, E. J. Brill, 1869, p. 412.

<sup>105</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, VIII 469 = III, 902, v. 7.

<sup>106</sup> Al-Ṭabarī dit d'ailleurs: *wa nḡāza ilā Ṭāhir*, VIII, 455 = III, 881.

<sup>107</sup> *Waḡd* veut dire à la fois simple d'esprit, sot, vil ou domestique n'ayant d'autre salaire que sa nourriture.

<sup>108</sup> C'est-à-dire des non-Arabes, comme les Zang ou les Abyssins!

<sup>109</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, VIII, 507 = III, 948: «La mort, craintive, pour l'affronter//alla à sa rencontre, //à grand renfort de vilains, //de terrassiers et de barbares, munis//de sabres et de cottes de maille//et conduits par Qurayš».

<sup>110</sup> Al-Mas'ūdī (IV, § 2671) attribue à un partisan d'al-Amīn un poème cité par al-Ṭabarī comme étant l'œuvre de 'Amr b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Warrāq (VIII, 459-460). Or pour rendre plausible cette attribution, l'auteur des *Munūḡ* a dû non seulement modifier l'ordre des vers mais en omettre quatre.

<sup>111</sup> Il fréquenta dans sa jeunesse Ḥammād 'Aḡrad, Muṭī' b. Iyās, etc. *EP*, art. de Ch. Pellat.

<sup>112</sup> Ces deux derniers ont fait partie de la 'bande' d'Abū Nuwās, Voir Abū Hif-fān, *op. cit.*, p. 78-82 et 85-87; al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-aḡānī*, XXIII, 195; Id., *al-Imā' al-šawā'ir*, éd. N. H. al-Qaysī & Y. A. al-Sammarrā'ī, Beyrouth, 'Ālam al-kutub —

comme Abū Nuwās ou al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḍaḡḡāk, c'est-à-dire des poètes célèbres pour leurs mœurs dissolues et leur irrespect des valeurs de la société. On peut donc légitimement s'attendre à ce que, dans leurs poèmes, l'emploi de 'ayyār corresponde à celui fait par leurs confrères en *muḡūn*, tels Wāliba b. al-Ḥubāb ou Abū l-Šamaḡmaq dont il sera question plus loin.

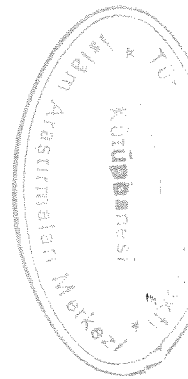
La première occurrence du terme 'ayyār dans la poésie citée par al-Ṭabarī, figure dans le poème d'al-Ḥuraymī (v. 70) décrivant la désolation de Baghdad<sup>113</sup>. A en croire al-Mas'ūdī qui ne cite que deux vers (70-71 et non 71-72 comme le donne l'édition de Ch. Pellat), ce poète aurait été un partisan d'al-Amīn<sup>114</sup>. Pourtant, il suffit de lire les vers 109 et 110 pour douter d'un tel parti pris. Al-Ḥuraymī y dit que le meilleur gouvernant est al-Ma'mūn et qu'il est le lieutenant de Dieu sur terre (*ḡalīfa*). De plus, il désigne Ṭāhir, l'ennemi juré des défenseurs de Baghdad, par son titre honorifique de Dū l-Riyāsatayn («l'homme aux deux commandements», civil et militaire). Qu'il ait été un chaud partisan d'al-Amīn avant la victoire des troupes de Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn, cela n'aurait rien de surprenant. En bon poète qu'il était, donc dépendant de la générosité du Prince, il se devait d'être du parti de celui qui tenait les rênes du pouvoir et qui pouvait ainsi assurer à ses panégyriques la récompense la plus grande. Il n'en demeure pas moins que son poème n'a pu être composé qu'après la défaite d'al-Amīn, du moins à un moment où, à ses yeux, la cause de ce dernier était définitivement perdue et où il devenait urgent de faire acte d'allégeance aux nouveaux maîtres de Baghdad. Aussi adresse-t-il à Ṭāhir des conseils de prudence et le prie-t-il d'épargner les habitants innocents de Baghdad tout en désignant à sa vindicte les fauteurs de trouble. Il faut bien sûr entendre par «innocents» les notables baghdadiens<sup>115</sup> parmi lesquels devaient figurer en bonne place les grands négociants (*tuḡḡār*) d'al-Karḡ, ceux-là même qu'al-Ḥuraymī mentionne dans ce vers 70, et qui avaient cherché à correspondre avec

Maktabat al-Nahḍa, 1984, p. 31-34; al-Marzubānī, *op. cit.*, 218; Pseudo-Ḡāhiz, *Les Livre des Beautés et des antithèses*, éd. G. van Vloten, Amsterdam, Oriental Press, 1974 (réimpr. Leyde, E. J. Brill, 1898), p. 194-196; Ibn Manzūr, *Abū Nuwās...*, p. 115-119.

<sup>113</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, VIII, 448-454 = III, 873-880.

<sup>114</sup> Al-Mas'ūdī, IV, § 2668. Voir *supra* note 62.

<sup>115</sup> On retiendra que *naṡif*, dont il a été question plus haut, vient s'opposer à *barī*? dans une expression proverbiale: *tatabba' al-bariyya wa l-naṡif*, al-Šarṡūnī, *op. cit.*, s.v.



## العيارون والشطار

## ودورهم في الحرب بين الامين والمأمون

د. محمد ارشيد العقيلي  
ج. الامارات العربية المتحدة

## العيارون والشطار لغة واصطلاحا :

العيارون جمع عيار ، والميار لغة الشخص الكثير التجوال الذي يتردد على الاماكن بدون عمل . ويقال عار الفرس يعير ، أي ذهب أو انفلت يهيم على وجهه لا يشنيه شيء ، فهو عائر أي متردد وجوال . كما يطلق العيار على الوزان أو الكيال (١) . وفي الفارسية يعني اللص الشريف . والشطار جمع شاطر وفيله الثلاثي شطر . ويقال شطر عن أهله أي نزع عنهم وهجرهم ، والشطارة تعني الانفصال والابتعاد . والشاطر من عصا ولي امره وانشطر عن أهله وعاش في الخلاعة . ويتصف الشاطر بالدهاء والمكر والخبث والذكاء والحيلة (٢) .

وأما العيارون والشطار اصطلاحا فهم علم على طائفة من اللصوص الشرفاء المتمردين على واقمهم الاجتماعي ، ذاع صيتهم وتردد ذكرهم في بعض حقب الدولة العباسية لاسيما في مرحلة التفكك السياسي ، وأيام الفتن الاهلية او المذهبية او الازمات الاقتصادية الخائفة ، او التفاوت الاجتماعي الطبقي البئيس .

ثمة قواسم مشتركة بين العيارين والشطار وبين من أطلق عليهم اسم الاحداث والزعار والدعار والعياق والحرافيش ، او اصحاب المهن المتدنية الوضيعة (٣) من المدممين والجياع والمطالين عن العمل الذين أعجزتهم البطالة وطحنهم الفقر . اذ ان كلا منهم قد احترف اللصوصية وسيلة . ولكن مع اختلاف في النيات ، وتفاوت في الاهداف والمرامي لهذه « الطوائف » .

وهذه الدراسة تتمحور اولا حول نشأة طائفة العيارين والشطار في العراق عامة وبغداد خاصة . وتفسير دوافع هذه الطائفة وغاياتها ، وهل تتميز عن اللصوص العاديين . وثانيا موقف هذه الطائفة من اجتياح جيوش المأمون التي تاتمر باوامر قادة

دراسات تاريخية ، العددان ٤٩ / ٥٠ ، آذار - حزيران ١٩٩٤ / ٢-2 (Dmesk)

## د. فالح حسين

- (٣٠) جروهمان ، اوراق البردي العربية ج١ ص ٨٩ عقد رقم ٤١ لسنة ٢٧٩ سطر ٨-١٠ .
- (٣١) Grohmann, Arabische Papyri.. Der Islam, (22), 1934, p. 30-31.
- (٣٢) مالك بن انس ، الموطن ج٢ ص ٥٣ .
- (٣٣) جروهمان ، اوراق البردي العربية ج١ ، ص ١١٢ رقم ٤٩ .
- (٣٤) جروهمان ، اوراق البردي العربية ج١ ، ص ١١٤ رقم ٥٠ . انظر وثيقة رقم ٤٥ . سطر ٩-٧ .
- (٣٥) انظر جروهمان ، اوراق البردي العربية ج١ ص ٧٧-٧٨ .
- (٣٦) جروهمان ، اوراق البردي العربية ج١ ص ٨٠-٨١ .
- (٣٧) Grohmann, Arabische Papyri.. Der Islam, (22), 1934. Nr. 10, p. 37 .
- وانظر ايضا ص ٤٠ سطر ٢٧،٢٥ حيث اثبت الناشر كلمة Hand Zeichen بالمانية وفعلا يظهر في الاصل ( التوقيع ) ويعود تاريخ هذا العقد لسنة ٢٩٥ .
- (٣٨) انظر مثلا سطر ١٠ من الوثيقة رقم ٨ . Grohmann, Arabische Papyri..
- (٣٩) ورجع الناشر تاريخ المقدم بالقرن الثاني الهجري وانظر ايضا رقم ١١ سطر ٨ ص ٥٥ اذ جاء النص ( ولا يمنها من زيارة اهلها ولا يمنح اهلها من الدخول عليها ) . وفي اوراق البردي العربية ج١ ، واعتقد زواج رقم ٣٩ لسنة ٢٦٤ هـ سطر ١ ص ٧٨ ، عقد زواج رقم ٤١ لسنة ٢٧٩ هـ سطر ١٠ ص ٨٩ نجد نفس النص المنار اليه ( ولا يمنها من اهلها ولا يمنح اهلها منها ) .
- (٣٩) جروهمان ، اوراق البردي العربية ج١ ص ١١٢ وثيقة رقم ٤٩ لسنة ٢٩٧ ورد في الاصل تاريخ الوثيقة ٢٩٩ هـ ونتقد انه خطأ مطبعي . انظر وثيقة رقم ٥٠ ص ١١٤ ومضمونها : اقرار قطامة ابنة نصر الفران الساكنة بمدينة
- (٤٠) اشمون انها قبضت من زوجها ( معجل صداقتها الذي عقد به اليها ) وتمود للقرن الثالث الهجري انظر الطحاوي ، ابو جعفر احمد بن محمد ت ٢٢١ - كتاب الشفعة من كتاب الشروط الصغير ج٢ ص ١١٠ - ١١٠٢ . وانظر ج١ ص ٤٥٥ ، ٤٦٤ . وهو جزءان تحقيق دوشي اوزجان مراجعة عبد الله محمد الجبوري ، نشر رئاسة ديوان الاوقاف ، سلسلة احياء التراث الاسلامي (١١) مطبعة العائلي ، بغداد ١٩٧٤ .
- (٤١) انظر الهامش السابق .
- (٤٢) جروهمان ، اوراق البردي العربية ج١ ص ١٠٦ - ١٠٨ رقم ٤٨ .
- (٤٣) الطحاوي ، كتاب الشروط الكبير ج١ ص ٤٦٤ .
- (٤٤) انظر الزمخشري ، جار الله ابو القاسم محمود بن عمر ( ت ٥٢٨ ) المفصل ، تحقيق عبد الرحيم محمود اوفست دار المعرفة ، بيروت ١٩٧٩ ص ١٤٤ . الزبيدي ، محمد مصطفى ، تاج العروس تحقيق عبد الكريم الغرابوي ، وزارة الاعلام - الكويت - سلسلة التراث العربي (١٦) ١٩٧٢ ط ١ ص ٣٧٩ . ابن منظور ، لسان العرب ، مادة ذكر ج٤ ص ٣١٠ .
- (٤٥) الطحاوي ، الشروط الكبير ج١ ص ٤٦٥ وانظر الشروط الصغير باب اذكار الحقوق والرهون ص ٥٥ - ٤٦١ . قارن مع سطر ٧-٦ من الوثيقة .
- (٤٦) جروهمان ، اوراق البردي العربية ج١ ص ٨٥-٨٦ عقد زواج رقم ٤٠ لسنة ٢٧١ هـ وهو مكتوب على ورقة بردي ( نود هنا ان نشر بوضوح ان الوثيقة او ناسرها لا تلج الى كون الزوجين من النصارى وانما شجعنا على الظن على ما قلناه الاسماء النصرانية للزوجين وليس لدينا دليل واضح على ظننا الذي اقمناه على اساس عدم الاشارة الى سنة محمد (ص) او مسألة الامسك بمعروف او التبريح باحسان .

Samira Saberi, Mouvements Populaires A Bagdad  
A L'Époque 'Abbaside IX<sup>e</sup>-XI<sup>e</sup> Siècles,  
Paris 1981, 5.77-100

ADDE TAYIRLANDIYAR  
SOKRA BELIN DOKUMAK

1993 EKIM 1993

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III

Ayyar

## LES 'AYYARÛN

Pendant plus de quatre cents ans le mouvement des 'ayyarûn<sup>1</sup> a marqué la vie publique de Bagdad. Son apparition remonte au 9<sup>ème</sup> siècle, au cours de la guerre entre Amîn et al-Ma'mûn, pendant le siège de Bagdad (812). Au fil du temps, il a parfois cheminé en profondeur dans la société, parfois survolé le terrain dans un grand bruit, atteignant des records dans ses soulèvements, comme cela se passa à la fin du 10<sup>ème</sup> siècle, dans les années trente du 11<sup>ème</sup> siècle et dans les années quarante du 12<sup>ème</sup> siècle. Après la réforme d'al-Nâsir li-Din Allah (1180-1225) sur les organisations de futuwwa, le mouvement des 'ayyarûn reprit ses activités à l'époque de ses héritiers et, au début de la conquête mongole (1258), on entend encore parler de lui<sup>2</sup>.

Parfois, les auteurs arabes associent le terme de "'ayyarûn" à ceux de shuttâr (singulier shâtîr, signifiant dégourdi, courageux) et de fityân (singulier fata, signifiant jeune)<sup>3</sup>. Nous parlerons plus loin de l'attachement des 'ayyarûn à la futuwwa. Quant aux shuttâr, il est impossible de tracer la ligne les séparant des 'ayyarûn. Déjà, dès l'apparition des 'ayyarûn, les chroniqueurs se servent indifféremment des termes 'ayyarûn et shuttâr pour désigner ces va-nu-pieds<sup>4</sup>. Plus tard également, aux 10<sup>ème</sup> et 11<sup>ème</sup> siècles, quoique rarement, les deux termes sont accolés comme épithète, ou bien les activités caractéristiques des 'ayyarûn sont attribuées aux shuttâr<sup>5</sup>. En fait, les termes de: 'ayyarûn, shuttâr, fityân sont devenus dans une certaine mesure synonymes, comme nous le verrons plus loin. Néanmoins, c'est le terme 'ayyarûn qui était le plus courant et répandu à Bagdad.

Les 'ayyarûn n'ont laissé aucune littérature et aucun témoignage écrit sur eux-mêmes. En revanche, chroniqueurs et autres les désignent par une série de surnoms: racaille (awbâsh), canaille (ru'â'), brigands de grand chemin (quṭṭâ' ṭuruq), révoltés (fussâq), pervers (dhu'âr), semeurs d'émeutes et de ruines (mufsidun), et autres épithètes du même genre<sup>6</sup>.

### 1. LES 'AYYARÛN EN ACTION

La guerre civile en 197/812 entre Amîn et al-Ma'mûn dura quatorze mois. Tout au long de cette guerre et du siège de Bagdad, les 'ayyarûn avaient en fait servi de troupes d'assaut de la résistance populaire contre les armées khorassaniennes. Al-Mas'ûdi décrit abondamment les cam-





c) *Sunnites et shi'ites*

Le mouvement des 'ayyarūn n'était teinté d'aucune idéologie politico-religieuse particulière. De ce point de vue, il avait un caractère "temporel" et incluait des 'ayyarūn sunnites et des 'ayyarūn shi'ites<sup>102</sup>.

En 402/1011, les 'ayyarūn organisent des cérémonies sunnites et shi'ites et elles se passent dans le calme<sup>103</sup>. En 423/1031 et 424/1032, les 'ayyarūn shi'ites d'al-Karkh se trouvent à la tête des cérémonies shi'ites. Un an plus tard, les deux fils 'ayyarūn d'al-Isfahāni, qui s'étaient repentis et travaillaient pour l'Etat, organisent les cérémonies sunnites en opposition à celles organisées par les 'ayyarūn d'al-Karkh. La même année, ces cérémonies dégénèrent en rixes intersectaires<sup>104</sup>.

En outre, on citait parfois les 'ayyarūn à propos des 'aşabiyat; les motivations de ceux-ci n'étaient pas toujours très claires. Mais dans la plupart des cas, d'après les contextes, ils avaient des motivations de caractère politico-religieux, et leurs actions s'exprimaient par des bagarres entre sunnites et shi'ites et par des actes de pillage dans le quartier d'al-Karkh. A ceci vient s'ajouter parfois le terme d'ahdāth qui apparaît conjointement à celui de 'ayyarūn pour désigner les émeutes de 350/961<sup>105</sup>, et de 479/1086<sup>106</sup> opposant sunnites et shi'ites. De même, les ahdāth d'al-Karkh (shi'ites) sont mentionnés en 398/1007<sup>107</sup>, ainsi que les 'ayyarūn shi'ites et sunnites, pendant les troubles de 361/971<sup>108</sup>, et de 443/1051<sup>109</sup>. En outre, dans un certain nombre de cas, les 'ayyarūn sont cités conjointement ou en relation avec les ḥanbalits<sup>110</sup>.

d) *Hors-la-loi*

Le mouvement des 'ayyarūn avait une existence combinant la vie publique et la vie secrète. L'expression "sont apparatus" revient chez les chroniqueurs chaque fois que les 'ayyarūn exécutaient leurs opérations au grand jour, ou chaque fois qu'ils arrivaient de l'extérieur et étaient vus, en général dans le quartier commerçant d'al-Karkh. Les persécutions sévères dont ils étaient l'objet à la fin du 10ème siècle et dans les années vingt du 11ème siècle avaient obligé une partie de leurs militants et de leurs dirigeants à fuir et à s'installer hors de Bagdad ou dans ses environs proches ('Ukbara et 'Uwāna)<sup>111</sup>.

Selon toute vraisemblance, les 'ayyarūn, tout comme divers mouvements de futuwwa de l'époque, tenaient leurs assemblées et leurs réunions dans la clandestinité<sup>112</sup>.

Le pouvoir craignait de perdre le contrôle des événements et balançait tour à tour entre des mesures d'apaisement ou de répression à l'égard des 'ayyarūn. A plusieurs reprises, il avait essayé de les neutraliser en leur confiant des fonctions de police<sup>113</sup>. Les 'ayyarūn acceptaient parfois ces propositions, soit à cause du salaire payé pour ce service, soit parce que cela leur procurait la sécurité contre les poursuites du pouvoir, soit encore pour éloigner les patrouilles de l'armée de la ville. En réalité, ces propositions ne faisaient que confirmer les faits créés par les 'ayyarūn eux-mêmes<sup>114</sup>. En revanche, les 'ayyarūn repoussaient les offres d'emploi

au service du sultān, malgré quelques cas isolés de 'ayyarūn qui se repentaient<sup>115</sup>. Fondamentalement donc, les 'ayyarūn opéraient en dehors de la loi et les efforts des autorités pour les intégrer restaient en général vains: les troubles se renouvelaient toujours.

## 3. 'AYYARŪN ET FUTUWWA

a) *Attachement aux valeurs*

Divers témoignages rendent compte de l'attachement des 'ayyarūn à la Futuwwa et à ses valeurs: courage, aide au faible, générosité, endurance à la souffrance, amour de la vérité, hospitalité.

On nomme parfois les 'ayyarūn, fityān-'ayyarūn<sup>116</sup>; parfois, des opérations exécutées par les 'ayyarūn sont attribuées aux fityān<sup>117</sup>. Al-Qushayri rapporte qu'Ibn Khadrawayh souhaitait "inviter à sa table un 'ayyār-shātir qui était le chef des fityān de Nisabūr". Le poète Ibn al-A'ma a chanté les prouesses du 'ayyār-fata pour la défense de Bagdad<sup>119</sup>.

Selon Ibn al-Jawzi, Satan avait semé la confusion dans l'esprit des 'ayyarūn, car ils s'emparaient des biens des riches et donnaient à cette voie (tariqa) le nom de Futuwwa<sup>120</sup>.

Les auteurs arabes soulignent l'attachement des 'ayyarūn aux valeurs de la futuwwa. Chaque fois qu'ils mêlent à la description de leurs actions, celles des silhouettes de certains 'ayyarūn, surtout des leaders, la nuance d'animosité se change en nuance d'appréciation des valeurs de la futuwwa qui s'incarnent en eux. Al-Tanūkhi cite les propos d'un commerçant bagdadien qui avait été pillé par Ibn Ḥamdūn dans les environs de Bagdad: "J'avais déjà entendu dire à Bagdad qu'Ibn Ḥamdūn était un homme de futuwwa, de culture et de bonnes manières, et qu'il ne molestait pas les femmes"<sup>121</sup>. Al-Tanūkhi cite également les propos d'un commerçant qui avait été dépouillé dans les montagnes par Ibn Siyār al-Kurdi: "Al-Kurdi porte les vêtements d'un amir, et non d'un brigand de grands chemins. Je me suis approché de lui pour le regarder et l'écouter, et j'ai trouvé un homme intelligent et de bonnes manières, connaissant la grammaire et la poésie"<sup>122</sup>.

Ibn al-Jawzi raconte à propos du chef des 'ayyarūn Aswad al-Zubd: Il a acheté une servante à mille dinars. Lorsqu'il a essayé de s'approcher d'elle, elle l'a repoussé. Il lui a dit: que détestes-tu en moi? Elle dit: ce que tu es. Il dit: et que désires-tu? Elle dit: que tu me vendes. Il dit: je jure de faire mieux que cela. Il l'emmena chez le juge, lui rendit la liberté et lui donna mille dinars. Et les gens s'émerveillèrent de son grand coeur et de sa générosité<sup>123</sup>.

Ibn al-Athīr remarque à propos d'al-Burjumi: il avait en lui futuwwa et murū'a. Il ne molestait ni les femmes, ni ceux qui se livraient à lui"<sup>124</sup>. Et Ibn al-Jawzi ajoute: "il s'était rendu célèbre comme le défenseur des femmes et empêchait qu'on leur prenne quoi que ce soit"<sup>125</sup>. Ailleurs, il

19 EKIM 1993 - Ayyar  
- Futuwvet

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DU FATĀ AU ZARĪF, OU COMMENT ON SE DISTINGUE\*

012385 AYYAR

PAR

SUSANNE ENDERWITZ

EN RÈGLE générale, le mot *fityān* évoque d'abord les *fityān-ʿayyārūn* qui tantôt se regroupent en bandes de pillards, tantôt exercent des fonctions de maintien de l'ordre, et sont caractéristiques des villes d'Irak et d'Iran du 9<sup>ème</sup> au 13<sup>ème</sup> siècles. Et en règle générale, le concept de *futuwwa* évoque d'abord l'idéal de piété ascétique et d'amour agissant du prochain, prêché aussi depuis le 9<sup>ème</sup> siècle dans les cercles de mystiques et consigné depuis le début du 11<sup>ème</sup> siècle dans des traités soufis. Une relation des *fityān* et de la *futuwwa* avec le *zarf*, ces règles tout à fait profanes qui régissent le comportement de l'homme du monde, et que l'on trouve à la cour abbasside et dans les couches supérieures de la société, semble a priori, exclue, tant du point de vue social que de celui de la conception même. Mais il y a des *fityān* antérieurs aux *fityān-ʿayyārūn*, de même qu'il y a, antérieur à la *futuwwa* soufie, un autre code de comportement, qui présentent, de fait, des connexions avec les *zurfāʿ* et le *zarf*.

Je voudrais essayer de montrer dans les pages qui suivent, que les *fityān*, comme les *zurfāʿ*, mettent au centre de leurs préoccupations l'homme en tant qu'individu, c'est-à-dire dans sa relation à lui-même et aux autres, tandis que seuls les *zurfāʿ* développent un modèle de personnalité qui s'applique non seulement indépendamment de l'origine sociale et de la fortune, mais indépendamment de l'âge et du sexe.

I. Les *fityān*

Aussi bien Franz Taeschner que Claude Cahen ont montré dans leurs travaux que, dans les anciens ouvrages d'*adab* et dans les anciennes biographies de poètes, il est toujours question de *fityān* de

\* I'd very much like to thank Jérôme Lentin for his enormous *futuwwa* without which this translation would not have come about.

Mohsen Zakeri  
Sāsānid Soldiers  
in Early Muslim Society  
The Origins of 'Ayyārān  
and Futuwwa

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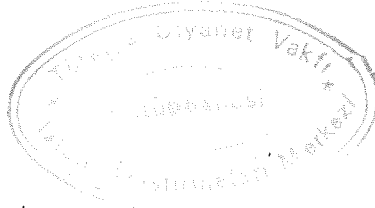
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# روشهای عیاری و نفوذ کار و کردار عیاران در شاهنامه

AMIR



دکتر محمدجعفر محجوب  
استاد دانشگاه تهران

نام و نشان عیار و خاصه عیاران حرفه‌ای در شاهنامه بگردیم کم‌تر چیزی به‌دست می‌آوریم، لیکن اگر روش عیاران را که پنهان‌کاری و پوشیده‌رفتن و غافل‌گیر ساختن دشمن و واردشدن از راه‌های غیر مستقیم و فعالیت‌هایی غیر از ابراز پهلوانی و نمودن زور بازو در میدان جنگ است در نظر بگیریم، صحنه‌های متعددی را در این کتاب می‌توانیم یافت که در آن‌ها گاه به تفصیل از یک داستان عیاروار - با صحنه‌های گوناگون - یاد شده و گاه فقط به بعضی روش‌ها و شگردهای عیاری که پهلوان برای توفیق یافتن در کار خویش بدان‌ها توسل جسته اشاره شده است.

بنابراین بی‌آن‌که بیش از این در کلیات سخن بگوییم وارد اصل مطلب می‌شویم. اما پیش از پرداختن به بحث اصلی باید عرض کنم که این مطالب فصلی است از کتابی که در باب شاه‌نامه نوشته شده و مطالبی گوناگون از میان عرصه‌های بی‌شماری که این اثر عظیم برای پژوهش و تحقیق به‌دست می‌دهد مورد بحث قرار گرفته است و انطباق روش‌های عیاری با بعضی صحنه‌های شاه‌نامه یکی از فصل‌های این کتاب است که نوشتن آن به پایان آمده و اکنون در دست انتشار است و از خدا می‌خواهم که مرا در چاپ و نشر آن توفیق دهد.

\* \* \*

یکی از این گونه صحنه‌های عیاری که البته همانندهایی

\* این گفتار فصلی است از کتابی که درباره شاهنامه فردوسی نوشته شده و به صورت سخنرانی در جشن طوس عرضه گردیده است.

در این گفتار\* و در محضر دانشورانی که بدان گوش فرا می‌دارند، سخن گفتن از کیفیت عیاری و آیین عیاران و جنبه‌های مختلف کار عیاری و حقایق تاریخی مربوط به این جماعت و صحنه‌های افسانه‌ای که تحت تأثیر دلیری‌ها و فداکاری‌های ایشان صفحات داستان‌ها را آکنده و بردل‌پذیری و شیرینی آن‌ها افزوده است نه لازم است و نه مقدر و نه در حد موضوع مورد بحث.

فقط به‌طور اجمال و در چند جمله می‌توان گفت که عیاران و جوان‌مردان گروهی بوده‌اند با راه و رسم و آداب و ترتیب و آیین‌های خاص که دلیری‌های ایشان در طی تاریخ زبان‌زد خاص و عام بوده و صفحات تاریخ از شرح کارهای ناموران این جماعت، قهرمانانی مانند یعقوب لیث و حمزه پسر آذک خارجی مشحون است.

بی‌شک در کتاب‌های تاریخ، حتی در منابع قدیم و معتبر و دست‌اول عربی و فارسی از نوع طبری و مسعودی و کامل ابن‌اثیر و تاریخ سیستان و مجمل‌التواریخ و القصص و غیر آنها به حوادثی که زاده فعالیت عیاران است بسیار برمی‌خوریم لیکن در این مقام تأثیر این حوادث و انعکاس آنها در عرصه افسانه و عالم داستان‌سرایی مورد عنایت است و در این میدان وسیع نیز بیشتر یک کتاب، یعنی شاهنامه فردوسی مورد نظر است و اگر از منبع و مأخذی دیگر - احیاناً مؤخر بر حماسه استاد طوس - یاد می‌شود برای نشان دادن تأثیر شاهنامه بر آن اثر یا تأیید مطالب مندرج در شاه‌نامه است.

اگر به‌دقت در شاه‌نامه مطالعه نکنیم، یا فقط به‌دنبال

## Ayyat

للتاريخ في الجامعة الأردنية بين عامي ١٩٦٣-١٩٦٦، وكان ختام ما قام به من جليل الأعمال ما قاسم به زملاءه في الموسوعة الفلسطينية.

عاش عياد حياته كلها وفيها لمبادئه، دعا إلى تحرير الإنسان من ربكة الاستعمار والخوف والفقر والجهل، ونادى بالاشتراكية طريقاً لإنصاف المستعبدين والمظلومين، وتعني الاشتراكية عنده: «الحرية، التضامن والارتباط العفوي بين البشر، ورفض كل قهر وإرغام، والثورة والنقمة على كل ظلم واستبداد، والإنسانية والتسامح وحب السلام» مؤكداً أن الثورة شرط للإصلاح.

نذر عياد نفسه لخدمة المثل والأفكار التي آمن بها، وتحمل ما تحمل من ضروب الأذى في سبيلها. لقد كان القدوة البالغة بسلوكه قبل فكره، وبإيمانه قبل منطقته، عزف عن كل مغريات الحياة وزينتها ليظل الداعية المخلص لتعليمه ومبادئه، وخاض معاركه مشرعاً الراية أبداً حتى وافته المنية تاركاً وراءه أجيالاً وقراء يذكرون فضله وعلمه.

احمد علي كتعنا

ألف عياد وترجم وحاضر وحرر المقالات الكثيرة في الصحف والمجلات، وشارك في المؤتمرات العلمية والوطنية والسياسية. وتبدو في مؤلفاته ومقالاته آثار التدقيق والتأني، وإن المرء ليعجب لأناته وهو يتأمل خطه الجميل الأنيق الذي كان يرسمه بعناية فائقة .

اشترك عياد في تأليف سلسلة من الكتب المدرسية التاريخية، ولاسيما التاريخ القديم. ونشر بالاشتراك مع جميل صليبا «مختارات من ابن خلدون» و«حي بن يقظان» لابن طفيل و«المنقذ من الضلال» للغزالي و«المنطق وطرائق البحث العلمي». ونشر في عام ١٩٤٢ كتاب «علم الأخلاق»، وفي عام ١٩٥٨ ترجم بتكليف من منظمة اليونسكو رسالة عن «كتب التاريخ المدرسية والتفاهم الدولي». ولته: «أديب عربي وأديب سوفييتي: عمر فاخوري ومكسيم غوركي. دمشق ١٩٤٦»، و«تاريخ اليونان - الجزء الأول - دمشق ١٩٦٩». وترجم كتاب «الرأي العام» لألفريد سوفي، ونشر في دمشق سنة ١٩٦٢.

أحيل عياد على التقاعد بجامعة دمشق في ١٩٦٠/١٢/٣١، وعمل أستاذاً

١٩٣٣، وكان ميدانه الرحب فيها؛ إذ أقبل عليه واندفع بكل قواه وطاقاته يعلم طلابه، ويفتح لهم أبواب المعرفة، وينمي فيهم حب البحث والمتابعة للوصول إلى الحقيقة، وكان يؤلف لهم الكتب ويضمنها اللباب المفيد. وبيث في نفوس طلابه القيم الوطنية والأخلاقية، وينكي فيهم روح التقدم، ويحضنهم على التمسك بالمبادئ والمثل العليا لا يحدون عنها. وبادلته طلابه حبهم وتقديرهم، وكانوا يتحدثون عنه باحترام في مجالسهم ويتناقلون كلماته. ويقول شاكر الضحاح في محمد كامل عياد: «واني لأذكر كيف كنا نتدافع بالناكب، نحن طلاب البكالوريا الثانية - قسم الرياضيات، لنشارك زملاءنا قسم الفلسفة الحظوة بسماعه في قاعة الدرس والأخذ عنه، ونحس النشوة وهو يلقي دروسه في الأخلاق». وكان عياد نير الفكر، موسوعي المعرفة، منهوماً بالقراءة، يتابع كل جديد، يشارك في مختلف الأنشطة التي ترمي إلى تحرير المجتمع من قيوده، وتفسح له طريق التقدم والترقي، كانت تتملكه أبداً روح المعلم المربي، والثوري الخلاق.

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## العيارون

الحرفايش، جمع حرفيش، والعامّة تقول: حرفوش، وهو ذميم الخلق والخلق، والمقاتل المصارع، واللص الذي يجمع ذلك.

وهؤلاء من الصعاليك وأصحاب المهن المحقرة ضاقوا ذرعاً بغياب القانون فخرجوا عنه، وضاقوا ذرعاً بالفقر والبطالة فانصرفوا إلى السلب والنهب والضرب والاشتجار، يهيمنون

غيرهم من ذوي العجز والفاقة، وتعدّ في العيارين فئات أخرى لا تختلف عنهم كثيراً من حيث السلوك، كالشطار وهم اللصوص الذين يحتالون بداهتهم، والزعران، جمع أزعر، وهو الذي يتردد من غير عمل ويخلي النفس وهوها فلا يستقر به مكان، والزعارة شراسة الخلق، وقيل الأزعر: اللص الخاطف المارد، ومنهم

تعد أخبار العيارين من الحكايات الشائعة في الأدب العربي، والعيار لغة: الذي يكثر التجوال والطواف ويتردد من غير عمل، والعيارون فئة من الفقراء المعدمين الذين خرجوا عن قوانين المجتمع لما أصابهم من الظلم والعطل عن العمل، طحنهم الفقر فأغاروا على الأغنياء وسلبوهم أموالهم، وقد يدفعون ما يسلبونه إلى

1941, pp. 37-41. H. Lacoste, "L'arc de Ctésiphon ou Taq Kesra (Mesopotamie)." *Sumer* 10, 1954, pp. 3-22. T. Madhloom, "Mada'in (Ctesiphon). 1970-71," *Sumer* 27, 1971, Arabic section, pp. 129-46. Idem, "Al-Mada'in," *Sumer* 31, 1975, Arabic section, pp. 165-70. Idem, "Restorations in al-Mada'in 1975-77," *Sumer* 34, 1978, Arabic section, pp. 119-29. O. Reuther, *Die Ausgrabungen der deutschen Ktesiphon-Expedition im Winter 1928-29*, Berlin, 1930. Idem, "The German Excavations at Ctesiphon," *Antiquity* 3, 1929, pp. 424-51. Idem, "Sasanian Architecture," in *Survey of Persian Art*, pp. 493-578. A. Saleh, "Al-Mada'in and its Surrounding Area in Arabic Literary Sources," *Mesopotamia* 3-4, 1968-69, pp. 417-39. F. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet* II, Berlin, 1920. J. H. Schmidt, "L'expédition de Ctesiphon en 1931-1932," *Syria* 15, 1934, pp. 1-23.

(E. J. KEALL)

'AYYĀR, a noun meaning literally "vagabond," applied to members of medieval *fotowwa* (*fotūwa*) brotherhoods and comparable popular organizations.

i. General.

ii. 'Ayyār in Persian sources.

i. GENERAL

The history of 'ayyārs and 'ayyārī presents a paradox. On the one hand, there can be little doubt as to their pre-Islamic origin, not only because in later times they were said to have certain distinctively Iranian customs, but above all because in the Islamic period up to the Mongol invasion they were only to be found in territories which had once belonged to the Sasanian empire. On the other hand, our scanty documentation on that empire does not appear to contain anything about them. The early Islamic sources present difficulties because they combine different traditions—Arab, Iranian, urban, rural-aristocratic—under the same name.

In the pre-Islamic Arab tradition, the noun *fatā* (plur. *fetyān*), literally "young man," was applied to any individual claiming the specific qualities of youth (*fotowwa*). The latter noun also acquired the collective meaning of a group of such individuals, though this usage is not attested before the 2nd/8th century. The qualities were essentially courage, generosity, and chivalry. In the Iranian aristocratic tradition, the noun *javānmard*, also literally "young man," or its Arabic equivalent *fatā* meant a sort of knight-errant, in whom similar qualities were expected. The urban brotherhoods were evidently influenced by these ideas and words, but to what extent we do not know; in any case they were different in their recruitment, corporate organization, and confinement to towns.

Comprehension of the urban *fotowwa* movement is hampered by the fact that the sources are of two different kinds. As will be seen, the *fotowwa* brotherhoods at a certain stage of their development began to

absorb ideas of mystic origin, and this trend found expression in writings which prompted a long-held belief among modern scholars that the movement was essentially ideological. Although F. Taeschner, who collected almost all our documentation, and L. Massignon, who set Islamic socio-religious problems in the context of his personal understanding, did not ignore certain aspects of recruitment conducive to this ideology, neither could really explain the position of the *fotowwa* brotherhoods in the social contexts of their times. Research faces the difficulty that for the early Islamic period we possess no texts emanating from *fotowwa* circles, and that for later times we possess little except ideologically slanted writings. Our only information about social aspects of the *fotowwa* movement in early Islamic times comes in works by authors connected with aristocratic circles, who take no interest in it except in cases of its involvement in disorders, when they describe it as a bandit organization; they never credit it with ideological motives. Nevertheless it seems possible, if clear questions are asked, to extract sufficient evidence from the sources to permit the piecing together of an interesting social record.

The picture is one of groups of young men (*fetyān*) aspiring towards a better life. Although the members were not required to quit after growing older and acquiring wives and children, they were for the most part bachelors, which led their adversaries to accuse them of homosexuality. They lived more or less together, ate together, and held joint entertainments. In short they were "comrades," bound by a strong sense of group loyalty (*ʿaṣabiya*), who saw themselves as "smarter" than other men and apparently had demanding notions of personal and group honor. Although it appears (contrary to some opinions) that they did not admit non-Moslems, who may have had similar groups of their own, religious belief was clearly not the main bond. The evidence shows only that particular groups were associated with different persuasions. The *fetyān* have often been portrayed as artisans or proletarians, but it should be borne in mind that *fotowwa* groups were not organized on a craft basis before late medieval times, and then only in the Turco-Iranian lands; also that the *fetyān*, while clearly for the most part of humble origin, included and would increasingly include influential notables, who found membership useful in building up clientèle for furtherance of their ambitions.

In historical chronicles and other writings, the *fetyān* generally appear as trouble-makers, ready in times of breakdown of authority to harass rich merchants and other worthies by pillaging or threatening to pillage the shops or premises of any who would not pay them fixed sums of protection-money. Being subject to police surveillance even in undisturbed times, the *fetyān* pressed for appointments of police chiefs sympathetic to them and even applied for enrollment in the police, which would assure them of regular pay as well as impunity. At Baghdad they achieved these goals for a short time in the 5th/11th century, but never did so in the subsequent period of Turkish rule when urban

- Ayyam (Firm)

"of its inner workings and organization, we know at present very little" [p. 25]); and a learned disquisition on the structure of the charters. This last provides an essential framework for an intelligent reading of the documents themselves. The authors wisely encase the term "feudal" in deflecting quotation marks: in this and other matters of speculation they go only as far as their sources allow.

The second section of the book comprises the translations themselves. These are divided into several parts, according to the concepts of land rights they illustrate. We are given examples of estates granted to holy men in return for their spiritual services, and as part of a policy to settle such men in the vicinity of the royal capital. The grant to high officials of rights over entire communities and over small groups of people is illustrated. Legal decisions of some complexity indicate the reasons for the extremely precise definition of rights and boundaries in the charters. The presentation of estates as royal dowries is illustrated, as is the granting of land to merchants at Kobbei and its vicinity. The translations are supplemented by careful notes and give what may be a surprising insight into the complexity of land tenure systems in the sultanate and into the sophistication of the methods evolved to deal with this.

A third section of the book provides a short bibliography, the notes, and four indices that also serve as glossaries: to titles and honorifics, administrative and legal terms, botanical and topographical terms, and personal and place-names. As glossaries alone, the first three are of much interest and utility, occasionally even including brief bibliographical notes under the indexed terms.

*Land in Dār Fūr* is published in the *Fontes Historiae Africanae* Series. The publisher, Cambridge University Press, is to be congratulated for a book that entailed much careful and detailed work to produce in such an attractive form. The authors and translators themselves have performed a dual service: in presenting these translations and accompanying material they have helped to explain a difficult subject and, more fundamentally, given a signal reminder of the vast scope for research in the Arabic documentary sources for the history of Saharan and sub-Saharan Africa.

University of Durham

M. W. DALY

SIMBA SABARI, *Mouvements populaires à Bagdad à l'époque 'abbāsīde, IX<sup>e</sup>-XI<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris: Mouton, 1981). Pp. 164.

One of the most critical periods of medieval Islamic history was the time of the gradual, but ineluctable decline of the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate: that is, the time of the disintegration of the Islamic universal state, which began during the third/ninth century and which was accompanied by major political, military and socioeconomic changes. One clear expression of these events was the formation and development of "popular movements" in the Near East, specifically in the cities of the Syrian, Iraqi, and Iranian provinces.

The present study deals with such popular movements in Baghdad from the beginning of the third/ninth until the end of the fifth/eleventh century. As the political, economic, and cultural metropolis of the 'Abbāsīd empire, Baghdad was most strongly and directly affected by the all-embracing and radical changes produced by the disintegration of the Islamic empire: this seems to explain why most popular movements took place in Baghdad, partly as a reaction to these changes. In any case, the Arabic sources do not report on popular uprisings in any other city with the same frequency and detail as in the case of Baghdad.

Although some of the basic studies regarding both the general development of 'Abbāsīd Baghdad and the popular movements in this city already exist—one must mention first of all the work of Jacob Lassner and Claude Cahen (who was also the supervisor of the present work, a doctoral thesis of 1972)—the author tries to reexplore to the utmost contemporary sources, mainly Arabic chronicles, and to reevaluate all relevant information. By limiting his study to popular movements in Baghdad, the author does indeed succeed in contributing to a better knowledge and understanding of the political and social development of the 'Abbāsīd capital. Nevertheless, in this reviewer's opinion, there should have been at least a few remarks made concerning the existence of popular movements in other parts of the Islamic world (particularly the *ahdāth* movements in Syria) which took place at about the same time, but were in many respects quite different in character. [See Claude Cahen, "Mouvements populaires et autonomisme urbain dans l'Asie musulmane du Moyen Âge I," *Arabica*, 5 (1958), pp. 225-50; Gerhard Hoffmann, *Kommune oder Staatsbürokratie?* (Berlin, GDR, 1975); Axel Havemann, *Ri'āsa und qadā'* (Freiburg, 1975)].

The book opens with a statement of the problem to be investigated, and an assessment of the primary sources. Sabari starts with the hypothesis that there existed three types of popular movements (those of the 'āmma, the *ayyārūn* and the Hanbalīs) which were not isolated and momentary, but represented different expressions of popular discontent. In the author's view, although each movement had its specific features, viewed together, they all show common aspects and can be considered as variants of one great popular movement. The aim of the study is to display, in spite of all differences in detail, the homogeneity and unity of purpose of the various popular movements in Baghdad between the third/ninth and fifth/eleventh centuries.

The body of the work is divided into four chapters and a conclusion. The first chapter (pp. 7-55) deals with the social and political situation in Baghdad during this period, describing the city's topography, the social structure of its population, the role of handicraft and commerce, the general economic conditions, and finally, the transformation of the political (and, consequently, social and economic) power bases by militarization, that is, the taking-over and exercising of de facto rule by non-Arab military regimes, the Iranian Būyids (334/945-447/1055) and the Turkish Seljūqs (from 447/1055 onwards). This chapter serves as a background for an understanding of the popular movements which are discussed in the remainder of the book.

In the second chapter (pp. 57-75), the author examines common people (*al-'āmma*) as the originators of uprisings, and scrutinizes the social composition, the methods, the claims, and the antagonists of the 'āmma movement. Having marshalled the chronology of events—which is itself a valuable aid to work in the field—the author goes on to analyse and interpret the historical data, observing a rather scholarly caution in drawing conclusions from such deficient materials. (The same can be said for the following chapters of this study.) Sabari comes to the conclusion that while some of the 'āmma-led rebellions had a political-cum-religious character—which can be seen, for instance, in the practice of putting in their claims in the mosques during the Friday prayer and by interrupting the *khuṭba*—other 'āmma-led movements had their origin in economic problems (price increases, famines). In principle, discontent was articulated in a purely defensive way, as a reaction to certain grievances, but often the 'āmma and military functionaries of the government were engaged in violent clashes with each other. In some cases, the common people were supported by members of higher social classes, such as wholesale dealers and 'ulamā', but this never happened during purely economic uprisings because richer people, anxious about losing their social status and wealth, preferred "peaceful



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6058. 'Abd-al-Mawlā, Muḥammad Aḥmad: Al- 'Ayyārūn wa's-ṣuṭṭār al-baḡādida fi 't-tārīḥ al-'abbāsī / Muḥammad Aḥmad 'Abd-al-Mawlā. - Al-Iskandariya : Mu'assasat Sa-bāb al-Gāmi'a, 1986. - 188 S.  
Inhalt: Zur Sozialgeschichte der Abbasidenzeit. - In arab. Schrift, arab. 7 E 6814

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17 MART 1992

AYYAR

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Bestell-Nr.: 28 A 5496

AYYAR

Gaillard, Marina: Le livre de Samak-e 'Ayyār : structure et idéologie du roman persan médiéval Paris : Klincksieck, 1987. - 181 S. (Travaux de l'Institut d'Études Iranienne de l'Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle ; 12) Literaturverz. S. 173 - 176 NB: Institut d'Études Iranienne <Paris>: Travaux de l'Institut d'Études Iranienne de l'Université de Paris

29 TEMMUZ 1992

AYYAR

09-933449 1992 AGUSTOS 1992

Muntakhab al-Sādāt Yaghmā'i, 1862 or 3-1931 or 2. Namānah-i fathnūmah-i nūyabi ; faṣṣiḥ az tārikh-i taḥrif'ahudāh-i 'Ayyārī va ṭughyān / aḡar-i ṭab'ī Muntakhab al-Sādāt Yaghmā'i ; bā muqaddamah va taḥṣīḥ-i Malik al-Muvarrikhīn Sīpīhr ; ba ihtimāw va taẓīhāt-i 'Alī Dihbāshī. — Chāp-i 2. — Tīhrān : Intishārāt-i Ispārk, 1989. 194, [11] p. : ill., facsim., ports. ; 25 cm. In Persian; romanized record. Title on added t.p.: The epic of Far'ah-nāme-ye nūyabi : a chapter of the perverted history of Ayyarism and revolt. Reprint of 1918 or 19 edition. 1800.001R (\$16.98 U.S.) For requesting libraries only. (Verified account of the Iranian revolution, late 19th century)

913. GAILLARD, Marina. *Le livre de Samak-e 'Ayyār*. Structure et idéologie du roman persan médiéval. Paris, 1987, 181 p. (Travaux de l'Institut d'Études Iranienne de l'Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle, 12).

Étude d'ensemble du livre de *Samak-e 'Ayyār* (éd. P. N. Xānlari, 5 vol.). M. G. part de l'idéologie qui sous-tend cet ouvrage et de l'étude formelle de celui-ci, mais aborde aussi l'analyse des personnages et de leurs rôles, des lieux communs et des croyances représentés dans le texte, le problème de l'origine et de la destination de ce récit. Après avoir défini les notions de *mardi*, *javānmardi* et *'ayyārī*, auxquelles on se réfère toujours dans le roman, M. G. s'attache à l'étude du récit. Le *Samak-e 'Ayyār* se présente comme une succession d'histoires et d'épisodes qui découlent les uns des autres : à la rupture de l'ordre initial succèdent des remises en ordre partielles d'où naissent des aventures nouvelles, selon les "lois pérennes qui tiennent toujours en haleine le consommateur de feuilletons" (p. 88). Cette structure "modulaire" démarque le *Samak-e 'Ayyār* "des récits à cadre bien connus, dans lesquels s'insèrent des histoires indépendantes les unes des autres, tels le *Sendbād-nāme* ou le *Baxtyār-nāme*, ainsi que des récits composés d'une succession de contes, tels *Kalile va Demne* ou le *Marzebān-nāme* (p. 169). À remarquer les observations de M. G. qui accréditent une origine orale du récit et sa destination à un auditoire populaire. Quand et pourquoi ce récit aurait-il été mis par écrit? La réponse doit être cherchée dans le message convoyé par le texte : l'apologie des

notions de *mardi* et de *'ayyārī*; et dans le fait que "les *'ayyārān* présentés ici s'engagent sur la voie complexe et exigeante de *javānmardi*" (p. 48). Un tel message ne devait pas déplaire aux gouvernants qui, entre le XII<sup>e</sup> et le XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, s'ouvraient aux valeurs de la *futuwwa/javānmardi*. On souhaite que des études de ce type soient conduites pour d'autres textes, afin de reconnaître, avec des méthodes modernes, les genres de la littérature persane. A. M. P.

AYYAR - FUTUWWAT

900. CAHEN, Cl. et HANAWAY, W. L. Jr. "Ayyār". *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, ed. E. Yarshater, vol. 3, fasc. 2 (1987) pp. 159-163.

Condensant et réorganisant son article "Futuwwa" de l'*E.I.*, Cl. Cahen reprend, dans la première partie de cet article, l'histoire des *'ayyār* dans le monde musulman : leur origine pré-islamique, la tradition arabe (*fatā*), la tradition persane "aristocratique" (*javānmardi*), les confraternités urbaines de la *fotovvat*. Il y discute notamment les différentes approches qui ont été faites de ce phénomène, relativement à la diversité de nature des textes qui s'y rapportent. Après un tableau général du mode de vie spécifique à ces jeunes gens, il retrace l'évolution de la composition sociale de leurs groupements à travers les siècles et sa répercussion dans la littérature qui leur est propre.

Dans la seconde partie, W. L. Hanaway Jr. centre son étude du mouvement sur l'Iran et en éclaire la compréhension à travers les sources persanes. Il y expose de manière évidente le rapport entre la valeur attribuée dans les textes au terme *'ayyār* — tantôt péjorative, tantôt ambivalente, ou tout à fait positive — et le genre des œuvres dans lesquelles il est employé, ainsi qu'avec la position sociale de leurs auteurs. La variété des citations permet de bien saisir à la fois la complexité de ce phénomène, aux aspects contradictoires renforcés par la disparité des textes, et son caractère familier jusque chez les auteurs les plus célèbres. L'un des principaux intérêts de l'article, enfin, est la place faite à ces sources essentielles, et riches en détails d'ordre tant pratique qu'idéologique, que sont les romans populaires de la période pré-safavide, où *'ayyārī* et *javānmardi* sont donnés comme des termes équivalents. Sous cet aspect particulier, et compte tenu également de la bibliographie fournie, il s'agit là d'un complément indispensable à l'article bien connu de Cl. Cahen et Fr. Taeschner dans l'*E.I.* M. Gd.

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294. MAHJUB, M. J. «Raveš-hā-ye 'ayyārī va nofuz-e kār-o kerdār-e 'ayyārān dar *Šāhnāme*». *Šāhnāme-ye Ferdowsi va šokuh-e pahlavāni*, Madā'eni M., éd., Téhéran, 1357, pp. 201-232. AYYAR VA SEHNAMÉ

L'A., spécialiste des études sur les *'Ayyārān* (combattants réunis en confréries), pense reconnaître, dans le *Livre des Rois*, quelques-uns de leurs comportements typiques : déguisement en marchand pour s'introduire chez l'ennemi (exemples bien connus de Rostam, Esfandiyār, Ardašīr, Eskandar), port du poignard dans la tige de la botte, usage de produits hypnotisants (pp. 219-226, note débordant le cadre du *Livre des Rois* sur ce sujet), voyages incognito. Dans le *Livre des Rois*, ce sont des agissements de chevaliers; Ferdowsi ne parle qu'une fois de *'ayyār*, dans un sens péjoratif. C. F.

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09 KASIM 1993

۳۶۸۶ الهامی، داود. "گروه عظیم عیاران". مکتب اسلام، سال ۲۷، ش ۱ (خرداد ۱۳۶۶). ص: ۲۷-۴۳. AYYAR

308. SALIM, 'A. A. «Sowgand dar *Šāhnāme* va moqāyese-ye ān bā sowgand dar dāstān-e *Samak-e 'ayyār*». *Šāhnāme-ye Ferdowsi va šokuh-e pahlavāni*, Madā'eni, M., éd., Téhéran, 1357, pp. 149-163. SEHNAMÉ - AYYAR

*Sowgand*, on le sait, désigne d'abord l'ordalie et la boisson prise pour cette épreuve. Le *Livre des Rois* ne connaît que deux cas d'ordalie, par le feu (*Siyāvouš*) et par l'eau (*Keyxosrow*). Autrement, *sowgand* désigne le serment. L'A. analyse la notion de serment dans le *Livre des Rois* et *Samak-e 'ayyār*; ce dernier est choisi à cause de ses références au milieu des *'Ayyārān*, groupes fondés sur un code d'honneur. Étude sur les personnes et les autres entités invoquées pour le serment; les motifs des serments; les serments écrits; les obligations du serment. C. F.

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MARINA GAILLARD

(« MONDES IRANIEN ET INDIEN », IVRY-SUR-SEINE)

## HÉROÏNES D'EXCEPTION : LES FEMMES 'AYYĀR DANS LA PROSE ROMANESQUE DE L'IRAN MÉDIÉVAL \*

### RÉSUMÉ

Les femmes 'ayyār sont des personnages d'exception dans tous les sens du terme : moins nombreuses que leurs homologues masculins, elles sont, pour certaines, remarquables tant par l'ampleur de leur rôle que par l'excellence dont elles témoignent dans l'exercice de 'ayyāri. Après un aperçu du rôle narratif des grandes héroïnes mises en scène par deux célèbres récits en prose (*Samak-e 'Ayyār*, Farāmarz b. Xodādād al-Arrajāni, ca. VI<sup>e</sup>/XII<sup>e</sup> s. ; *Abu Moslem Nāme*, Abu Ṭāher Ṭarṭusi, V<sup>e</sup>/XI<sup>e</sup>-VI<sup>e</sup>/XII<sup>e</sup> s.), on observera les rares passages où celles-ci s'expriment sur leur situation ainsi que la façon dont les hommes les considèrent, dans leur camp ou chez l'ennemi. Qu'elles veuillent échapper au mariage ou qu'elles aient épousé des 'ayyār de profession, elles font preuve d'une grande indépendance, mais mise à part leur activité, elles ne troublent pas l'ordre social. Est-ce un hasard si ces femmes à la forte personnalité, aspirant à un mode de vie peu conformiste, se sont tournées vers le milieu 'ayyār où elles semblent bien admises ?

*Mots clés*: littérature persane médiévale ; romans en prose ; femmes 'ayyār ; *Samak-e 'Ayyār* (Farāmarz b. Xodādād al-Arrajāni) ; *Abu Moslem Nāme* (Abu Ṭāher Ṭarṭusi).

IRCICA Ktp.

### SUMMARY

'Ayyār women are in all respects exceptional characters: although less numerous than their male counterparts, some of them play remarkably important roles and also practise 'ayyāri with the utmost excellency. The article first surveys the narrative role of great heroines appearing in two famous prose narratives (*Samak-e 'Ayyār*, Farāmarz b. Xodādād al-Arrajāni, ca. 6th/12th c.; *Abu Moslem Nāme*, Abu Ṭāher Ṭarṭusi, 5th/11th-6th/12th c.). Then it examines the few passages in which these women talk about their situation, and analyses how men consider them in both their and the enemy camps. Whether they want to avoid marriage or marry a professional 'ayyār, they show great independence, but apart from their 'ayyār activity they do not disturb the social order. Is it by chance that these strong-charactered women, longing for a non-conformist way of life, have turned to the 'ayyār milieu where they seem to be well received?

*Keywords*: Persian mediaeval literature; prose narratives; 'ayyār women; *Samak-e 'Ayyār* (Farāmarz b. Xodādād al-Arrajāni); *Abu Moslem Nāme* (Abu Ṭāher Ṭarṭusi).

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border of Armenia, before breaking through the Taurus. As for the Tigris, its two branches rise in the Taurus; the easterly, however, is in a southward-travelling sector of the range that lies on the east side of the upper Tigris basin (the east half of the later was nevertheless, as Aijnik', part of Armenia on the Late Classical definition). Finally, the Aras flows northward down from Bingöl Dağ into the plain of Basean/Pasinler (east of Erzurum) and through a winding valley into the Julfa-Nakchivan plain.

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THOMAS SINCLAIR

#### 'Ayyār

'Ayyār (Ar. pl. 'ayyārūn; Pers. pl. 'ayyārān) is a term used historically to refer to a member of the paramilitary chivalric bands that constituted an important element in pre-modern Islamic society, primarily in the pre-Mongol Middle East (the Mashriq) and the eastern Iranian lands.

'Ayyār literally means "errant," derived from the Arabic root 'y-r, "to journey; to wander hither and thither." Because religious fervour formed part of the ideal of Islamic chivalry (Naraghi, 68-9), it is perhaps unsurprising that the 'ayyārūn made their first appearance in the early third/ninth century, during the reign of the 'Abāssid caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (r. 170-93/786-809), as brotherhoods of Sunnī volunteer warriors for the faith (*muṭṭawwi'a*), battling infidels and Khārījī heretics in the eastern Iranian province of Sīstān (Anon., *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, 151). Shortly thereafter they played a role in the Fourth Fitna, the civil war between Hārūn's sons, the caliph al-Amīn (r. 193-8/809-13) and his brother al-Ma'mūn (r. 198-218/813-833), fighting during the siege of Baghdad in 196-8/812-3 on the side of the caliph (al-Ṭabarī, 3:881).

'Ayyārs also played a major part in the political dissolution of the caliphate and the establishment of autonomous dynasties in the central Islamic lands: Ya'qūb b. al-Layth al-Šaffār (r. 247-65/861-79), the founder of the first such dynasty, permanently ended caliphal rule in all the lands east of Iraq. Similarly, the founder and other important members of the Sāmānid dynasty (r. 204-395/819-1005), as well as the founder of the Ghaznavid dynasty (r. 366-582/977-1186), are also reported to have been numbered among the 'ayyārs of the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries (Qazvīnī, 376-7, 380; Jārbādhqānī, 20). The 'ayyārs also formed an important component of the Sāmānid army (Ibn al-Zubayr, 145-8).

*Futuwwa* (Pers. *javānmardī*), or Islamic chivalry, as practised by the 'ayyārs, involved, apart from the religious fervour noted above, adherence to a code of noble conduct. Contemporaneous descriptions