

01 Mayıs 2018

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

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; Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad, Imām

Out of these three terms the second and third are used in present-day Arab media and politics quite often – or possibly most of the time – in the European sense, making full use of the demagogy implied in the terms: ‘the will of the people’ or ‘the national agenda’. The last word, *qawm* was the basis of the modern Arab word for ‘nationalism’: *qawmiyya* which – needless to say – entered the Arabic language from European thinking along with the concept that it denotes. However, the original meaning of the words is very different from the way they are used these days: originally they were connected with the tribal structures and their typical Middle Eastern form, the segmented lineage system.

Out of the three the most important one is *qabīla*, the exploration of which will help us understand the original semantics of the other two as well. We will not go into detail here about the structure and logic of the segmented lineage system as a reasonably exhaustive description has been given in *ʿasabiyya*. As explained there, the different levels of a segmented society always behave - or choose not to behave - as a unit depending on a specific situation, usually some kind of conflict; just which segments of the tribe choose to cooperate at any given moment depends on the political and military situation. So there are no absolute and permanent tribal units, and this is reflected in the language. In principle the meaning of *qabīla* is ‘tribe’, which refers to a specific level of segmentedness, but in reality the word is used for several different levels of tribal segments; its meaning of the moment depends on the situation. The same is true for the other Arabic words used for tribal segments, one of which is *shaʿb*, currently meaning ‘the people’. The terminology is hopelessly confused: there are several different words used for different levels of segments, which are practically interchangeable and inasmuch as they are not, there are only very small differences in their shades of meaning. What is beyond doubt is that the Bedouin have never had a precisely defined terminology with specific words allocated to the different levels of tribal segmentation. Instead there is a whole host of words, including *qabīla* and, in the past *shaʿb* as well, whose meaning has changed from one tribe to another and even within one tribe its meaning depends on the specific situation. Often these words are, effectively, used as each other’s synonyms. The best known and most frequent ones, in addition to *qabīla*, are *ʿashīra*, *bayt* (‘house’), *baṭn* (‘belly’), *fakhidh* (‘thigh’) and *hamūla*¹. Another important factor is the frequently encountered phenomenon of ri-

1 For more detail see Zoltán Szombathy: *The Roots of Arabic Genealogy; A Study in Historical Anthropology*, Piliscsaba (The Avicenna Institute of Middle Eastern Studies),

K1. KABALES (voir Bakales, EB IX, B17)

K2. KABOUDIA (voir Caput Vada, EB XII)

« KABYLIE »

La Kabylie, principale région berbérophone d'Algérie, occupe une place très particulière dans l'ensemble du monde berbère contemporain; cette situation justifie une attention particulière, avec un dossier considérable qui rassemble 18 notices – et qui bien sûr est loin d'être exhaustif! Le poids démographique de la Kabylie, son rôle dans l'histoire récente de l'Algérie, l'importance et le dynamisme de ses élites de tous types, son rôle décisif dans l'émergence de la conscience et de la revendication berbères contemporaines en font, à tous égards, une région phare du monde berbère. Les évolutions actuelles et à venir de la Kabylie seront sans aucun doute déterminantes pour l'avenir et la survie même de l'identité berbère, bien au-delà des frontières de l'Algérie.

On s'est attaché à présenter dans ce dossier les aspects les plus structurants, sur la longue durée, de la société kabyle et de son histoire; ceux qui permettent de rendre compte de ses évolutions récentes, en évitant cependant les pièges d'une actualité chaude, aux développements et à la signification incertains. La Kabylie, à l'évidence, est porteuse d'avenirs multiples.

La plupart des contributions étant conséquentes, elles ont été organisées en notices indépendantes, pour éviter une notice « Kabylie » énorme, subdivisée en de trop nombreuses rubriques et sous-rubriques.

EB

K3. KABYLIE: GÉOGRAPHIE

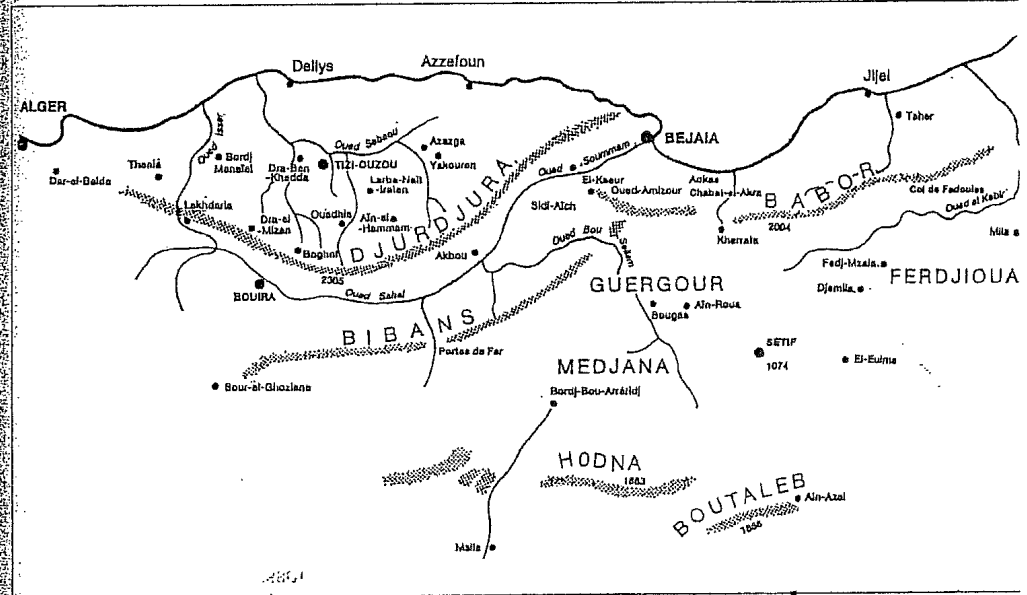
110037 Kabile
M. DAHMANI

La (ou les) Kabylie(s) forment un segment du système montagneux de l'Atlas tellien du Nord-Est de l'Algérie. C'est un véritable isolat géographique et physique, semblable à une oasis dans le désert; – ne l'appelle-t-on pas la « Suisse africaine » ou « l'Auvergne africaine » ?

Les géographes ont l'habitude de distinguer plusieurs « Kabylies » : Grande-Kabylie, Petite Kabylie et Kabylie de Collo ou numidique. Elles sont toutes « comprimées » entre quatre grands espaces naturels : la Méditerranée au Nord, les Hauts Plateaux au Sud, l'Algérois à l'Ouest et le Constantinois à l'Est. Elles correspondent au Tell de l'Algérie orientale, soit 13 000 km² (0,6 % du territoire de l'Algérie).

Cette chaîne de montagnes berbérophones se subdivise, d'Ouest en Est, en quatre massifs : la Kabylie du Djurdjura à l'Est d'Alger; la Kabylie des Babors sur la rive droite de la Soummam; la Kabylie des Bibans à l'Est de l'Oued Sahel; la Kabylie de Collo ou numidique à l'Ouest de Annaba et au Nord du Constantinois.

Les Kabylies constituent une région naturelle homogène par ses traits physiques (90 % de relief montagneux), son climat (plus de 1 000 mm par an de pluviométrie), sa couverture végétale (60 % de forêts et maquis), son peuplement (densité supérieure à 250 habitants au km²), son habitat, sa langue (berbère), son



La Kabylie : géographie physique.
Principaux centres urbains.

histoire récente (ex-wilaya III de l'ALN-FLN), ses sols et sous sols, son économie trop pauvre pour fixer sur place et nourrir des millions d'habitants, son degré élevé de sismicité.

Par simplification, les géographes les désignent aussi par deux autres vocables : « Kabylie occidentale » et « Kabylie orientale ». La première englobe la Kabylie du Djurdjura ainsi que la Basse-Kabylie, espace géographique situé entre la plaine de la Mitidja à l'Ouest et le massif du Djurdjura à l'Est. La seconde, qualifiée de Petite-Kabylie est composée de la vallée de la Soummam-Sahel, des Babors, des Bibans et du massif numidique.

La Grande-Kabylie (5 000 km²) est délimitée au Nord par la mer Méditerranée (100 km de littoral desservi par la RN24, comptant trois petites agglomérations portuaires : Dellys, Tizirt et Azzefoun), à l'Ouest par la dépression formée par l'oued Sahel, et au Sud/Sud-Est par la chaîne du Djurdjura, en arc de 60 km de longueur environ, culminant à 2 308 m, au sommet de Lalla Khedidja. La « capitale » régionale étant Tizi-Ouzou.

Entre le Djurdjura (traversé par six cols) et la Méditerranée, l'espace est divisé en plusieurs zones naturelles : le massif littoral, la dépression du Sébaou (*asif n Eemraoua, asif n Sabaw*) longé par la RN12, le massif central traversé par plusieurs oueds et axes routiers longitudinaux, la dépression de Draa El Mizan, longée par la RN30.

La Petite-Kabylie (5 000 km²) est divisée en quatre zones géographiques homogènes :

- La dépression centrale formée par la vallée Sahel-Soummam, longée par la RN 26, reliant la ville portuaire de Bejaia ou *Bgayet* (l'ancienne capitale des Hammadites) à Bouira (*Tubiret*), porte des Hautes-Plaines orientales;

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وكتب في نهايته ما يلي :
« وقد طبع الكتاب في مدينة السلام ببغداد في أواخر شهر رمضان المبارك من سنة 1280 هـ = 1863 م
(2) ذكر جرجي زيدان ان السويدي استفاد في مؤلفه هذا من كتاب نهاية الأرب في معرفة قبائل العرب للقلشندي كما أيد سنة طبع الكتاب وهي سنة 1280 هـ - تاريخ آداب اللغة العربية ج 3 ص 120 .

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[4° 03 ج. 938 (22)]

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8°604

05 MAYIS 1985

القبيلة والدولة والمجتمع

I

فج القبيلة والبداءة

تقوم علاقة وثيقة بين القبيلة والبداءة من جهة والاجتماع السياسي العربي والتاريخ العربي الإسلامي من جهة أخرى. أهم أسباب هذه العلاقة أن الصحراء⁽¹⁾ تشكل جزءاً كبيراً من مساحة الوطن العربي الذي يقع في منطقة جافة من العالم وتقتصر الزراعة فيه على الشريط الساحلي حيث الاعتماد على مياه الأمطار للزراعة البعلية؛ أما بقية الأراضي الزراعية في الداخل فهي تعتمد على الري وذلك في أحواض الأنهار وفي الواحات⁽²⁾.

(1) د. محمد عبده محجوب: مقدمة لدراسة المجتمعات البدوية، (منهج وتطبيق)، وكالة المطبوعات، الكويت، دون تاريخ (المقدمة مؤرخة عام 1984)، ص 30؛ يقول: «... إن الصحراء وهي تشغل على العموم ثلث مساحة العالم، تصل إلى 96,5% من مساحة مصر، وتغطي 40% من مساحة العراق، كما تشغل الصحراء وشبه الصحراء ثلث المساحة الكلية لسوريا، بينما تغطي منطقة الحماد الشديدة الجذب والقحولة التي تستحيل زراعتها لندرة المطر وعدم وجود مياه جوفية بها حوالي 20% من الأرض التي تعيش فيها القبائل البدوية وشبه البدوية هناك؛ أما في ليبيا فتقدر الأرض التي يمكن استغلالها زراعياً بطريقة اقتصادية معقولة بما لا يزيد على 5% إلى 10% من المساحة الكلية؛ والجانب الأكبر من المسلكة العربية السعودية صحراء قاحلة تماماً، وفي هذا وحده ما يبرز أهمية الدراسات السوسيوثقوبولوجية في المجتمعات البدوية التي تعيش في تلك المناطق الصحراوية وشبه الصحراوية».

(2) كولبرت هلد، Middle East Patterns: Place, Peoples, and Politics، وستيفو برس، 1989. انظر أيضاً؛ صالح أحمد العلي، التنظيمات... في البصرة في القرن الأول الهجري، =



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KUR'AN-I KERİM'DE SOSYAL GRUPLAR

Ümmet
- Millet
Kabile

Zülfikar Durmuş*

ÖZET

Kur'ân-ı Kerîm, sosyoloji ilmi açısından bahsedilen tabîî ve idealist sosyal gruplardan bahsetmekte, fakat insanları idealist gruplara yöneltmektedir. Bu doğrultuda onlara rehberlik etmektedir.

Bu makalede, Kur'ân'da yer alan sosyal gruplardan; ümmet, millet, karn, ehil, kabile, aşiret ve ashâb gibi belli başlıcaları sosyolojinin tiplerine aktarılmaksızın veya onlarla mukayese edilmeksizin niceliksel olarak büyükten küçüğe doğru irdelenmektedir.

Kur'ân'ın toplumun kabilelere ve şubelere ayrılmasının "teârûf" için olduğunu özellikle vurgulaması, toplumun benzer yönleri ve taraflarının yanında farklı yönlerinin ve taraflarının da bulunduğunu göstermektedir. Değer unsuru olarak kabile veya bir kabileye mensubiyet değil, inanç ve takva esas alınmakta, kabile realitesi tanınmakla birlikte kavmiyet ve kabilecilik anlayışı reddedilmektedir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Sosyal grup, ümmet, millet, kabile, "teârûf".

ABSTRACT

The Holy Qur'an mentions both natural and idealistic social groups which are discussed in sociological view, but directs human being to idealistic groups. It guides them through this direction.

In this article, the social groups taking place in the Qur'an are investigated according to just their quantity, from bigger to smaller, not investigated by transferring (transmitting) to known sociological types like religious community (ümmet); nation, generation (karn), people (ehil), tribe (kabile), kindred (aşiret), companions (ashab), or by comparison with them.

The Qur'an especially emphasizes that the reason for distinction of societies into tribes and branches is to get acquainted with each other and underlines the fact that there are not only common and similar aspects and sides but also different sides. Accepting a tribe or an attribution as worth element (component) is rejected and belief and thought of responsibility to Allah are accepted as degree of worthiness. Nonetheless, tribe is acknowledged as a reality.

Keywords: social group, religious community, nation, tribe, acquainted with.

GİRİŞ

İnsanın bir anne babadan yaratıldığını, daha sonra şubelere ve kabilelere ayrıldığını açıklayan Kur'ân, insanın pek çok kimliğe sahip olduğunu çeşitli vesilelerle ifade etmektedir. İnsan, sosyo-kültürel, sosyo-politik, sosyo-ekonomik ve etnik sebeplerle bazı değerleri veya insana ait bazı kimlikleri öncelemek suretiyle kendini tanımlama ve diğer varlıklardan farklılığını ortaya koyma ihtiyacını hissetmektedir.

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MAKALE TAYINLANDIKTAN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

02 AĞU 2008

Hay (AKM)

noted here that the world of "material forms" (*ṣuwar māddiyya*, a common expression) is not confined to the corporeal world. Primary matter, *hayūlā*, can receive forms other than corporeal (*Ishārāt*, 98). Ibn Sīnā appears here to allude to the world of Celestial Souls, showing also, perhaps, some influence of the Shī'ī "spiritual matter". The world of Separate Intellects, however, is usually represented as free from all matter.

In the famous *Risāla fi 'l-ʿiṣhāq* (ed. Mehren, Leyden 1894, 57), it is the term *hayūlā* that denotes the first of the three simple Selfhoods that have no existence of themselves: matter, form, accident. They too are pervaded by the impulse of *ʿiṣhāq*, of "desire"; it is with an "innate" (*gharizī*) desire, we might say "an ontological desire", that matter desires form, without which it does not exist, and form desires matter, as its substratum. We find here again the positive desire for form that we have already found in Ismāʿīlī systems.

Many other references to the *falāsifa* could be given. We should note in Ibn Sīnā (an Aristotelian line of thought, influenced by Alexander of Aphrodisias?) the idea of a "material intellect", *al-ʿaql al-hayūlānī*, conceived of as pure potentiality vis-à-vis all knowledge, and so called because "of its resemblance to primary matter, which by itself possesses no form, while being the subject for all existing forms" (*Nadjiāt*, 165). The expression is not found in al-Kindī, or in the *Maʿānī al-ʿaql* of al-Fārābī. We find it again in Ibn Rushd.

5. To represent the idea of "matter", *ʿilm al-kalām* normally uses *mādda*. *Hayūlā*, however, occurs many times in the Ashʿarīs and the later Māturīdīs, who summarize and refute *falsafa*. From them the term passes into the normal philosophical vocabulary. Of very many examples which could be given, here are three. Al-Dīwānī (*Irshād*, ed. and trans. Luciani, Paris 1938, 1332) introduces *hayūlā* in connexion with the (refuted) thesis of the *mulhida* ("heterodox"). He says that they call substances (*djawāhir*) "*hayūlā*" or "*mādda*", and accidents "form" (*ṣūra*). The ideas in questions are represented better by the "modern" Ashʿarīs. In his *Muḥaṣṣal* (Cairo n.d., 83), Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī gives a clear summary of the thought of Ibn Sīnā; bodies are composed of matter and form (*hayūlā* and *ṣūra*); *hayūlā* is the receptacle of form. Finally, in his *Taʿrifāt* (ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1845, 279), al-Djurdjānī defines *hayūlā* as "a Greek word" denoting "foundation" (*asīl*) and "matter" (*mādda*). He says that the "technical sense" is "substance" (*djawhar*) which, in a body, is in a state of receptivity to everything that happens to the body; *hayūlā* is the "receptacle of corporeal and specific forms". (The notion of *djawhar* is itself open to discussion at this point.)

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HAYY, Arabic name for the "clan", that is to say of the primary grouping in nomadic life, excellently described by Nöldeke as one of warriors who bivouac at the same encampment and move about

Kab. tenis en lūqūte ḡrubu (clan)

together. The bond between its members is regarded as a blood relationship, and entails their collective responsibility for any murder committed by a fellow-tribesman, as well as the imperative obligation to avenge bloodshed. An alliance between two clans is cemented by magico-religious rites involving the mingling of blood, and the swearing of an oath while dipping the right hand into a vessel originally filled with blood is taken from this ceremonial. These facts, brought to notice by Robertson Smith in 1885 in his famous work on kinship and marriage in ancient Arabia, still entirely retain their validity, but his interpretation of the Semitic social institutions as being totemism was challenged as early as 1886 by Nöldeke in his critical study of the work. Although this theory of totemism today appears to have lost some of its attraction, the hypothesis of a matriarchal period preceding the patriarchal one is supported by numerous arguments. The terminology for the sections of tribes includes several names of parts of the body, such as *baṭn* "stomach", *fakhidh* "thigh", etc., which are explained by Robertson Smith, not without probability, as metaphors originally signifying the uterine parent, and then, after the change to the patriarchal system, the male organs symbolized by the knees, kidneys or thighs. Comparable features will be found in Germanic and Indo-European vocabularies. Even the term which designates kinship in the clan indicates clearly enough that this must previously have been one of maternal filiation, for *raḥim* is nothing but the name of the uterus. As for the word *hayy*, it seems natural to include it in the same series, noting that the root *hyw*, clearly apparent in *hayawān* "animal" and in the Qurʾānic spelling of *hay[w]āt* "life", certainly attained this abstract sense only after having previously borne a concrete meaning that is revealed by the substantive *ḥayāʾ* "vulva", from which the secondary abstract meaning of "modesty, shame" also derives. This symbol of fecundity must have been common Semitic. However, in Hebrew the corresponding root *ḥayāh* has only the meaning "to live", but the name of Eve, the mother of the human race, Ḥawwāh, which is explained in Genesis (III, 20) by a Piel form "who gives life", could well represent the concrete starting point of the same semantic derivation.

In certain modern dialects the word *hayy* denotes a quarter in a town or settlement, more precisely a quarter inhabited by the same ethnic or tribal element [see MADĪNA, MAḤALLA].

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X HAYY B. YAKẒĀN, the name of the principal character of two philosophical allegories, one by Ibn Sīnā, *Kiṣṣat Hayy b. YakẒān*, and the other by Ibn Ṭufayl, *Risālat Hayy b. YakẒān fi asrār al-hikma al-mushrikīyya* (L. Gauthier's vocalization; Hourani gives it as *mashrikīyya*). Until the end of the 19th century the *Risāla* of Ibn Ṭufayl was much better known than Ibn Sīnā's short work, the contents of which if not the title were unknown. The similarity in titles led to the belief that there was a

Namen ist hier lokales und temporales Vorkommen festzustellen; nicht wenig wirkte gerade hier die Mode, die sich selbst bei näherem und reicheren Material so schwer fassen lässt.

24. Unter Sippe wird hier verstanden der Verband von Familien, die sich gemeinsamer Abstammung bewusst sind und die Bestimmungen über das Verhältnis der Angehörigen verschiedener Familien zueinander auf das Blutband gründen. Unter Stamm wird hier verstanden der Verband von Familien und Individuen, der die Gemeinsamkeit des Wohnsitzes und der wirtschaftlichen und politischen Interessen als die Grundlage der Einheitlichkeit betrachtet. Darnach ist der Text zu modifizieren, sofern er missverständlich ist und den Anschein weckt, als sei der Stamm dadurch von der Sippe verschieden, dass er Gruppen zusammenschliesst, die sich durch einen gemeinsamen Ahn in weiterem Abstände geeint fühlen. Es ist aber zu bemerken, dass diese Vorstellung, auch der Stamm sei durch gemeinsame Abstammung verbunden, tatsächlich bei vielen Stämmen geherrscht hat (Sabiner von Sabus, Teutonen von Teut u. v. a.): Sie ist das Erzeugnis der mechanischen Hirntätigkeit, die nach der Analogie verfahren in dem grossen Verbände nichts sieht als eine Erweiterung des kleineren, bzw. das Allgemeine im Verhältnis zum Besonderen, gezüchtet durch die, die den Stamm für ihre Sonderinteressen besser auszunützen glaubten, indem sie die Suggestion des gemeinsamen Ursprungs als Kitt verwandten. — Ein Wort für „Sippe“ besitzt das Südarabische nicht. Das *ahl*, das man irrigerweise dafür gehalten, hat eine andere Funktion (siehe Ausf. 27); die „Sippe Müller“ könnte ebensowenig *ahl müller* heissen, wie der Stamm *Ma'in sa'b ma'imam* heisst, sondern nur *ahlän müller*. Die Tatsache, dass in den bisher bekannten Urkunden kein einziges Wort vorkommt, das die zahlreichen Sippen als solche bezeichnet (nicht kennzeichnet! über die Kennzeichen siehe Ausf. 27), ist bedeutend. Sie

gehört in den Kreis der Erörterungen, die in Ausf. 26 über den Mangel des Sippengefühls bei der Masse des Volkes in Jemen angestellt werden, und wird beleuchtet durch den Gegensatz des Nordarabischen, das ursprünglich nur ein Wort für „Sippe“ hatte, keines für „Stamm“ (vgl. Ausf. 102 zu *hajj*). — Mit Recht lehnt Eduard Meyer die ab, die den Staat in seine Elemente zerlegen und ihn aus diesen geschichtlich aufbauen (S. 15). Die Konstruktion, dass die kleinsten Blutsverbände die ursprünglichsten, vorstaatlichen Formen sozialer Organisation gewesen seien, die Atome, aus deren Zusammenschluss der Staat erst in einer verhältnismässig späten Epoche menschlicher Entwicklung entstanden sei, ist mechanisch und lässt sich leicht durch die Erwägung widerlegen, dass das ja eben das Unterscheidende des Menschen vom Tier ist, dass er nie ungesellig lebte, dass er vor allem ein Herdentier war und ist, dass auf die Dauer isoliert lebende Familien und Sippen bei ihm die seltene Ausnahme sind. Ebensowenig dürfen einzelne Gaue und Städte, lokale Atome, als ein ursprünglich Selbständiges angesehen werden, aus deren Verbindung der Staat entstanden sei. Seinen eigenen Standpunkt formuliert Meyer so (S. 33): „Die Geschlechtsverbände und die Familie sind nie anders gewesen, als wie sie uns in den bestehenden Verhältnissen überall entgegentreten: nicht selbständige Verbände, sondern Unterabteilungen des Staates. Der Staat ist nicht aus ihnen entsprungen, sondern sie sind vielmehr umgekehrt erst durch diesen geschaffen; und zwar scheint, soweit wir sehen können, die Zusammenfassung von einzelnen Gruppen innerhalb der Gesamtheit des Staatsverbandes als Brüderschaften, Heiratsklassen, Clans, Sippen älter zu sein als die Familie (und ihre Erweiterung zum Geschlecht im engeren Sinne), die wieder erst innerhalb dieser kleineren Verbände entsteht. Wie sehr alle diese Verbände und geschlossenen Gruppen lediglich rechtliche Institutionen sind, geht schlagend daraus hervor, dass für sie alle die phy-

Kabile
(Arap)

*Tribes and States in the Middle East**

PATRICIA CRONE

To undergraduates of Western origin, one of the most alien aspects of Islamic history is the role played in it by tribes: why did they never disappear? To seasoned Islamicists, on the other hand, it is the virtual disappearance of tribes from Europe after the age of invasions that is puzzling: why are there no Hāshid and Bakīl in Switzerland? Who could imagine the Yemeni highlands or the Caucasus as places renowned for banks and cuckoo clocks? Though tribes were prominent in many parts of Asia, they did not play the same role in Chinese and Indian civilisation either as they did in the Muslim Middle East; nor is it obvious that they played the same role in the Middle East before the rise of Islam as they did thereafter. It is hardly surprising, then, that Islamicists talk so much about tribes that non-Islamicists often suffer from the misconception that there is nothing but tribes in the Islamic world. Though the misconception is annoying, the tribes deserve the attention, and it is with pleasure that one notes the appearance of a new book on their relationship with states in the Middle East.

Tribes and State Formation in the Middle East is a collection of conference papers, which makes sense in view of the size of the topic, but which is also a pity in view of the inevitable loss of analytical coherence. According to Hourani's concluding summary, the contributors devote themselves to four main questions: what is a tribe in the Muslim world?; what is a state in that world?; what has been the role of tribes in the formation, maintenance and destruction of states?; and has Islam endowed these processes with characteristics of its own?¹ These are splendid questions, but since it is notoriously impossible to make the diverse minds of conference participants function as a single mega-brain, the book does not pursue them systematically, but rather offers a diversity of papers in which Hourani's questions figure to varying degrees; the reader inevitably reacts by feeling that the book comes to an end where it ought to have begun. But there is not much that the editors could do about this, and one can only sympathise with them. The book consists of an editorial introduction and two parts, of which the first contains papers by Ira Lapidus, Richard Tapper, Steven Caton, Ernest Gellner, Bassam Tibi and Thomas Barfield on topics subsumed under the title "Historical, Anthropological, Methodological, and Comparative Perspectives", while the second, entitled "Middle Eastern Case Studies" contains papers

* A review article of *Tribes and State Formation in the Middle East*, ed. Philip S. Khoury and Joseph Kostiner. pp. xii, 351. London and New York, I. B. Tauris, 1991. £35.00.

¹ Hourani, p. 303. (All references to the book under review will be given by contributor.)

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230 TRADITIONS

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ELIAS H. TUMA

TRADITIONS. See Ḥadīth.

Kabile

TRIBE. In both historical and contemporary times tribes have played important roles in the Islamic world. The English term "tribe" is one that specialists and others have used confusingly to depict what they perceive as actual groups of people, political entities, forms of social organization, structural types, modes of behavior, cultural systems, and ideologies. It is often a translation, not always accurate, of indigenous terms whose use and meaning can vary according to context. Although many scholars and others equate tribalism with nomadism and pastoralism, not all nomads and pastoralists are tribal, and more tribal peoples have been settled than nomadic.

Tribal people, governmental officials, and social scientists hold different ideas concerning what is represented by the term "tribe" and its local equivalents. The analytical constructs of outsiders do not duplicate indigenous concepts; popular discourse is not the same as the official terminology used by governments. People have invoked the notion and acted on their perception of its representations for their own differing purposes.

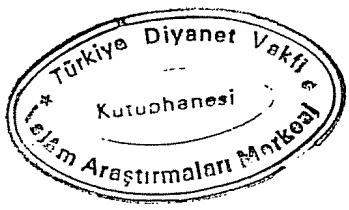
Many settled people viewed tribes they feared as synonymous with thieves and outlaws; on their part, tribespeople feared the loss of autonomy and thought of themselves as fiercely independent and loyal to their own groups. Settled people often viewed tribal society as inferior to urban society (*ḥaḍārah*), the so-called civilized Islamic ideal. [See Ḥaḍārah.] They saw cities as centers of government and order and tribes as rebellious and destructive. From an urban perspective, "tribe" often meant nomads or other rural people beyond the government's reach. Government officials tended to reify the concept of tribe in order to facilitate their own administration, declaring tribes to be identifiable corporate bodies with fixed memberships and territories; they produced lists of the tribes under their supposed authority and acted in terms of them. Such attitudes and the resulting policies both created and fortified social, political, and physical boundaries.

For tribal people themselves, the issue was not so problematic. Within their societies, their own tribal identities and those of others were clear and important ways of classifying people. Outsiders need to understand what being tribal meant for people in different contexts and to discern the patterns underlying the political, social, and symbolic expressions of people who proclaimed themselves members of tribes.

It is often more appropriate to speak of tribal or tribally organized society than of tribe because drawing boundaries around a single group may be difficult. Many Kurds, for example, are tribally organized and hold tribal identities, but we cannot speak of the Kurds as a tribe or even a group of tribes; rather, Kurdish society has tribal components.

Tribal identities are not exclusive or fixed, because tribal people also demonstrate varied linguistic, ethnic, religious, regional, class, residential, and occupational categories and traits. These crosscutting and overlapping elements make it impossible to speak of tribes as bounded, clear-cut entities. Tribal people could be urban, middle-class, white-collar workers as well as nomadic pastoralists or settled agriculturalists.

Tribal identity, like ethnic and national identity, is an "imagined" identity based on continually revised conceptions of history and tradition. Tribal groups, like modern nation-states, were "imagined communities." In constructing their identity tribal people invented and reinvented traditions according to changing sociopolitical conditions. Many tribal groups were composed of people of diverse ethnolinguistic origins, yet each group



عاقق بن غيث البلادي

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- Hicaz

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(see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION; GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE). Carrying the argument further, he says that, had there been no choice and all were true believers, the world would be a perfect place and the notion of later punishment or reward would cease to have any meaning (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). Believers are subjected to trials in this world, both materially and spiritually (e.g. Q 2:155; 3:186; 5:48; 6:165; 21:35; 89:16). Hope (q.v.) and endurance (patience; see TRUST AND PATIENCE) help a believer during moments of trial (Q 4:104; 31:17). God gives signs (q.v.) as a test to people (Q 44:33) and God rewards those who stand in the face of adversity (Q 2:155-7). Even God's prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD) are not exempt from these tests: "Thus we have appointed for every prophet an adversary (see ENEMIES; OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD): the demons of humankind or of jinn (q.v.), who inspire to one another pleasing speech intended to lead astray (q.v.) through guile" (Q 6:112; cf. also Q 22:52; see DEVIL).

In light of the above, trials of past prophets and communities serve as examples for humankind. Abraham (q.v.), for instance, endured trials but in the end succeeded because he accepted God's commandments (Q 2:124; 37:104-7). The story of Joseph (q.v.) recounts his torment but final victory (Q 12) and that of his father Jacob (q.v.) who had lost his sight as a result of his distress over the loss of his son (Q 12:84), only to regain it later after learning that, true to his inner belief, his son was indeed not dead (Q 12:96). The Children of Israel (q.v.) suffered persecutions under the people of Pharaoh (q.v.; Q 2:49) but were delivered from this shame by the lord (q.v.; Q 44:30; see also DELIVERANCE). God grants mercy (q.v.) to those who are faithful in the face of numerous trials, illustrated, for example, by the initial childlessness of Zechariah (q.v.), and the allegations of

Mary's (q.v.) immoral behavior — both of whom were ultimately rewarded and/or exonerated (Q 19:2-33; see CHASTITY; ADULTERY AND FORNICATION). Satan, too, may tempt and hence test people by raising doubt in sick hearts (Q 22:53; see HEART) and Satan brought agony to the prophet Job (q.v.) which was taken away after Job asked God for help (Q 38:41f.).

The qur'anic emphasis on the trials of this world is reflected in the theological gloss given to the struggles of the Islamic community, particularly in its early years. This is especially evident in the portrayal of social and political upheavals of the first generations as rebellion (q.v.) against the divine law (see LAW AND THE QUR'ĀN), leading to schism which could threaten the purity of the faith (q.v.) of the believers (cf. Gardet, *Fitna*). Disturbances such as that between 'Alī and Mu'āwiya were often labeled as eras of *fitna*, or trial, for the believing community (see also POLITICS AND THE QUR'ĀN).

John Nawas

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Tribes and Clans

The social units that constituted Arabian society in pre-Islamic and early Islamic times (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QUR'ĀN). As the Muslim polity developed, Muslim society became more complex and

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الدارمي، ما = موطأ مالك، ز = مسند زيد بن علي، عد = طبقات ابن سعد، حم = مسند احمد بن حنبل، ط = مسند الطيالسي، هش = سيرة ابن
هشام، قد = مغازي الواقدي

٤٥٠ و ٤٦٧ و ٤٦٨ و ٤٦٩

و ٤٨١ و ٥٠٢؛ - ثالث ص

٨٦ و ٣٤٣ و ٣٤٥ و ٣٨٣؛

رابع ص ٨٢ و ٨٤ و ١٥٤

و ١٦٤ و ١٦٨ و ٢٠٦ و ٢٠٧

قا ٣١٥ و ٣٨٦ و ٣٨٧

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* مَنْ هُوَ سَبَّابٌ -

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تر - ك ٤٤ سورة ٣٤ ح ١

عد - ج ١ ق ١ ص ٢٠

حم - أول ص ٣١٦

* ذَكَرُ نَسَبِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ مِنْ

وَتَسْمِيَةٍ مَنْ وَلَدَهُ إِلَى آدَمَ -

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* إِزْسَالُ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ إِلَى عَدَّةٍ

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بخ - ك ٦١ ب ٦ و ٩؛

ك ٨٠ ب ٥٩؛ ك ٨٣ ب ٣

مس - ك ٤٤ ح ١٨٢ - ١٩٨

تر - ك ٤٦ ب ٧١ - ٧٣

مى - ك ١٧ ب ٧٨ و ٧٩

حم - أول ص ٤٤ و ٢٢ و ١٦٩؛

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CHAPTER II

MUTUALITY IN TRIBAL ARABIA

1. The Tribal Society

'Society is a system of interconnected human actions, distributed over a determinate territory and maintaining an approximate identity of its main components through time.'¹ Each such component or member is the centre of a great number of social relations and 'each such relation depends on him, on his qualities, on his actions, and also affects him and modifies his qualities and his actions. The whole complex of such relations constitutes the life of society.'²

In its development society passes through many stages and men in a developing society are conscious of themselves and their actions are backed by thought while such actions, in a primitive society, are the outcome of 'an inherited or innate psycho-physical disposition which determines its possessor to perceive and to pay attention to, objects of a certain class, to experience an emotional excitement of a particular quality upon perceiving such an object, and to act in regard to it in a particular manner'³—a herd instinct working through the actions for the preservation of life. But with the passage of

1. Society, in EC (new edition), Vol. 12, p. 670.

2. Hobhouse, *Social Evolution and Political Theory*, p. 85.

3. McDougall, *An Introduction to Social Psychology*, p. 29.

الأَنْبَاءُ عَلَى قَبَائِلِ الرِّوَاةِ

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ابن عبد البر
أبو عمر يوسف بن عبد الله
٣٦٨هـ - ٤٦٣هـ

مقدّم ردم له ووضع فهرسه
ابراهيم الأبياري

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النَّاشِر
دار الناشر العربي

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

مقدمة المؤلف

قال الشيخ الإمام أبو عمر يوسف بن عبد الله بن محمد بن عبد البر
النُّمَرِيُّ ، رحمه الله :

الحمد لله ذي القدرة والآلاء ، والعظمة والكبرياء ، فاطر الأرض
والسما ، الذي خلقنا من نفس واحدة ، وخلق منها زوجها وبثّ منهما
رجالاً كثيراً ونساء ، وجعلهم شعوباً وقبائل ، وباين بينهم بالفضائل ،
وتعبدهم بالأقوال والأعمال ، ليلوهم أيكفرون أم يشكرون ، لا لحاجة
إليهم ، إنّ الله لغنيّ عن العالمين . وصلى الله على محمد خاتم
النبيين ، وعلى آله أجمعين .

أما بعد . فإني ذكرت في كتابي هذا أمهات القبائل التي روت عن
رسول الله ، ﷺ ، وقربت ذلك واختصرته وبيّنته ، وجعلته دليلاً على
أصول الأنساب ، ومدخلاً إلى كتابي في الصحابة^(١) ، ليكون عوناً
للمناظرين فيه ، ومنتهياً على ما يُحتاج إليه من معرفة الأنساب ، فإنه علّم
لا يليق جهله بذوي الهمم والآداب ، لما فيه من صلة الأرحام ،

(١) يريد كتابه الاستيعاب في أسماء الأصحاب .

ومن هذه الكتب ما هو موجود ، ومنها ما هو مفقود ، فكان لزاماً
علينا في نظرنا الثانية في هذا الكتاب لاعادة طبعه من رجعة إلى ما رجع
إليه ابن عبد البر مما هو موجود ، هذا إلى استئناس بمراجع أخرى
تناولت مثل هذا الغرض لم يذكرها ابن عبد البر .

وأرجو أن أكون بالذي فعلت قد وفقت في اخراج الكتاب في طبعة
موثقة مضبوطة محررة ، هذا إلى فهرس وافية أضفتها كي يفيد منها
المفيد فلا يعز عليه ما يطلب .

ومن الله التوفيق والعون ،

إبراهيم الأبياري

رجب ١٤٠٣ هـ

أبريل ١٩٨٣ م .

الاتجاهات الحزبية في المجتمع الإسلامي

« منذ عصر الرسول حتى خلافته أمية »

Kabile

فالمجمعة

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi Kütüphanesi	
Kayıt No :	956.3012 CUM.İ
Tanif No. :	6959

الفكر البنائى

للطباعة والنشر

بيروت - جمهورية سورية - مكتبة حلاق - الطبعة الأولى ، مساقف ٢٢٧.٩٥ ، من ب ٤٦٩٩

روت

الفصل الثالث

النظام القبلي والمصيبة القبلية

عرف العرب النظام القبلي منذ أقدم عصورهم ، فهذا النظام كان يسود بلاد العرب كلها ، وكان ملائماً لطبيعة بلادهم التي يغلب عليها الجفاف وتنتشر فيها الصحاري والبادي . فالعرب سواء عاشوا بدواً أم حضراً كان النظام القبلي هو الذي يجمع بينهم . ونقصد بالنظام القبلي ذلك النمط من الحياة ، التي تنوزع فيها الأمة الواحدة الى جماعات بشرية مستقلة يجمع بين أفرادها صلة النسب المشترك سواء كان هذا النسب حقيقياً أو وهمياً .

ونظراً لاهتمام العرب بقضايا النسب كان لا بد من ضبط التسلسل القبلي . ولكننا بالرغم من ذلك نلمس بلبلة في التنسيق بين طبقات القبائل العربية .

فقد رتب علماء الأنساب قبائل العرب في مراتب هي : « شعب ثم قبيلة ثم عمارة ثم بطن ثم فخذ ثم فصيلة »^(١) « فالشعب هو النسب الأبعد كعدنان . والقبيلة مثل ربيعة ومضر والعمارة مثل قريش ، والبطن مثل عبد مناف والفخذ كبنو هاشم وبنو أمية والفصيلة مثل بني العباس »^(٢) فالشعب يتقدم القبيلة كما جاء

تكون من معد وتزعم أنها من قحطان »^(١) .

ومهما يكن من أمر هذه الأنساب ، فإن العرب ولا سيما متأخريهم ، اعتنقوها وبنوا عليها عصبيتهم ، وانقسموا في كل مملكة حلوا بها إلى فرق وطوائف حسب ما اعتقدوا في نسبهم ؛ وأصبحت هذه العصبية مفتاحاً نصل به الى معرفة الكثير من أسباب الحوادث التاريخية .



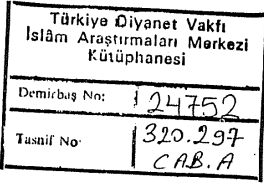
العقل السياسي العربي

محدثاته وتجلياته

Kabile (79-98, 129 v.d.)

1996
MAYIS

الدكتور محمد عبد الجباري



المركز الثقافي العربي

- * العقل السياسي العربي
- * المؤلف: الدكتور محمد عبد الجباري
- * الطبعة: الثانية - آب - ١٩٩١
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الفصل الثاني

مِن الدَعْوَةِ إِلَى الدَوْلَةِ: القَبِيلَةُ

يتناول هذا الفصل دور «القبييلة»، سلباً وإيجاباً، في الممارسة السياسية، ممارسة سلطة الجماعة، التي تعرضت لها الدعوة المحمدية أو استفادت منها، من يوم قيامها إلى أن أصبحت لها دولة. إن هذا يعني أن مجال «القبييلة» هنا سيكون محصوراً، في مكة أولاً، بين القبائل القرشية، وفي المدينة ثانياً، بين الفئات التي تسكنت فيها بعد هجرة النبي (ص) إليها. ومفعول «القبييلة» في هذه المرحلة، وأعني به النعرة والتناصر وما في معناهما، كان مفعولاً «طبيعياً» فطرياً، بمعنى أنه لم يكن يحركه غير ما يشكل من «القبييلة» قبيلة وهو «القرابة» بالنسب أو ما في معناه كالولاء والحلف والجوار.

أما «القبييلة» بمعنى اعتقاد مجموعات من القبائل في انتسابها إلى جد أعلى مشترك انتباه يميزها عن مجموعات أخرى مماثلة، ويفصلها عنها بحيث تكون العلاقات بين الطرفين علاقات تعارض وتنافس وصراع يحكمها «مفعول القبييلة» في معناه الصدامي، وهو ما يمكن أن نطلق عليه «قانون الصراع القبلي» وفجواه: «أنا وأخي على ابن عمي وأنا وابن عمي على الغريب». أما القبييلة بهذا المعنى وعلى هذا المستوى فلن يظهر لها أثر واضح إلا في مرحلة لاحقة، مرحلة احتدام الصراع داخل الدولة التي أقامتها الدعوة المحمدية، كما سنرى فيما بعد. أما الآن قصر اهتمامنا على مفعول «القبييلة» بمعنييه كما ظهر في مكة والمدينة زمن الدعوة.

- ١ -

يبدأ تاريخ مكة السياسي، المعروف، الذي كان له امتدادات إلى زمن الدعوة المحمدية، يبدأ بفضي بن كلاب الجد الرابع للنبي (ص) وقد عاش في منتصف القرن الخامس الميلادي، قبل نحو قرن ونصف القرن من ميلاد الرسول (ص). وينتهي نسب فضي إلى فهر، وهو الملقب بقريش، ثم يرتفع به النسابون إلى عدنان: جد عرب الشمال. فهو:

أدب التسمية في بيان النبوي

وكتوب

السعيد السيرة عبادة

الطبعة الأولى

Kalite

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١٩٤٠٣ هـ - ١٩٨٣ م

19

دار مصور للطباعة

٢٧ شارع حكلا سدي

الحيرة ، وإنما هو عمرو بن المنذر بن امرئ القيس (١) ، وكقولهم : سعد بن ضبيعة ، وإنما هو سعد بن مالك بن ضبيعة (٢) .
ومنها : جعلهم - في الغالب - تسمية الأبناء إلى الآباء أو الأجداد ، وتسمية البنات إلى الأمهات (٣) .
تسمية القبائل : كانت على أوجه ذكرها الألويسي (٤) .
منها : أن تسمى القبيلة باسم الأب الوالد لها ، كربيعة ، ومضر ، والأوس والخزرج ، ونحو ذلك .
ومنها : أن تسمى القبيلة باسم أمها ، مثل خندف وبجيلة ونحوهما ، وهو قليل .
ومنها : أن يقع اللقب على القبيلة يحدث سبب كغسان ، فإنهم نزلوا على ماء يسمى غسان فسموا به ، وقيل في تسميتهم غير ذلك (٥) .
ومنها : أن يطلق على القبيلة لفظ النبوة ، فيقال : بنو فلان ، وأكثر ما يكون ذلك في البطون والأفخاذ والقبائل الصغار .
ومنها : أن ترد القبيلة بلفظ الجمع مع الألف واللام ، وقد مثل له الألويسي بالمتأخرين ، وجعله أكثر فيهم دون غيرهم ، ومنه في القديم : الخيطات - بكسر الباء - بنو الحارث بن عمرو بن تميم ، الملقب بالخيطة (٦) .
ومنها أن يعبر عن القبيلة بأل فلان ، كآل ربيعة ، وآل بكر ، وقد تحذف الهمزة والألف من « آل » كقول المهلهل :
يا ليكر أنشروا لي كليبيا يا ليكر أين أين الفيرار (٧) .
ومنها : أن يعبر عن القبيلة بأولاد فلان ، وليس خاصا بالمتأخرين كما ذهب الألويسي ؛ لأننا نجد قول حسان
أولاد جفنة عند قبر أبيهم قبر ابن مارية الكريمة المفضل (٨) .
تسمية الحيوان : كانوا في الغالب يسمون الفحول من الخيل والإبل ، والأفراس المتخذة للحرب ، والنياق المتخذة للركوب ، إما بما هو من صفتها ، وإما بما يعنى التفاؤل .

ومنها : أن الرجل كان يخرج من منزله وامرته تمخض فيسمى ابنه بأول ما يلقاه ، نحو ثعلب وثعلبة ، وضب وضبة ، وخزرج (١) وضبيعة ، وكلب وكليب ، وحمار وقرد ، وخنزير وحش ، وكذلك أيضا تسمى بأول ما يسبح أو يبرح (٢) لها من الطير ، نحو غراب وصرور وما أشبه ذلك (٣) .
وكما تأثر ابن دريد بالجاحظ ، تأثر ابن القيم بابن دريد ، لأن ما ذكره من مذاهبهم في تسمية الأولاد ليس إلا ما ذكره ابن دريد هنا مع بعض التغيير ، لكنه - وإن زاد في تأثره - قد زاد بقوله : « وكان القوم على ذلك إلى أن جاء الله بالإسلام ، ومحمد رسول الله » ففرق به بين الهدى والضلال ، والغي والرشاد ، وبين الحسن والقبح ، والمحبوب والمكروه ، والضار والنافع ، والحق والباطل (٤) ؛ لأنه أنبأ بهذا القول عن حسن إسلامي دقيق ، لم نكد نظفر به عند سابقه .
ومن مذاهبهم - مع ما سبق - التسمية بعد العزى وعبد عمرو ونحوهما ، مما أضيفت فيه العبودية لأحد الأصنام أو لأحد الكبراء .
ومنها : التسمية بعد الله ، وهو مما أقره الإسلام ، وحسنه كما سيأتي ، لأن العبودية أضيفت فيه إلى مستحقها وهو الله .
ومنها : التسمية باسم أحد الآباء ، لقول ابن عباس - رضي الله عنهما - فيما رواه ابن عبد البر : « لما ولد النبي ﷺ عَقَّ عنه عبد المطلب وسماه محمدا فقيل له : يا أبا الحارث ما حملك على أن سميت محمدا ولم تسمه باسم آبائه ؟ قال : أردت أن يحمد الله في السماء ويحمده الناس في الأرض (٥) » .
ولقول أنس بن مالك - رضي الله عنه - من حديث رواه الترمذي وصححه : « قال غمى أنس بن النضر سميت به » (٦) .

ومنها : نسبة الابن إلى أبيه ، إلا في حالين ، أحدهما : أن يكون الابن متبني ، فينسب إلى متبنيه ، وهذا أبطله الإسلام كما سبق ، وثانيهما : أن تكون أمه أو جده أعرف ، فالغالب أن ينسب إلى أحدهما ، كقولهم : عمرو بن هند ، لأحد ملوك

تسمية الحيوان

(١) الخزرج - كصرد - ذكر الأرنب . (القاموس ٢ / ١٧٥) .

(٢) السائح : ما مر من ميسرك إلى ميامك ، ضد البراح ، ومن أمثالهم : من لي بالسائح بعد البراح ؛ أي بالمبارك بعد الشؤم . (التاج ٢ / ١٦٧) .

(٣) مفتاح دار السعادة ٢ / ٢٤٦

(٤) شرح المواهب اللدنية ٣ / ١١٥ (٦) سنن الترمذي ٥ / ٣٤٨

(١) شروح السقط ٤ / ١٥٨٦ (٢) الفصول والغايات ص ٣٩٨

(٣) المفصل في تاريخ العرب قبل الإسلام ٤ / ٦٥٥ (٤) بلوغ الأرب ٢ / ١٩٢

(٥) تاج العروس ٤ / ٢٠١ (٦) الفصول والغايات ص ٢٧٠

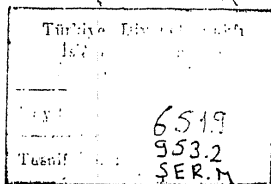
(٧) المرجع السابق ص ٢١٢ (٨) تاج العروس ٩ / ١٦٢

-Kabile

مكة والمدينة

في الجاهلية وعهد الرسول

Dr. Ism. Turabi
F. Günel



منتزه الطبع والنشر
دار الفكر العربي

- ٣٥ -

العرب على الانتساب إلى القبائل لا إلى المدن . بل لم يعرف الانتسابه إلى المدن إلا في القرن الثاني للهجرة .

أما مفهوم الأمة عندهم : فلم تكن تتميز عن الأسرة إلا أنها أكبر ، وكانت اللحمة التي تؤلف بين أفرادها هي نفس اللحمة التي تربط بين أفراد الأسرة ونعني لحمة الدم ، فكانت وحدة الجماعة تقوم على تقديس الدم ، وعلى تقديس هذه اللحمة تقديما تلقائيا دون حاجة إلى قوة من خارج تقهر الجماعة على التماسك . وكان الاشتراك في النسب ، أو الاعتقاد بهذا الاشتراك - وهما من حيث النتائج العملية شيء واحد - بمثابة الروح التي تجعل القبيلة كالجسد الحي (١) .

وقد وجد نظام حضري تام في أطراف الجزيرة العربية . فقد قامت ممالك اليمن في الجنوب ، كما قامت مملكة الحيرة في الشمال الشرقي . ومملكة غسان في الشمال الغربي . لكن القبيلة كانت وحدة النظام السياسي والاجتماعي في هذه الممالك ، فلم تنصهر الجماعة فيها في شعب واحد كالشعب المصري أو الشعب الروماني مثلا ، وإنما ظلت القبائل وحدات قائمة متمسكة بكيانها .

من كل ذلك نرى أن الفكرة القبلية هي جوهر الحياة السياسية والاجتماعية ثم ضاعت منها القوة السياسية ، وظلت وحدة المجتمع العربي في الإسلام .

والقبيلة العربية مجموعة من الناس ، كانت تؤمن بوجود رابطه تجمعهم تقوم على أساسين : من وحدة الدم ، ووحدة الجماعة . وفي

الفصل الثاني

القبيلة العربية

لم تكن بلاد العرب قبل ظهور الإسلام دولة عربية بالمعنى الذي تفهمه الآن من الدولة ، فإن الدولة (state) من حيث هي نظام منفصل عن الجماعة ومستقل عنها في وظيفته ، ومن حيث أن لهذا النظام سلطانا يخضع له الناس ، لم يكن موجودا في بلاد العرب . وإنما كانت الدولة عندهم هي الجماعة في جملتها ، ولم تكن هيئة لها نظامها الخاص ولا كانت لها أرض محددة ، فليس هناك موظفون يدبرون شؤون الجماعة بالمعنى الذي نعرفه في الدولة ، بل كان هناك كيان اجتماعي طبيعي بالغ درجة الهاء عرف باسم « القبيلة » يقوم فيه رؤساء العشائر والبطون برعاية شؤون الجماعة ، ويذكر الرحالة « دوتلي Daughly » أنه رأى في أهل البادية في هذا القرن العشرين من لا يتصور الدولة إلا على أنها قبيلة ويقيس قوتها بما تملك من الإبل (١) .

وكذلك الحال بالنسبة للمدن ، فلم تكن المدينة (Polis) هي الوحدة السياسية كما كان الحال عند اليونان . بل كانت القبيلة هي هذه الوحدة مثل قريش في مكة وثقيف في الطائف ، وقد جرى عرف

AL-HADIS

An English Translation & Commentary with vowel-pointed Arabic Text
OF

Mishkat-ul-Masabih

BOOK IV

(Being a collection of the authentic sayings and doings of the Prophet Muhammad (P. H.) selected from the most reliable collections of Hadis Literature, and containing all that an average Muslim or non-Muslim requires to know for guidance in all walks of life.)

with

suitable arrangements into chapters and sections
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CHAPTER XLVII

2570.—The nations and tribes.

In this chapter, the Holy Prophet described some qualities and virtues of some particular nations and tribes in a general sense. This, however, cannot in any way affect the general rule of the Holy Quran that "the most honourable man to Allah from amongst you is the one who is the most pious of you—49 : 13Q", and that "the believers are but brethren—49 : 10Q." The descriptions of some nations and tribes are given below in alphabetical order.

Ansars (helpers): These were the tribes of Aus and Khazraj amalgamated together by the Holy Prophet, and they were given this name on account of the help and shelter they gave to the Prophet and to those who migrated with him known generally as 'Refugees or Muhajirs.' They were a zealous band of divine and warriors who went through thick and thin and risked their lives and resources for the Islamic faith. The Prophet did not leave them and their city until his demise. Their virtues have been recorded in traditions 46 : 128 to 451, 162 to 164, 174, 175, 47 : 7, 22. The Quran says: As for those who believed and helped, these are the true believers. They shall have forgiveness and honourable provision 8 : 74Q. **Arabs:** Islam will return to Hejaz in latter times as a snake recoils to its hole—1 : 111. Arabia is for Islam—23 : 217. No two religions in Arabia—23 : 229; 44 : 179; 36 : 151. Don't hate the Arabs—47 : 19. Prophet will not intercede for a hater of Arabs—47 : 20. Their destruction before the Hour—47 : 21. **Aslam:** Prophet prayed for their security—47 : 6. Their friend is Allah and His Prophet—46 : 7. **Ashja'a:** Their friend is Allah and His Prophet—47 : 6. **Asad:** This is a powerful tribe who are fierce in battle and faithful—47 : 22. **Azad:** They are army of Allah—47 : 13 and they are trustworthy—47 : 22. **Ash'ars:** They are also fierce in battle and faithful—47 : 22. **Dausees:** There is no good in them—47 : 18. **East:** Majority of the eastern people are infidels—48 : 2. Calamities will appear from the east—48 : 3. The eastern people are hard hearted and harsh—48 : 4. **Foreigners (non-Arabs):** Some of the non-Arabs are more faithful to the Prophet than some Arabs—46 : 167. **Gefar:** Prophet prayed for their forgiveness—47 : 6. Their friend

Kabite

الكيان الصهيوني في «المهرولون»
و«عرب ما تحت الصفر» وسوى ذلك
كثير كثير.
استطاع نزار أن يحقق طموحه
الشعري الذي أعلنه في مقدمة
مجموعته الثانية «طفولة نهد»، وهو
أن يجعل من الشعر حاجة ضرورية في
كل منزل، كالخبز والهواء والماء، وكان
نزار انتقائياً في استخدام مفرداته،
ففي معجمه الشعري ألفاظ مألوفة
وكثيرة الدوران، وفيه ألفاظ لم
تستخدم من قبل، كالمناكير والتلفون
ورافعة النهد، ولتزار معجم جسدي
اعتنى بجزئياته وتفصيله، وقد
استطاع أن يكون صاحب أسلوب
لا يُقَدُّ، أو ما يُسمى بالسهل الممتنع.
تتميز قصائد نزار ونثره بالثورة
والعنف والطفولة والدهشة، وهو الذي
حطّم صورة المرأة الجارية والوطن
المجزأ، وكان شعره انقلابياً متجدداً،
ولذلك يصحّ فيه قول جبرا إبراهيم
جبرا: «الكثير من شعر هذا العصر
سينقرض، والكثير من الأسماء
اللامعة فيه ستُنسى، ولكنّ اسماً واحداً
من السهل على المرء أن يجزم ببقائه:
نزار قباني».

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والبطولات، ولذلك يقول في إحدى
قصائده:

قمر دمشقٍ يُسافرُ في دمي
ويلايلُ وسنايلُ.. وقبَابُ
القلُّ يبدأ من دمشق بياضه
ويعطرها تتطيبُ الأطيَابُ
والماءُ يبدأ من دمشق.. فحيثما
أسندتُ رأسك، جدولُ ينسابُ
والشعرُ عصقورٌ يمد جناحه
فوق الشامِ وشاعرُ جوابُ
والخيلُ تبدأ من دمشق وعندها
تبقى اللغاتُ، وتُحفظُ الأتسابُ
ودمشقُ تُعطي للعروبة شكلها
ويأرضها تتشكلُ الأحقابُ
وغنى نزار لبيروت كما غنى لدمشق،
وخاصة أنها المدينة التي احتضنته
طويلاً، وآله ما حلّ بها من أحداث
موجعة في الحرب الأهلية، فنظم لها
عددًا من القصائد، ومنها «يا ست
الدينا يا بيروت» و«سبع رسائل ضائعة
في بريد بيروت» و«بيروت محظيتكم...
بيروت حبيبتي» و«إلى بيروت الأنثى مع
الاعتذار»، ومن قصيدته الأولى:
ماذا نتكلمُ يا بيروت
وفي عينيك خلاصةُ حزن البشرية
وعلى تهديك المحترقين.. رماذ
الحرب الأهلية

- من كان يفكرُ أن تتلاقى - يا بيروت -
وأنتِ خراباً؟
من كان يفكرُ أن تنمو للوردةِ آلافُ
الأنيابِ؟
من كان يفكرُ أن الثعينَ تقاتلُ في يوم
ضدَّ الأهدابِ؟
وغنى نزار للقدس الجريحة غناءً
ممزوجاً بالحسرة على واقعها الراهن
متفائلاً بمستقبلها العربي:
يا قدسُ يا حبيبتي / غداً.. غداً
سيزهو الليمونُ
وتفرحُ السنابلُ الخضراءُ والغصونُ
وتضحكُ العيونُ
وترجعُ الحمائمُ المهاجرةُ
إلى السقوفِ الطاهرةِ
وغنى للحرية أيضاً وغنى للوحدة
العربية، ورفض أن يكون هذا العالم
المجزأ وطنه العربي في قصيدته «قرص
الأسبرين»:
ليس هذا الوطن المصنوعُ من
عشرين كانتوناً..
ومن عشرين دكاناً
ومن عشرين صرافاً وحلاقاً
وشرطيّاً وطبالاً.. وراقصةً
يُسمى وطني الكبير
وانتقد مسار الهرولة للتطبيع مع

■ قبائل العرب

كانت الحياة العربية قبل الإسلام
تقوم على النظام القبلي، فالقبيلة هي
الأساس في حياة الأفراد والتعامل مع
الآخرين، وهي جماعة يجمع بينها
نسب مشترك، ويعتقد أفرادها أن
رابطة الدم الواحد تجمع بينهم.

القبائل العربية أن تعيش حياة البداوة.
وأساسها الرعي، وقوامها التنقل
والارتحال سعياً وراء الماء والكلاء، وهذا
ما جعل حياتهم غير مستقرة، ونفى
عنهم صفة الدولة الموحدة، وجعل من
كل قبيلة كياناً مستقلاً؛ تسوده قيم

والمجتمعات البشرية القديمة كانت
كلها مجتمعات قبلية، فقد كانت
القبيلة تمثل المرحلة الأولى من مراحل
التنظيم الاجتماعي.
وقد فرضت الحياة وطبيعة شبه
الجزيرة العربية الصحراوية على

تقدمها البرامج الهندسية الرقمية digital في مجال التغطيات المعمارية.

المزيد من الإبداع في عالم القباب اعتماداً على الإمكانيات الهائلة التي

رضوان طحلاوي

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■ القبيلة

ظروف المناخ، وتبعاً للأوقات التي ينمو فيها الكلاً الذي يعد غذاء مناسباً للحيوانات.

- يسود الشعور بين أفراد القبيلة الواحدة بالهموم المشتركة والمصير المشترك، ولهذا يزداد إحساسهم بالانتماء لقبيلتهم الواحدة، على الرغم من تبعثرهم وتشتتهم في حيز مكاني واسع، فالشعور بالانتماء للقبيلة يوحد الجماعات المبعثرة، ويجعل منها كلاً واحداً، فيقوم الارتباط العشائري مقام المكان بالنسبة إلى أهل الريف والحضر الذي يعد بالنسبة إليهم عامل الوحدة، ويُنسب إلى الخليفة عمر بن الخطاب دعوته العرب إلى الانتساب للعشيرة والقبيلة، دون الانتساب للمكان كما الحال بالنسبة إلى الأعاجم: «لا تكونوا كأعاجم إذا سئل أحدهم قال: أنا من قرية كذا وكذا، قولوا: أنا من قبيلة كذا».

- تنتظم أبناء القبيلة الواحدة في عشائر عديدة، وتنتظم العشيرة في بطون، والبطون في أفخاذ، والأفخاذ في حمولات، والحمولات في أسر ممتدة، والأسر الممتدة في أسر صغيرة؛ وهي الوحدة الأقل التي لا تتجزأ في

خصائص التنظيم الاجتماعي

القبلي

يمكن التمييز بين مجموعة خصائص أساسية للقبيلة منها:

- وحدة اللغة والثقافة والمكان، فيلاحظ أن أفراد القبيلة الواحدة يستخدمون لغة واحدة ولهجة تميزها من غيرها من القبائل، إضافة إلى تكوّن عبر تاريخها- منظومة اجتماعية ثقافية تحدد أوجه التكامل في الحقوق والواجبات بين الأعضاء المكونين لها، كما أن لكل قبيلة حيزاً مكانياً تستطيع استثماره باعتراف القبائل الأخرى، ويعرف ذلك بنظام الحمى.

- تغلب على النشاط الاقتصادي في القبيلة الواحدة وحدة النشاط الاقتصادي المتمثل بتربية الحيوان والاستفادة من المنتجات الحيوانية والاعتماد على الموارد الطبيعية في تأمين الغذاء اللازم للحيوان، مما يجعل الحياة الاجتماعية في القبيلة مبنية على كثرة التنقل والترحال، فتوصف حياة القبيلة بكثرة الترحال والانتقال عبر المساحات المكانية التي تستطيع استثمارها تبعاً لطبيعة

القبيلة tribe وحدة مجتمعية متكاملة تتفاعل ضمنها الأبعاد الاقتصادية والاجتماعية والسياسية والثقافية، وتنتظم من خلالها الحقوق والواجبات المترتبة على الأفراد بوصفهم أعضاء ضمن التنظيم، وعلى الجماعات الفرعية الأقل بوصفها مكونات أساسية للقبيلة، والتي تختلف تسمياتها باختلاف تجارب القبائل وتاريخية كل منها.

تعد القبيلة من أكثر النظم الاجتماعية قدماً في التاريخ الإنساني، إضافة إلى كونها رافقت الأشكال التنظيمية الأخرى التي ظهرت فيما بعد، من خلال الروابط الدينية والاقتصادية والسياسية، وكانت لفترة طويلة من الزمن الأساس الذي تقام عليه معايير التفاعل الاجتماعي من تضافر وصراع وتنافر، لكنها أخذت بالانحسار إثر ظهور أشكال جديدة من التنظيمات الاجتماعية، وخاصة ذات العلاقة بالتنظيمات السياسية القائمة على مفاهيم الوطن والمواطنة، والتي أصبحت اليوم الأكثر انتشاراً في معظم أنحاء العالم.

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-Kabile

headquarters for SAVAK's European operations (see *D.I.S.P.*). The agency had been gathering intelligence not only on Persian students but also on foreign citizens, including members of the British parliament (*The Times*, 23 July 1976, pp. 1, 7). The columnist Jack Anderson's articles in *The Washington Post* helped to discredit the shah's regime and to bring about a congressional investigation of SAVAK activities in the United States (*The Washington Post*, 29 October 1976, p. D15, 4 November 1976, p. D.C. 11; Dorman and Farhang, p. 146). The most dramatic event of this period was a demonstration against the shah during his visit to Washington, D.C., in November 1977. Approximately 1,000 demonstrators engaged in a violent clash with police and supporters of the shah, during which almost 100 demonstrators and twenty policemen were seriously injured. The students broke through police lines and came so close to the welcoming ceremony at the White House that tear gas thrown by the police reached the shah and President Jimmy Carter (*Time*, 28 November 1977, pp. 15-16; *The New York Times*, 16 November 1977, pp. 1, 12).

In the following year Persia was engulfed in revolution. Many Persian students returned home to take part directly; those who remained abroad worked together in broad coalitions of independent groups. It was in that year that the final schism occurred within the Confederation; the pro-guerrilla faction established its own student organization (Šawkat, p. 363), and the Confederation was thus effectively dissolved before the Revolution began.

In the two decades preceding the Revolution of 1357 Š./1979 the Confederation had represented the only continuous organized sociopolitical movement operating openly in opposition to the Persian government. Especially in its early years it succeeded in uniting a wide range of political groups in a single organizational structure. It achieved its basic goal of focusing international attention on repression in Persia, thus ensuring a measure of restraint on the part of the regime in its treatment of political opponents. The Confederation also brought political awareness to thousands of young, educated Persians, many of whom later became members of the nation's intellectual and political elite.

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In addition, much valuable information has been gathered in taped interviews with leaders and activists of the CISNU, who also shared their private collections of CISNU documents.

(AFSHIN MATIN-ASGARI)

CONFEDERATIONS, TRIBAL. A discussion of tribal confederations in the Iranian world must begin with recognition that there is a problem in defining the terms "tribe" and "confederation." The concept of tribe is notoriously inexact, not least in the context of Iranian history, where groups defined by a wide range of different criteria have been referred to as "tribes." Tribal groups, moreover, commonly comprise several levels of organization, from a nomad camp to (sometimes) a nation-state, with different criteria defining membership of groups at each level. There is little agreement among scholars on the levels at which to apply the term "tribe" or "confederation." Definition is not aided by indigenous terminology, which includes a variety of terms (e.g., *īl* [Tk. *e*],

lation, the Adivasi moved to the new industrial cities in large numbers in the 1920s and 1930s. The urbanized tribals mostly adopted Christianity to escape the violence and discrimination of the Hindu caste system.

Relegated to the least desirable lands and jobs, the Adivasi began to organize after World War I. In 1938 nationalists founded the Jharkhand Party to press for pan-tribal unity and autonomy. In 1947, as Indian independence neared, militants demanded that the British grant separate independence to Jharkhand as a Christian majority area outside Hindu India and Muslim Pakistan, but they found little sympathy among the British authorities.

India's independence constitution included provisions for the protection of minority peoples and their lands, but, in practice, high-caste Hindus controlled large areas, and the Adivasi became virtual serfs on land that should have been theirs. Adivasi activists mobilized the tribes in the 1960s, demanding autonomy and the creation of a separate state of Jharkhand. The autonomy movement, gaining wide support in the tribal belt, broke down the remaining tribal barriers. Opposition to the autonomy movement by "civilized" Hindus sparked violent ethnic and religious confrontations in 1968-69.

Adivasi literacy rates are very high for rural India. The legacy of early mission schools and the Adivasi willingness to educate both boys and girls, unusual in India, have produced a highly motivated and aware national leadership. Even though they suffer caste and racial discrimination more aggressive and violent than South Africa's former apartheid, until the early 1990s Adivasi nationalists conducted a peaceful, reasoned, and articulate campaign to win equal rights for their people. Their moderate demands had little impact.

Younger, more militant nationalists, claiming that the Adivasi condition has steadily worsened since Indian independence in 1947, have formed militias to protect defenseless Adivasi against the continuing atrocities perpetrated with impunity by high caste Hindus. The movement has adopted environmental issues as national issues in one of the world's most polluted regions. Their grievances mostly ignored by state and federal authorities, the young Adivasi moving into leadership positions have begun to call for their followers to emulate the Sikhs of Khalistan* or the Muslims of Kashmir* in fighting for their rights and the self-determination of an Adivasi homeland in Jharkhand.

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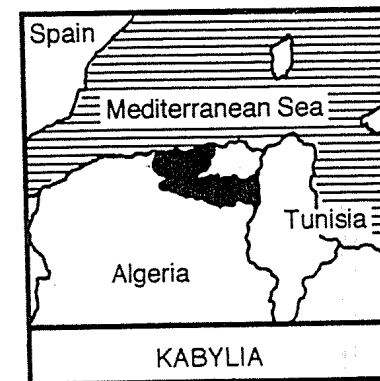
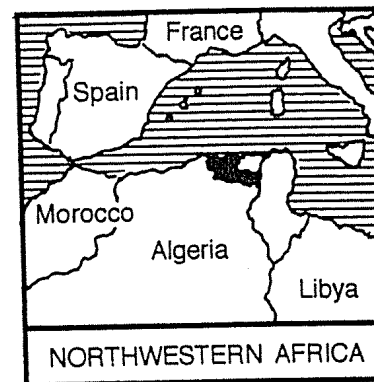
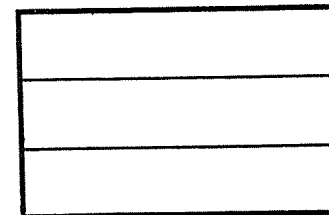
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KABYLIA

Kabylie

CAPITAL: Tizi-Uzu (Tizi-Ouzou)



POPULATION: (95e) 5,774,000 : 4,130,000 Kabyles in Algeria. MAJOR NATIONAL GROUPS: (95e) Kabyle 68%, other Algerian. MAJOR LANGUAGES: Kabyle, Arabic, French. MAJOR RELIGIONS: Sunni Muslim, Roman Catholic, Ibadī Muslim. MAJOR CITIES: (95e) Stif (Setif) 302,000, Tizi-Uzu (Tizi-Ouzou) 246,000, Bougee (Bejaïa) 216,000, Batna 203,000, Bordj Bou Arreridj 90,000, Djidjelli (Jijel) 86,000, Tbessa (Tebessa) 85,000, Eulma (El-Eulma) 80,000, Kenchia 76,000, Bordj Menaël 60,000, Aïn Beda 60,000, Delles 52,000.

GEOGRAPHY: AREA: 24,353 sq.mi.-63,039 sq.mi. LOCATION: Kabylia lies in northeastern Algeria, occupying a coastal plain east of Algiers and the mountainous regions of the Hodna and Aurs Mountains east to the Tunisian border. The Kabyle heartland on the Mediterranean Sea is divided into Great Kabylia and Little Kabylia by the Sahel-Soumman Valley. POLITICAL STATUS: Kabylia has no official status; the region claimed by nationalists forms the Algerian departments of Batna, Bejaïa, Jijel, Oum-el-Bouaghi, Setif, Tebessa, and Tizi-Ouzou.

FLAG: The Kabyle national flag, the flag of the national movement, is a horizontal tricolor of pale blue, green, and white.

PEOPLE: The Kabyles are a Berber people more closely related to the peoples of Europe than to the Semitic Arabs. The Kabyles claim descent from the area's ancient inhabitants and call themselves Amazigh (Free Men). Often fair and light-eyed, the Kabyles have retained a distinctive culture that allows unveiled women great respect and social stature. Most Kabyles are trilingual.

hatıraşına armağan, Ankara 1964, 53-6; İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin ilmiye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1965, 178, n. 3; *İA*, art. *Kâbir*; art. *Süleyman I.*, by M. T. Gökbilgin, at p. 110; art. *Kemâl Paşazâde*, by I. Parmaksızoğlu, at p. 564 (this gives references for *risâlas* written in refutation of *Kâbid*); Rycout, *Present state*, book ii, chap. 12 (for the *Khübmesîhi*). (HÜSEYİN G. YURDAYDIN)

X KĀBĪL [see HĀBĪL].

X KABĪLA (A.) denotes a large agnatic group, the members of which claim to be descended from one common ancestor; this word is generally understood in the sense of tribe. It derives from the Arabic root *k-b-l*, of which the form *kābala* signifies to meet, to be face to face with. The definition given by al-Nūwayrī (*Nihāya*, ii, 269), the only one, we believe, which refers to its morphology, refers specifically to this etymology: "the *kabila* was so named because its component parts are placed face to face and in equal numbers". Its structure seems indeed to be connected with that of the skull, in which the four bones, also denoted by the word *kabila*, are placed opposite to one another (*LA*, root *k-b-l*).

This term is often found in pre-Islamic Arabic poetry. Curiously enough, it is there employed almost exclusively in the plural, *kabā'il* (*Aghāni*, ed. Beirut, ii, 81, vii, 285; al-Balādhuri, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, i, Cairo 1959, 19, 41, 50; al-Sūwaydī, *Sabā'ik al-dhahab fi ma'rifat kabā'il al-'Arab*, Cairo n.d., 104). The Qur'an uses it only once: "We have established you in peoples (*shu'ub*) and tribes (*kabā'il*) so that you may know one another" (XLIX, 13). On the strength of its inclusion in the Qur'anic vocabulary, this substantive has been the subject of various explanations. Unfortunately, these are at once imprecise, contradictory and unsatisfactory. As examples of *kabila*, al-Kalkaşhandī (i, 308) cites the Rabī'a and Muḍar groups, which others regard as *shu'ub*; the tribe would in that case include a considerable number of divisions and sub-groups. Al-Bayḍawī (*Anwār al-tanzīl*, Istanbul 1303, ii, 453) and al-Ṭabarsī (*Maḍīma' al-bayān fi tafsīr al-Qur'an*, Beirut 1961, xxvi, 96) consider it to be of more modest size. According to the former writer, the Kināna would belong to this type of group, while the latter names the Bakr. In the story of 'Antar, the Banū 'Abs are described as a *kabila*, which is thereby reduced to a very limited size. In reality, such examples are valid only when placed in precise historical perspective. An endogamous group, of unilineal descent, does not retain either the same size or the same rank in the social hierarchy throughout its existence. Thus the Quraysh, a mere branch of the Kināna in about the middle of the 6th century A.D., after some decades had become a powerful tribe. It would therefore be difficult to accept the models suggested by the classical authors. All that can be deduced from them with certainty is that the *kabila* is a smaller group than the *sha'b*, which is made up of several tribes, and larger than the *ashīra* ([q.v.] cf. Qur'an, XXL, 214; IX, 24; LVIII, 22).

The Arabic dictionaries prove, in the event, to be of little more help. Like the genealogists, in classifying the technical terms of social architecture they have relied solely on one criterion, that of size. The groups fit into one another like a set of boxes: the *djūdhm* (the stock or origin) contains the *djumhūr* (population, mass), which contains the *sha'b*, which contains the *kabila*, which contains the *simāra* (sub-tribe, small tribe), which contains the *baṭn* (belly or division), which contains the *fakhdh* (thigh or section), which contains the *ashīra* (clan), which con-

tains the *fašīla* (kindred; cf. Qur'an, LXX, 13), which contains the *rahṭ* (family; cf. Qur'an, XI, 91 f.). Although more complete than that of al-Māwardī (*Aḥkām*, Bonn 1853, 353), the above list drawn up by al-Nūwayrī likewise omits the word *hāyy*, to which Robertson Smith attached much importance. Despite this plethora of technical terms, the social structures of the ancient nomadic Arabs remain extremely fluid.

In the writings of contemporary authors, *kabila* is often synonymous with *ashīra*, although they are agreed in regarding it as numerically inferior to the latter. The same variability is to be observed among the desert Arabs, who use the two words indiscriminately to denote the clan, while the tribe is sometimes called *kabila*, sometimes *šaff*. In the face of such uncertainty, some ethnologists eventually gave up using a vocabulary which appears to be unsuitable for translating the social reality which nevertheless it claims to express (R. Montagne, *La civilisation du désert*, Paris 1947, 50).

We are scarcely better informed in regard to the ancient tribal organization. When seen from outside, no social group appears to be as homogeneous and united as the *kabila*. The traditional conception regards it as a large patriarchal family whose members, all closely linked with each other, bear the same patronymic name, that of their common ancestor. The homogeneity of the tribe, not to say that of the ethnic community itself, would appear to result from the process of its development, thanks to an uninterrupted series of endogamous marriages, from the time of the original founder. The groups claiming to derive from the same origin would therefore be connected with one another, like the links of a chain, and in this way they would form an enduring consanguineous unit.

The over-simplified nature of this representation is evident. Criticism is all the more justified in denouncing the artificial aspect of the classical theory since, at the tribal level itself, an extraordinary intermingling, brought about by migrations, wars and the constant movement to and fro between the desert and the city, periodically challenged even the surest of the genealogical foundations. The clan itself accepts the presence among its own people of certain foreign elements (dependents, protégés, confederates) who in the end become totally integrated with it by marriage or through the alliance of blood.

Does this mean that everything in the traditional theory of relationship among the Arabs must be rejected, and that one is confronted with a later construction, fashioned during the first century of Islam? Despite the well-known thesis of Robertson Smith, the existence of a system based on matrilinearity, in pre-Islamic Arabia, today seems very problematical. The genealogists' theories, although manifestly exaggerated, would not appear to be devoid of foundation. Certainly there could be no question of accepting the thesis of the consanguineous unity of the tribe. However, taken at the level of the line of descent, this unity is effective and serves as a basis for determining the *damauriyya*, formerly the *āhīla* [q.v.], that is to say those jointly responsible for a crime committed by one of their members. A system of endogamy, carried to the limit of incest and practised on a very wide scale, forces the group back upon itself to such an extent that, when it extends, it does not cease to regard itself as a large family.

In short, it follows from this cursory examination of the classical documents that the exact significance of the word *kabila* remains as indeterminate as its morphology. We are therefore compelled to resort

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and became parts of a worldwide economy, that Arabs began to travel in significant numbers to Europe and to write accounts of their journeys, what they saw on arrival and how they reacted to an alien culture and way of life. Rifā'a Rāfi' **al-Taḥṭāwī** wrote in 1834 his *Takhlīṣ al-ibrīz fī talkhīṣ Bārīz* on his experiences in France; and the several works of Aḥmad Fāris **al-Shidyāq** of a generation or so later contain much acute if deprecatory comment on his stays in London and Paris.

Further reading

Hourani, G.F., *Arab Seafaring*, Princeton (1951); new enlarged edn by John Carwell, Princeton (1995).

Miquel, A., *La Géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu'au milieu du 11^e siècle*, 4 vols, Paris and The Hague (1967-88).

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See also: geographical literature

Arabs); (iii) *al-'Arab al-musta'riba* (the Arabized Arabs) whose patriarchal ancestor was 'Adnān and who occupied the central and northern areas of the peninsula (northern Arabs). The picture is complicated by the drift northwards in the centuries before Islam of the Qaḥṭān tribes, the two main branches of which were Ḥimyar and Kahlān. It was the descendants of the latter especially who migrated from southern Arabia: Lakhm and Ghassān established important states in the north of Arabia, bordering on the Persian and Byzantine empires in the pre-Islamic era (see **Ghassānids**; **Lakhmids**), while Kinda held sway for a time in central Arabia. Other descendants of Kahlān, through Azd, were the tribes of Aws and Khazraj who were settled in Medina at the time of the Hijra. Another Qaḥṭānī tribe well represented in the Syrian desert to this day is that of Kalb. Although the southern Arabs were traditionally afforded historical precedence, after the advent of Islam the northern tribes more than redressed the balance, since they counted among their number the all-important tribe of Quraysh, whose ancestor Qusayy took possession of the Ka'ba by defeating the Khuzā'a, its previous (southern) owners. The two main branches of the northern Arabs descend through Muḍar and Rabī'a. From the former, through Qays 'Aylān, spring Bāhila, Ḥawāzin and Ghaṭafān. Thaḳīf are descended from Ḥawāzin, and 'Abs and Dhubyān from Ghaṭafān. Also from Muḍar through Khindīf spring **Hudhayl**, Tamīm, Ḥarb and Kināna, the ancestors of Quraysh. From Rabī'a through Asad are descended 'Anaza, 'Abd al-Qays, Taghlib and Bakr ibn Wā'il.

The tribal wars in pre-Islamic Arabia provided ample scope for poets to eulogize the virtues of their tribes, and it seems that the renowned literary fair held at 'Ukāz, during which all hostilities ceased, was above all an occasion for boasting and panegyric (al-Quṭb, 1968). The first *qaṣīda* is said to have been an elegy composed by **al-Muhalhil ibn Rabī'a** of Taghlib on the death of his brother Kulāyb in the war of Basūs between the tribes of Bakr and Taghlib. Another celebrated war of the period, between two tribes with a common ancestry, was that between 'Abs and Dhubyān which lasted for forty years and occasioned the fine *ḥamāsa* poetry of 'Antara ibn Shaddād, who fought valiantly on the side of 'Abs. **Imru' al-Qays's** *qaṣīda* bears witness to the hatred that existed between Kinda and Lakhm,

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The importance of genealogy for the Arabs was both retrospective and prospective. To know one's ancestors and to recall their glorious deeds in verse was a source of tribal cohesion, but equally there was a solemn duty to hand on by meritorious conduct the tribe's good name to future generations. As a Prophetic *ḥadīth* puts it, *al-nās ma'mūnūn 'alā ansābihim* ('People are the guardians of their lineage'). The purity of the blood-line (*aṣāla*) was nowhere more highly esteemed than in pre-modern Arabia, where pre-eminent **bedouin** tribes were termed *sharīf* and claimed descent from one of the two original ancestors of the Arabs. Among the best known of these tribes are 'Anaza, Shammar, Ḥarb, Muṭayr, 'Ajmān, Zafīr, al-Murra, Qaḥṭān, 'Uṭayba, Dawāsir, Sba'i, Qawāsīm, Ḥuwaiṭāt and Banū Tamīm. The ruling families of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Bahrain are descended from 'Anaza who are considered the aristocrats of the desert (Dickson, 1983).

Arab genealogists view the origin of the Arabs as descendants of Shem son of Noah in tripartite fashion: (i) *al-'Arab al-bā'ida* (the lost Arabs), the original inhabitants of Arabia such as the tribes of 'Ād and Thamūd, most of whom had vanished before the advent of Islam; (ii) *al-'Arab al-ārība* (the true Arabs) who descend from Qaḥṭān and occupied the southwestern corner of Arabia (southern

A copy of a Catalan map showing North Africa appears in the volume two color insert.

See also Biruni, al-; Ibn Battuta; Ibn Khaldun; Pilgrimage: Hajj.

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Thyge C. Bro

TRIBE

The English word *tribe* is an ambivalent term that is used indiscriminately to refer to a wide variety of social groupings that range from small, preliterate, and relatively isolated communities in the Amazon jungles of South America to large, powerful confederacies whose chiefs are members of the national political elite such as the Bakhtiyari of southwest Iran. In what follows, the concepts of "tribe" and "tribalism" are discussed in the specific context of the Middle East.

The Arabic term for tribe is *qabila* (pl. *qaba'il*). The word *qabila* is mentioned in the Qur'an: "O mankind: we have created you from a male and a female and made you into peoples and tribes [*qaba'il*] that you may know each other" (49:13). In its most common usage, *qabila* refers to a named group of people who share an ideology of common descent in the male line, claim a common geographical territory, and are politically united under the leadership of a chief, called a *shaykh* in Arabic, or *khan* in Persian and Turkish. As such, the concept of "tribe" and "tribalism" is used to simultaneously indicate a personal and group identity, a form of social organization, and a distinct political structure.

As a source of personal and group identity, tribal affiliation can be analogous to ethnicity albeit on a more limited scale; it confers a distinct identity on its members, binding them together in a distinct moral code expressed most commonly in the idiom of honor, courage, and personal autonomy. Tribal identity, based on ties of kinship (real or fictitious), is further reinforced by the common practice of close endogamy that favors the marriage of a man to his father's brother's daughter. Among Arabic speakers, intratribal bonds and group cohesion are expressed in the idiom of *'asabiyya*, or group solidarity, based on blood ties and common descent.

Tribal systems of sociopolitical organization are also based on the ideology of common descent from a founding ancestor; some pastoral nomads, like the Bedouins of the Arabian and Syrian deserts, keep elaborate genealogies that serve to

organize the different segments of the tribe in a network of mutual rights and responsibilities. Typically, the smallest tribal segment is the household made up of one or more patrilineally related families; a number of such households make up the next ascending segment, or lineage. Among the Bedouins, this level of organization is known as *fakhd*; members of a *fakhd* or lineage usually lay claim to a common grazing territory, brand their herds with the same symbol, and are collectively liable to pay blood money in the case of a murder committed by one of their members. A number of related lineages are grouped into the next all-encompassing level of the tribe, or *qabila*; in some parts of the Arabic-speaking Middle East, this level is also referred to as *'ashira*. The tribe is thus the largest named unit of incorporation constructed on a genealogical framework. While today tribes serve mainly as reference groups for related lineages, in the past they played an important role in the political life of the region. Each tribe united behind a paramount chief who acted as a military commander in intertribal warfare. Tribal members typically share a strong sense of common heritage that goes beyond that of common descent. They tend to speak one dialect, dress in a distinctive style, and have their own customs and traditions.

Tribes have a long and complicated history in the Middle East; unlike the case for other parts of the world, tribes did not disappear with the formation of nation-states in the region. In fact, the historical coexistence of state and tribe lends a unique texture to Middle Eastern human geography. Beginning with the Islamic conquest in the seventh century (itself carried out by Arab tribal forces) tribes and tribal confederacies have played a key role in the creation and disintegration of several Islamic imperial dynasties such as the Abbasids, the Ottomans, and the Qajars. Equally significant were the many tribes who managed to maintain their autonomy in defiance of state rule. This was the case with the Bedouin tribes of Arabia, the Kurds of the Zagros mountains, and the large tribal confederacies of Iran like the Bakhtiyari and the Qashqa'i.

In the mountain and desert areas of Kurdistan, the Arabian Peninsula, and Iran, tribally organized confederacies managed to escape the reach of the state and maintain their independence well into the twentieth century. Following the breakup of the Ottoman Empire after the First World War and the arrival of European colonial powers in the region, the role of tribes in the newly formed nation-states assumed a new significance. In their effort to stem anticolonial and nationalist movements in the region, colonial powers encouraged tribal separatism by promoting tribal identities and reinforcing the authority of tribal leaders. This policy of "divide and rule" came to an end after the Second World War, which marked the end of colonialism in the region. Seeking to promote national unity, the policy of the newly independent governments aimed at integrating the tribes into the nation-state. In cases of pastoral nomadic tribes such

IKIBES, *qabīlah*, plur. *qabā'il*, the earliest, and still surviving form of human association in the Arab world. Present-day Arab tribal society, while in a certain measure adapted to the technical innovations of modern civilization, has upon the whole held on to its age-old mode of living and pattern of concepts and attitudes. Its home is the vast expanse of sand dunes in the Arabian, Syrian and Mesopotamian deserts, the *bādīyah*, which gave its name to its inhabitants, the Bedouins (*badāwī* plur. *badāwīyūn*; collectively *bādawīyū* or *badū* and *ahl al-bādīyah*, people of the desert, as they call themselves; but in colloquial language usually *al-ʿarab*, the Arabs). Most of the year entirely dry, apart from some larger or smaller oases, and only after the winter rains covered for a few months with a carpet of green, the desert imposes upon its people a constant migration (*musabalah*) in search of water and fresh grazing grounds for their camels and sheep, forth and back from the interior to the borders, where grasses and shrubs secure scanty but sufficient fodder also during the summer. There too is the occasion to market the increase of the flocks, hides, wool, clarified butter (*samnah*) or cheese, and to purchase the few essentials not supplied by the herds, mainly rice, flour, olives, sugar, coffee and tea. Until not very long ago razzias* into the settled zones or the exaction of a tributary payment (*khawwah*), as a rule in kind, had to help tide over difficult periods when drought or disease had diminished the livestock.

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350. REID, James J. *Tribalism and Society in Islamic Iran 1500-1629*. xiv + 220 p.,
index. Undena Publications, Calif., 1983 (Studies in Near Eastern Culture and
Society, issued under the auspices of the G. E. von Grunebaum Center for Near
Eastern Studies, University of California, Los Angeles, 4).

Livre important par son dessein, et qui laisse perplexe par ses résultats. Est-il prématuré de proposer une vue d'ensemble sur un sujet aussi complexe que «tribalisme et société dans l'Iran safavide», ou bien faut-il bousculer les scrupules paralysants de l'érudition? Les anthropologues risquent d'être séduits par l'assurance constructrice du langage de J. Reid, les historiens orientalistes de n'être qu'irrités par l'emploi constant des références-pièges.

Après soixante-cinq pages d'introduction sur les structures politico-sociales et économiques telles que l'auteur les voit mises en place, en Iran, dans le demi-millénaire qui précède l'avènement des Safavides, quatre-vingt-dix pages traitent en partie de ce que promet le titre. Cernant la nature de l'*oymaq* qizilbaş, «collectivité d'unités généalogiques semi-apparentées, rangées en relations de pouvoir hiérarchiques autour d'une unité centrale, famille ou clan» (ch. 4, «Qizilbash oymaq system», p. 66-80), M. Reid veut étudier, succinctement, à partir de trois groupes tribaux trois problèmes majeurs : avec les Tāleš, la formation des domaines familiaux et leur déclin (ch. 5, p. 81-96); avec les Mawşellu, la fusion des *oymaq* Aq-qoyunlu dans les confédérations safavides (ch. 6, p. 97-106; assimilation des éléments timourides, ch. 7, p. 107-113); avec les Ustāgalu, les crises et les conflits au sein d'un des groupes tribaux les plus puissants (ch. 8, p. 114-121). La crise du système tribal dans son ensemble fait l'objet des deux derniers chapitres (ch. 9, p. 122-140, critères de la crise de l'élite dirigeante turkmène; ch. 10, p. 141-143, évolution de la société safavide). Suivent trois appendices prosopographiques, Tāleš (P; 155-158), Mawşellu (p. 159-165) et Ustāgalu (p. 166-199), glanés dans des chroniques. Des chapitres relatifs à d'autres *oymaq* n'ayant pu trouver place dans le livre ont été publiés en article, sur les Qağar dans *Iranian Studies*, XI (1978), p. 117-143, sur les Qaramanlu dans *Studia Iranica*, IX/2 (1980), p. 195-209.

L'accueil fait à ces articles a été nettement réservé. Aux critiques émises par R. D. McChesney (*Iranian Studies*, XIV/1-2 (1981), p. 87-105), la réponse de James J. Reid (*ibid.*, XVII/1 (1984), p. 85-92) est loin d'avoir dissipé le malaise. On meublerait des pages à corriger les fautes de lecture qui forment une toile de fond à l'ouvrage. Les listes d'émirs compilées par Reid seront-elles utiles à l'élaboration d'un *Who's Who* safavide? Disons la valeur limitée des chroniques persanes, et l'appoint essentiel des documents d'archives (cf. un bon exemple dans J.-L. Bacqué-Grammont, *Une liste d'émirs ustāgalus révoltés en 1526*, dans *Studia Iranica*, V (1976), p. 91-114). Du moins est-on en droit d'attendre que les références données à des sources narratives justifient les éléments originaux qui composent telle ou telle notice (pour prendre un exemple : celle de Āyan Sulṭān, p. 179). Les petites preuves, nettes et bien brossées, font solides les grands raisonnements. Les défaillances à cet égard de M. Reid, les flous de son commentaire historique (d'où des affirmations curieuses sur l'exportation de la soie, sur l'économie agraire, sur l'assiette tribale du régime), l'insuffisance de sa bibliographie, tant en travaux modernes qu'en sources persanes, empêchent le lecteur de le suivre de confiance dans ses observations percutantes. On le regrettera d'autant plus qu'il sent les questions essentielles, et qu'il a le grand mérite d'être le premier à tenter d'en prendre une vue globale.

Tirailé entre la juste conscience qu'il a des possibilités d'un chercheur en son premier travail (cf. p. 120, 135) et la funeste obsession sociologique de fabriquer des modèles, M. Reid compromet son projet de fournir «a scientific apparatus for measuring the problems encountered by a certain segment of the Safavid ruling elite» (p. 135) ou «a developmental framework through which future efforts at developing a more coherent analysis of the Iranian economy may proceed» (p. 37), en y mêlant l'intention beaucoup trop ambitieuse de «chercher à montrer comment les élites iraniennes différaient des autres élites contemporaines, et à établir la place du système iranien dans le modèle mondial (*world pattern*) des XVI^e et XVII^e