

11 Aralık 2015

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22 Haziran 2015

# Osmanen und Islam in Südosteuropa

Herausgegeben von  
Reinhard Lauer und Hans Georg Majer

Redaktion  
Natalya Maisheva und Aleksandra Laski

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN  
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Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
Dem. No:	1995/24
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Berlin 2014

De Gruyter

## Raja – ein Schlüsselbegriff islamischer Staatlichkeit und seine Geschichte

TILMAN NAGEL

26 Ağustos 2015

Zur Einführung

Wer sich jemals von Beschreibungen des islamischen Orients hat fesseln lassen, wird auf den Begriff der *raja*<sup>1</sup> gestoßen sein. Er bezeichne, so der Tenor der Erläuterungen, die nichtmuslimischen Untertanen des Sultans; seit dem 18. Jahrhundert sei jedenfalls diese Bedeutung anzunehmen.<sup>2</sup> Bisweilen wird einer solchen knappen Definition hinzugefügt, die Tatsache, dass der Sultan über *raja* herrsche, zeuge von der Duldsamkeit seiner Religion gegen Andersgläubige; doch kann man auch von Drangsalierungen der *raja* lesen. Zieht man das 1866 erschienene *Türkisch-arabisch-persische Handwörterbuch* von Julius Theodor Zenker zu Rate, wird man unter dem Lemma *ra'ijet* dahingehend belehrt, dass dieses arabische Wort ursprünglich die weidende Herde meine; der Plural *ra'ājā*, im Deutschen zu *raja* verballhornt, stehe allgemein für die Untertanen, im engeren Sinn jedoch für diejenigen, die sich nicht zum Islam bekennen. Unter einem eigenen Eintrag für *ra'ājā* erhält man bei Zenker zusätzlich den Hinweis, es handle sich um jene Teile der osmanischen Bevölkerung, die zur Zahlung der Kopfsteuer verpflichtet seien; der – arabische – Plural werde von der osmanischen Verwaltung wie ein Singular gebraucht: ein *raja*, ein Angehöriger der *ahl-i zimmet*,<sup>3</sup> d.h. der andersgläubigen „Schützlinge“ des islamischen Reiches.

- 1 Auch die Schreibung *raya* findet sich.
- 2 So im *Großen Brockhaus* von 1997. Wahrscheinlich geht diese zeitliche Eingrenzung auf den Artikel *rajat* in der *Bol'skaja Sowetskaja Enziklopedija* von 1975 zurück. Dieser Artikel enthält keine Angaben über Forschungsliteratur, jedoch einen Querverweis auf *randžbar*, einen einst in Aserbeidschan gängigen Begriff für den Pächter oder Lohnarbeiter eines Grundherrn. Nach der Eroberung der transkaukasischen Territorien durch Russland im Jahre 1846 sei dieses Wort im Sinne von „Leibeigener“ verwendet worden; hiervon sei der osmanische *raja* zu unterscheiden.
- 3 Der arabische Begriff *ahl ad-dimma*, „Leute des Schutzes“, bezeichnet seit frühislamischer Zeit die nichtmuslimischen Bevölkerungsgruppen innerhalb des islamischen Territoriums. Diese „Schützlinge“ haben in einem fiktiven Vertrag auf einen Teil ihrer Rechte verzichtet – z.B. auf die freie Religionsausübung, den Waffenbesitz, die gesellschaftliche Gleichrangigkeit mit den Muslimen – und erlangen dadurch den „Schutz“ der muslimischen Obrigkeit, dürfen also nicht beraubt oder ohne einen Rechtsgrund getötet werden. Die jährliche Kopfsteuer wird als ein Entgelt für diesen „Schutz“ betrachtet (vgl. Bat Yeor 2002).

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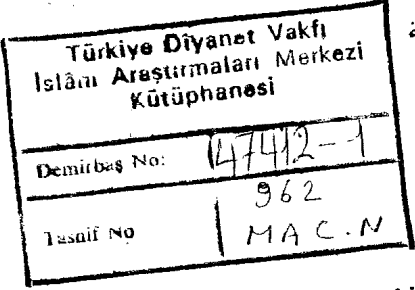
# تظاهرة دولة سلاطين المماليك ورؤيتهم في مصر

دراسة شاملة للنظم السياسية

(41-27) - 5

تأليف  
الدكتور عبد المنعم ماجد

أستاذ التاريخ الاسلامي  
بكلية الآداب بجامعة عين شمس



الطبعة الثانية

منقحة

1979

ملتزم للطبع والنشر  
مكتبة الأنجلو المصرية  
16 شارع محمد فريد (عمارة التوت سابقاً)

16 KASIM 1997

## الفصل الأول

### السلطان

اختيار السلطان - ألقابه - سلطته الزمنية - السطة الدينية - مظاهر الخلافة  
العباسية في مصر - ألقاب الخليفة - تفويض السلطان - مبايعة الخليفة - حقوقه .

وقد كان على رأس المماليك السلطان ، وهو يأتي في الغالب نتيجة  
لاختيار الأمراء له ، وليس نتيجة للوراثة ؛ فهو بذلك الأول بين أقرانه ؛  
« Primus inter Pares »<sup>(١)</sup> . وقد حاول بعض السلاطين البحرية  
أو البرجية إدخال المبدأ الوراثي ، ولكن أمراء المماليك لم يأخذوا به<sup>(٢)</sup> ،  
ولم يكن للابن الأكبر للسلطان حق ملزم في التولية بعد أبيه ؛ غير  
وصية أبيه له .

ومع ذلك ، فقد كانت هناك ظروف تحدد هذا الاختيار ، وهي :  
الوصول إلى السلطنة ، منها على الخصوص كثرة عدد المماليك عند الأمير  
المهادف إلى السلطنة ، فكان يقال إن مقام الأمراء بمماليكهم<sup>(٣)</sup> ؛ فبعضهم  
عنده خمسة آلاف ، أو سبعة آلاف ، أو حتى اثنا عشر ألفاً<sup>(٤)</sup> . ومن  
ناحية أخرى ؛ لكي يحتفظ السلطان بالسلطنة كان عليه أن يحنق ويقتل  
ويسجن ويتنفي أعداءه ، أو أن يتقرب من كبار الأمراء ويوزع عليهم  
الإقطاعات والوظائف ، أو أن يلجأ لجعل كبار الأمراء يعيشون معه

(١) أنظر . La Syrie , xxx . Demomb .

(٢) أنظر صبريم في المصادر المملوكية .

(٣) المقرئ ، كتاب السلوك ، (مخطوط) بدار الكتب ، برقم ٤٥٥ ، ص ٤/٢ .

ورقة ٤٣٤ . وأورد على إبراهيم ، المماليك البحرية ، ص ٣٠٠ .

(٤) ابن إياس ، ص ٢١ ، ص ٢١ ، ص ٣١٥ ، ص ١٠٣ ، ص ١٢٩ . أنظر أيضاً

المخطوط ، ص ١٥٣ .

- ٢٦ -

ب - في عهد المماليك البرجية أو الجركسية

ميلادي	هجري	
١٣٧٧ - ١٣٨٣	٧٧٩ - ٧٨٥	التوكل على الله عمداً
١٣٨٣ - ١٣٨٦	٧٨٥ - ٧٨٨	الواثق باق عمر
١٣٨٦ - ١٣٨٩	٧٨٨ - ٧٩١	المتصم باقز كرايا (مرة ثانية)
١٣٨٩ - ١٤٠٥	٧٩١ - ٨٠٨	التوكل على الله (مرة ثالثة)
١٤٠٥ - ١٤١٢	٨٠٨ - ٨١٥	المستعين باق الدباس
١٤١٢ - ١٤٤١	٨١٥ - ٨٤٥	المتنشد باق داود
١٤٤١ - ١٤٥١	٨٤٥ - ٨٥٥	المستنقذ باق سليمان
١٤٥١ - ١٤٥٥	٨٥٥ - ٨٥٩	المقائم باق حمزة
١٤٥٥ - ١٤٧٩	٨٥٩ - ٨٨٤	المستنجد بالله يوسف
١٤٧٩ - ١٤٩٢	٨٨٤ - ٩٠٣	المتوكل على الله عبد العزيز
١٤٩٢ - ١٥١٦	٩٠٣ - ٩٢٢	المستنجد بالله يعقوب
١٥١٦ - ١٥١٧	٩٢٢ - ٩٢٣	التوكل على الله محمد

1661 MAYIS 8

KİTABIN ADI: YÖNETİM-DİN İLİŞKİLERİ AÇISINDAN OSMANLI DEVLETİNDE SİYASET VE DİN ■ YAZARI: DR. DAVUT DURSUN ■ DİZİN: RIZA KURTULUŞ ■ TASHİH: İŞARET ■ KAPAK VE İÇ DÜZENLEME: YAZIEVİ İLETİŞİM HİZMETLERİ ■ KAPAK RESMİ: III. SELİM'İN DEVLET ERKANI İLE BAYRAMLAŞMA TÖRENİ - TOPKAPI SARAYI, AKALAR KAPISI / TABLO SAHİBİ BİLİNMIYOR ■ BASILDIĞI YER: İSTANBUL ■ BİRİNCİ BASIM: MAYIS 1989 ■ DİZGİ: MAVİ MATBAA ■ BASKI: GÜMÜŞ BASIMEVİ ■ CİLT: BAYRAK MATBAACILIK

YÖNETİM-DİN İLİŞKİLERİ AÇISINDAN  
OSMANLI DEVLETİNDE  
SİYASET VE DİN

DR. DAVUT DURSUN

Radikal (208-227)

Türkçe Diyalog Vakfı İstanbul Anadolupedisi İstanbul	
Kayıt No. :	11108
Tasnif No. :	301 DUR-7

işaret

Ankara Cad. no: 107/63 Cağaloğlu-İstanbul Tel: 519 17 28

lerinde kullardan yararlanılmıştır. Memlûklı, Abbasi, Selçuklu ve diğer yönetimlerde kulların önemli işlevler gördüklerini biliyoruz. Ortaçağ İslâm yönetimlerinin kullardan yararlanma geleneğini Osmanlılar da sürdürmüşlerdir.

Genel özellikleri, yukarıda özetlenen Osmanlı siyasi-idari sisteminde yer alan kurumlara geçebiliriz. Osmanlı yönetiminde etkin rol oynayan kurumlar Padişahlık, Saray, Divan-ı Hümayun ve Kadılıktır. İlk üçü merkezde, kadılık ise taşra yönetiminde etken olmuşlardır. Bunların dışında diğer çeşitli kurumlar üzerinde durulabilirse de önem itibarıyla yukarıda verilen kurumların incelenmesi gerekmektedir. Kurumlar ele alınırken, daha çok din ve dini örgütlenme ile olan ilişkilerine dikkat edilecektir.

#### A. Padişah

##### 1. Genel Olarak Osmanlı Padişahı ve Sistem İçindeki Yeri:

Osmanlı siyasi-idari sisteminin merkezinde bulunan Osmanlı Padişahı yönetimin temel taşıdır. Siyasi, idari, dini ve her türlü iktidarı elinde bulundurmuş ve tarihin akışı içinde birtakım değişiklikler geçirmiştir. Yönetilenlerin (reâyâ) ve yönetenlerin (askerî) kendisine bağlılık duydukları tek kişi (82) olan Osmanlı Padişahları, devletin örgütlenmeye başladığı ilk yıllardan itibaren çeşitli unvanlar kullanmışlardır. İlk örgütlenme döneminde «Bey» unvanının yanı sıra «Gazi» unvanının kullanıldığını daha önce belirtmiştik.

Osmanlı padişahları, «Sultan» unvanını I. Murad'tan itibaren kullanmaya başlamışlardır. M. Nuri Paşa'nın anlattıklarına göre I. Murad (Murad Hü-

davendigâr Gazi), Mısır'da bulunan Abbasi Halifesine, hükümetinin şer'iliğini onaylaması için bir elçi göndermiş ve Mısır'daki Abbasi Halifesi de I. Murad'ın hükümetinin İslâmî kurallara uygun olduğunu bir «İcazetnâme» ile onaylamıştır. Halife, ayrıca I. Murad'a «Sultan Murad», Devletine «Devlet-i Osmaniye», saltanat sülâlesine de «Osmanlılar» adlarını vermiştir (83). IX. Yüzyıldan itibaren İslâm dünyasında ortaya çıkan çeşitli oligarşik prensliklerin ve Türk-İslâm Devletleri'nin hükümdarları, fiili siyasi otoritelerini Bağdad'taki Halifeye tasdik ettirdiklerini ve Halifeden çeşitli unvanlar aldıklarını biliyoruz. Selçuklular bahsinde belirtildiği gibi, Tuğrul Bey'i Bağdad Halifesi «Doğunun ve Batının Hükümdarı» ilan etmekle birlikte o'na «Sultan» unvanı da vermişti. Halifenin Tuğrul Bey'e «Sultan» unvanı vermesi, her türlü dünyevi iktidarı kullanabilme hakkını teyid etme anlamına geliyordu (84). Fiili iktidarın Halifeye tasdik ettirilmesi geleneğini Osmanlı yönetiminin de sürdürmüş olduğu anlaşılıyor. M. Nuri Paşa'nın anlattığı bu olay, uydurma bile olsa, belli bir anlamı bulunmaktadır. Osmanlı iktidarı, Halifenin meşrulaştırıcı (dinin meşrulaştırıcı işlevi demek daha doğru olacaktır) işlevinden yararlanmak ihtiyacını duymuştur. Sanıyorum ki, bu uygulama, yönetilenlerin zihniyet dünyalarında olumlu etkisini gösteriyordu.

Osmanlı padişahları; «Bey», «Gazi», «Sultan» unvanlarının dışında «Han», «Hüdavendigâr», «Emir», «Hünkâr» ve «Padişah» unvanları kullanmış bulunuyorlar. Türk geleneğindeki hükümdarlık unvanı olan «Han» ve «Hakan»ın kullanılması, Eski Türk geleneklerinin nisbeten devam ettiğinin işareti sayılmalıdır. I. Bayezid döneminde Osmanlı hanedanının

(82) Shaw, 1. s. 231.

(83) Bk. M. Nuri Paşa. 1-11, s. 13 ve 73-74.

(84) Nikita Elisséf, L'Orient Musulman..., s. 212.

# نهاية الأرب

في  
فنونه الأدب

تأليف

شهاب الدين أحمد بن عبد الوهاب النوري

٥٧٣٢ - ٥٦٧٧

السفر الخامس  
١٤٤٦

نسخة مرسومة عن طبعة دار الكتب

مركز البحوث والدراسات  
المؤسستين  
للتأليف والترجمة والطباعة والنشر



## الجزء السادس

الحالة ضرر عليهم، لأنه يدعهم بلا إمام ويعرضهم للاجتهاد في نصب غيره، وقد يصبون في ذلك أو يخطئون .

فصل - وإذا أمر الإمام أمراء واستقضى قضاة ثم مات، كان أمرؤه وقضاته على أعمالهم كما كانوا في حياته ولا ينزلون، وليسوا كالوكيل ينزل بموت الموكل، لأن الوكالة نيابة، والولاية شركة. هذا ما قاله الحلي، والله تعالى أعلم. فهذه الشرعية التي لا بد منها في حق الإمام .

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وأما الشروط العرفية والأصطلاحية، وهي ما ينبغي أن يأتيه الملك من جميل الفعال، ويذكره من قبيح الخصال .

قال معاوية بن أبي سفيان : مهما كان في الملك فلا ينبغي أن تكون فيه خمس خصال : لا ينبغي أن يكون كذابا، فإنه إذا كان كذابا فوعد بخير لم يرج، وإن وعد بشر لم يخف؛ ولا ينبغي أن يكون بخيلا، فإنه إذا كان بخيلا لم يناصحه أحد، ولا تصلح الولاية إلا بالمناصحة؛ ولا ينبغي أن يكون حديدا، فإنه إذا كان حديدا مع القدرة هلكت الرعية؛ ولا ينبغي أن يكون جسودا، فإنه إذا كان جسودا لم يسرف أحدا، ولا يصلح الناس إلا على أشرفهم؛ ولا ينبغي أن يكون جبانا، فإنه إذا كان جبانا اجترأ عليه عدوه .

وقال ابن المقفع : ليس للملك أن يغضب، لأن القدرة من وراء حاجته؛ وليس له أن يكذب، لأنه لا يقدر على استكراهه على غير ما يريد؛ وليس له أن يخجل، لأنه أقل الناس عذرا في خوف الفقر؛ وليس له أن يكون حقودا، لأن خطره أعظم من المجازاة .

## من نهاية الأرب

وقالت الحكماء : يجب على الملك أن يتلبس بثلاث خصال : تأخير العقوبة في سلطان الغضب، وتعجيل مكافأة المحسن، والعمل بالأناة فيما يحدث؛ فإن له في تأخير العقوبة إمكنا، وفي تعجيل المكافأة بالإحسان المسارعة في الطاعة من الرعية، وفي الأناة اتساع الرأي وإيضاح الصواب .

وقالوا : ينبغي للملك أن يأنف أن يكون في رعيته من هو أفضل منه دينا، كما يأنف من أن يكون منهم من هو أنفذ منه أمرا .

وقيل : لا ينبغي للملك أن يسرع إلى حبس من يكتفى له بالخفاء والوعيد . وقالوا : ينبغي للملك أن تعرفه رعيته بالأمانة، ولا يعجل بالعقاب ولا بالثواب، فإن ذلك أدوم لخوف الخائف ورجاء الراجي .

وقال بعض حكماء الفرس : أحزم الملوك من غلب جده هزله، وقهر رأيه هواه، وعبر عن ضميره فعله، ولم يخدعه رضاه عن خطئه، ولا غضبه عن كيد .

## الباب الثاني

### من القسم الخامس من الفن الثاني

في صفات الملك وأخلاقه وما يفضل به على غيره، وذكر ما قيل من أقوال الخلفاء والملوك الدالة على علوهمهم وكرم شيمهم

قال أحمد بن محمد بن عبد ربه : السلطان زمام الأمور، ونظام الحقوق، وقوام الحدود، والقطب الذي عليه مدار الدين والدنيا؛ وهو حي الله في بلاده، وظله الممدود على عبادته، به يمنع حريمهم، وينصر مظلومهم، ويقمع ظالمهم، ويؤمن خائفهم .

## نظم دولة سلاطين الممالك ورسومهم

دراسة شاملة لنظم البلاط ورسومه

٣

تأليف

دكتور عبد المنعم ماجد

أستاذ التاريخ الإسلامي بكلية الآداب بجامعة عين شمس  
ورئيس قسم التاريخ بالنيابة

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
Demirbaş No:	147412-2
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١٩٦٧

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الناتشر  
مكتبة الأنجلو المصرية  
١٦٥ شارع محمد زكي  
القاهرة

- ١٥١ -

ويقبلون يده . فإذا فرغوا ، حضر الخليفة وجلس مع السلطان على التخت ؛ ليلبسه بيده الخاتمة المسماة (١) : الخاتمة الخليفة أو السواد الخليفة ، وهو زى السلطان الرسمي ، الذي وصفناه سابقاً . فيقرأ كبير موظفي ديوان الإنشاء ( كاتم السر ) المختص بالمكاتبات الرسمية - تقليد الخليفة للسلطان على البلاد الإسلامية بما فيها مصر والشام والحجاز واليمن وديار بكر والفرات بالجزيرة ، وما يُضاف إليها ، وما يُفتح من بلاد الكفر ، ولا سيما هذه العبارة : « فوضت إليه ذلك » ، وكذا يشهد كبار قضاة المملكة على عقد التفويض . وقد يخطب الخليفة في هذه المناسبة ؛ فإذا كان قوي الشخصية دعا السلطان إلى أن يكون رحيماً بالرعية . ثم يقبل الأمراء الأرض للسلطان من جديد ، ويحلفون له على المصاحف بأن لا يخونوا ولا يقدروا ولا يثبوا عليه ؛ إذ أن السلاطين كانوا دائماً مهديين من قبل الأمراء . وبعد ذلك ، يصافح السلطان أمير المؤمنين ، بعد أن يمنحه التشاريف ، ويمنحهم الرجال الدولة ؛ حتى أنها قد تبلغ أكثر من ألف ومائتي خاتمة (٢) .

وقد يخرج الأمراء ورجال الدولة وعلى رأسهم السلطان في شوارع القاهرة ؛ حيث يُحمل التقليد ، الذي منحه الخليفة إياه في كيس من الحرير الأسود بوضع على رأس الوزير (٣) ؛ وتكون القاهرة قد زينت (٤) .

(١) ابن تيمزي بردي ، مورد الطائفة ، ص ٤٥ ، ٧٨ ، ١٠٢ . عنها ، انظر ابن إياس ، ص ١٠١ س ٧٧ وما بعدها ؛ وقبله .  
(٢) السلوك ، ص ٤٨ س ٧ - ٨ .  
(٣) نفسه ، ص ٤٨ س ٧ - ٨ .  
(٤) مورد الطائفة ، ص ٩٣ .

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٥ - الجلوس للقصاص من الملوك الضخام والرسول .

٦ - جلوس قضاء المظالم .

٧ - جلوس المولد النبوي .

١ - تولية السلطان (١)

يقام بالضرورة في القلعة باحتفال كبير ؛ لأن سلطنته لا تتم إلا بدخوله قلعة الجبل . فيخرج السلطان من داره راكباً فرسه ، ومعه خواص أمرائه ، إلى الإيوان - وهي القاعة الضخمة ذات الأعمدة - بشعار السلطنة من آلات خاصة وبثود وأبواق ، وقد ظله لواوان أسودان ، منشوران على رأسه ، كما يوضع في عنق فرسه قماش أسود دمشقي ، وعليه برذعة سوداء ؛ إذ أن اللون الأسود يرمز إلى الشعار العباسي ؛ وذلك لتأكيد صبغة الدولة السنية . فيدخل السلطان إلى الإيوان من باب اسمه باب النحاس ، أو من باب آخر اسمه سر القصر الكبير ؛ حيث يوجد عنده درج يقف عنده فرس السلطان .

ويكون جلوس السلطان في هذا الاحتفال على تخت في أعلى مكان . فيقبل الأمراء الأرض بين يديه على قدر مراتبهم ، ثم يتقدمون إليه .

(١) ابن حبيب ، درة الأسلاك في دولة الأتراك ، مطبوعة (B. N.) ، رقم ٤٦٨٠ - ٤٦٨١ ورفقة ٩٨ ب ؛ صبح [ط. دار الكتب] ، ص ٢٨٠ - ٢٨١ ؛ الخطط ، ص ٣٤٠ - السلوك ، ص ٢/١ س ٤٥٢ وما بعدها ؛ حسن المحاضرة ، ص ٤٥ ؛ مفضل ، النهج السديد والدر الفريد فيما بعد تاريخ ابن العميد (Pat. Ori., t12; Fasc 3. Paris) ص ٤٢٤ - ٤٢٥ ؛ المقصد ، ورفات ، ص ١٢١ - ١٢٢ ب ؛ زبدة ، ص ٨٩ ؛ ابن إياس ، ص ٩٨ ، ١٠١ ؛ انظر . ماجد ، نظم الممالك ، ص ٣٧ - ٣٨ .

- sīā  
- Adālet  
- Sultan

# Iran Nameh

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Vol. VII, No. 3, Spring 1989

ایران نامه، سال هفتم

۵۴۰

می آید و با دقت و وسواس عالمانه یک یک مقاله های رسیده را می خواند، و با یادداشت های ظریف ولی مثنی کمی منابع را می نمود، زیادیها را می کاست، تندگوینها را ملایم می کرد، جدولها و عکسها و نقوش لازم را نشان می داد و اوراق چیده شده را بر می رسید و غلط گیریها را باز می دید و به نویسندگان نامه ها می نوشت و درنگ کاریها و سهل انگاریها و کمی ها را طوری تذکر می داد که دلزدگی بیار نیاید. همکارانش هم بیدریغ و هنرمندانه کار می کردند: همت و دانش منوچهر کاشف از لابلای صفحات دانشنامه آشکارست و تخصص و فرزانیگی و کارآمدی پُرذُر اُکتر شِروه Prods Oktor Skjaervo در همه موارد پیدا. گزینش چنین همکارانی خود یک هنر است.

چاپ این کتاب مفضل و بسیار نفیس مایه آبرومندی ایرانیان است و بیار آمدن و بدست رسیدن مجلدات بعدی، آرزوی همه مشتاقان ایران و میراث پهناور آن. خداوند بزرگ استاد یارشاطر را تندرست نگهدارد و همت بلندش در انجام این هدف متعالی را کامیاب گرداند که وی اگر هیچ اثر دیگری هم نساخته بود با همین «کاخ بلند» نام جاوید جسته است.

یادداشت:

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M. Dresden in *AJOS* 105, 1985, pp. 164-65.  
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احمد کاظمی موسوی

*The Just Ruler (al-Sultan al-'adil) in Shi'ite Islam: The Comprehensive Authority of the Jurist in Imamite Jurisprudence*  
Abdulaziz Abdulhussein Sachedina  
New York, Oxford University Press, 1988.

سلطان عادل در شیعه  
ولایت عامه فقیه در فقه امامیه  
نوشته عبدالعزیز عبدالحسین ساجدینا  
نیو یورک: چاپ دانشگاه آکسفورد، ۱۹۸۸  
۴۸۱ صفحه

«سلطان عادل» عنوان بحثی است در باره نیابت، ولایت و رهبری فقهای شیعه طریقی

## نظم دولة سلاطين المماليك ورسمه

دراسة شاملة لنظم البلاط ورسمه

٣

تأليف

دكتور عبد المنعم ماجد

أستاذ التاريخ الإسلامي بكلية الآداب بجامعة عين شمس  
ورئيس قسم التاريخ بالنيابة

١٩٦٧

Türkiye Dîyanet Vakfı İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
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١٦٥ شارع محمد شريف  
القاهرة

- ٧١ -

والجل زي السلطان الأهم ، الذي لدينا عنه معلومات وافية ، هو زيته حين توليته السلطنة (١) ، وهو ما يسمى بالسواد الخلفي ، أو الخلعة الخلفي ، أو خلعة السلطنة (٢) ، أو حتى قماش الخدمة (٣) ، وذلك لأن الخليفة العباسي ، الذي أقامه المماليك في مصر ، كان هو الذي يلبسه إياها في إحتفال كبير ، كما أنها تميزت باللون الأسود ؛ لأن هذا اللون يدل على مذهب الخلافة العباسية السني ، الذي هو مذهب مصر الرسمي منذ أن سقطت خلافة الفاطميين الشيعة في مصر على يد الأيوبيين . ومع ذلك ؛ ففي مناسبات أخرى يُسمى زي السلطان : قماش الموكب (٤) ، مما يبين أنه يلبس في مناسبة الموكب الرسمية .

فكان السلطان يلبس عمامة صغيرة سوداء مدورة على الرأس - مع أنها كانت للخليفة الفاطمي مستطيلة (٥) - تسمى : التخفيفة (٦) ، وتكون بعذبة ، ترسل بين كتفيه قدر ذراع . وقد عرفنا له عمامة أخرى ، تسمى (٧) :

(١) أنظر . Dopp .

Le Caire vu par les voyageurs Occidentaux du Moyen Age.  
B. S. R. G. d'Eg, 1950-1953. p. 138

عاشور ، مصر في دولة المماليك البحرية ، ص ١٢٢ - ١٢٨ .

(٢) ابن تقي بردي ، مورد الطاقة ، ص ٤٥ ، ٧٨ ، ١٠٢ ؛ ابن إيس ، ١ ص ١٠١ من ٢٢ ؛ أنظر . Mayer . Op. Cit, p. 78:

(٣) المقصد ، ورقة ١٢١ .

(٤) النجوم (P) ، ص ٦ ، ١٢٣ .

(٥) صبح ، ص ٣ ، ٤٧٣ .

(٦) ابن إيس (K. M.) ، ص ٤ ، ٢١٢ ، ٢٢ ، ٤٢٣ ، ص ١٨ - ١٩ ؛ الخطط ، ص ٣٤٠ من ٧ ؛ المقصد ، ورقة ٥٥ ، ١٢١ . التخفيفة عمامة صغيرة ،

أنظر . Dozy . Suppl, I, p. 386:

(٧) ابن إيس (K. M.) ، ص ٤ ، ٢١٢ ، ١٣ ، ٣٣٢ ، ص ١ - ٢ ، ٢١ ، ٢٠٤

ص ٩ ؛ أنظر . Mayer . Mamluk Costume, 1952, p. 16-17.

وبما هذا الاسم آت من أن النامورة - وهي السابقة - تديرها الأبقار .

- ٧٠ -

وفي الصفحات التالية نعرض بالتفصيل الملابس المملوكية ، التي سيقدمنا منها التائق والابتكار .

## زي السلطان :

وكانت الموكب وغيرها تتطلب من السلطان لبس أخف وأنفس ملابسه في كل مناسبة (١) ، وكان لسلطين مصر ذوق كبير في لبسهم ، يقترحون في الزي ، ويعملون على تطوره . فيمكنني أن نذكر من السلطين المتأثرين الناصر محمد بن قلاوون ، الذي لبس قيصاً وقجون أو بدن (٢) ، من صوف وجوخ ، وهو ثوب قصير من غير بطانة من تحته ، ولا غشاش من فوقه ، فتداول الناس لبسه ، وذاع في أوروبا بحيث أن الفرنجة اجتلبوا منه شيئاً كثيراً .

وكان السلطان يلبس لكل مناسبة رسمية زياً ؛ وإن كنا لا نعرف بدقة لبسه في كل مناسبة ، كذلك يغير قماشه على حسب الفصول (٣) ؛ ففي الصيف يكون لبسه الأقمشة الخفيفة البيضاء ، وفي الشتاء الجوخ والصوف والفرو . حتى أنه كان يمتثل بلبس الصوف (٤) ؛ وذلك بالخروج به في موكب رسمي . كما أنه قد يلبس زي الحرب (٥) ، مثل بقية الأمراء . وكان السلطان إذا خلع رداءه مرة ، لا يلبسه مرة ثانية مطلقاً ، حيث توزع ملابسه المستعملة في مكان خاص ، وقد ينعم بها على أمرائه وخاصته .

(١) صبح ، ص ٤ ، ٥٣ .

(٢) الخطط ، ص ٣ ، ١٦٠ . قجون جمعها قاجن . أنظر . Dozy . Suppl, 2, p. 403:

من البدن ، أنظر . Dozy . Suppl, I, 58:

(٣) صبح ، ص ٤ ، ٤٠ ؛ حوادث ، ص ١٢٤ ؛ زبدة ، ص ٨٨ .

(٤) زبدة ، ص ٨٦ من ١٥ - ١٦ . كان يلبسه إن جاءه الغريف السخاوي .

التبر للبدن ، ص ١٢ .

(٥) فإن السلطان الظاهر كان يلبس زردية مسيلة .

القرنيزي ، السلوك ، ١ / ٢ ، ص ٦٠٨ من ١٢ .

# صِحْحُ الْأَعْنَى

فِي  
صِنَاعَةِ الْإِنْسَانَا

Sultans (420-421)  
تَأليف

أحمد بن علي القلقشندني

عن ابن تاراندی  
Delet

المتوفى ٨٢١ هجرية - ١٤١٨ ميلادية

شَرَحَهُ وَعَلَّقَ عَلَيْهِ وَقَابَلَ نَصُوصًا

نبيل خالد الخطيب

الجزء الخامس

6414-5  
892.7  
KAL.S

- ضُبِّطَتْ وَقُوِّبَتْ عَلَى طَبْعَةِ دَارِ الْكُتُبِ الْمِصْرِيَّةِ  
وَعَلَى الْمَصَادِرِ الْأَسَاسِيَّةِ لِنُصُوصِ الْكُتَّابِ .  
- مُدْبِلَةٌ بِاسْتِدْرَاكَاتٍ وَنُصُوبِيَّاتٍ وَهَوَامِشٍ تَوْضِيحِيَّةٍ .  
- مُسْتَفِيدَةٌ مِنَ الدَّرَاسَاتِ وَالْأَبْحَاثِ الَّتِي كُتِبَتْ حَوْلَ  
هَذَا السِّبْطِ التَّقْيِيسِ مِنْ مَكْتَبَتِنَا الْعَرَبِيَّةِ .

دار الكتب العلمية  
بيروت - لبنان

صِحْحُ الْأَعْنَى ..... الجزء الخامس ٤٢١

واختلف في اشتقاقه: ف قيل إنه مشتق من السَّلَاطَة وهي القهر والعَلْبَة: لتهره الرعية وانقيادهم له، وقيل مشتق من السليط وهو الشَّيْرُجُ في لغة أهل اليمن لأنه يُسْتَضَاءُ به في خَلَاصِ الْحَقُوقِ، وقيل من قولهم لسانٌ سَلِيْطٌ أي حَادٌّ مَاضٍ لِمَضِي أَمْرِهِ وَنُفُودِهِ. وقال محمد بن يزيد البصري: السُّلْطَانُ جَمْعٌ وَاحِدُهُ سَلِيْطٌ كَقَفِيْزٍ وَقَفْرَانٍ وَبَعِيْرٍ وَبُعْرَانٍ.

وحكى صاحب «ذخيرة الكُتَّابِ»<sup>(١)</sup>: أنه يكون واحداً ويكون جمعاً، ثم هو يُدَكَّرُ عَلَى مَعْنَى الرَّجُلِ، وَيؤنَّثُ عَلَى مَعْنَى الْحُجَّةِ. وحكى الكسائيُّ والفراءُ عَلَى التَّائِيْثِ عَنْ بَعْضِ الْعَرَبِ قَضَتْ بِهِ عَلَيْكَ السُّلْطَانُ. قال العسكريُّ فِي كِتَابِهِ «الْفُرُوقُ» فِي اللُّغَةِ: وَالْفَرْقُ بَيْنَهُ وَبَيْنَ الْمَلِكِ أَنَّ الْمَلِكَ يَخْتَصُّ بِالرَّعِيْمِ الْأَعْظَمِ، وَالسُّلْطَانُ يُطَلَّقُ عَلَيْهِ وَعَلَى غَيْرِهِ. وَعَلَى مَا ذَكَرَهُ الْعَسْكَرِيُّ عُرِفَ الْفُقَهَاءُ فِي كِتَابِهِمْ، إِذْ يُطَلِّقُونَهُ عَلَى الْحَاكِمِ مِنْ حَيْثُ هُوَ حَتَّى عَلَى الْقَاضِي فَيَقُولُونَ فِيمَنْ لَيْسَ لَهَا وَلِيٌّ خَاصٌّ يَزُوجُهَا السُّلْطَانُ وَنَحْوِ ذَلِكَ. وَمِنْ حَيْثُ إِنَّ السُّلْطَانَ أَعْمٌ مِنَ الْمَلِكِ يُقَدِّمُ عَلَيْهِ فِي قَوْلِهِمُ السُّلْطَانُ الْمَلِكُ الْفُلَانِيَّ: لِيَقَعَ السُّلْطَانُ أَوْلَاً عَلَى الْمَلِكِ وَعَلَى غَيْرِهِ ثُمَّ يَخْرُجُ غَيْرُ الْمَلِكِ بَعْدَ ذَلِكَ بِذِكْرِ الْمَلِكِ.

الرابع - الوَازِرُ، وَهُوَ الْمُتَحَدِّثُ لِلْمَلِكِ فِي أَمْرِ مَمْلَكَتِهِ. وَاخْتَلَفَ فِي اِشْتِقَاقِهِ: فَقِيلَ مُشْتَقٌّ مِنَ الْوَزْرِ بِفَتْحِ الْوَوِ وَالزَّوِي وَهُوَ الْمَلْجَأُ، وَمِنْهُ قَوْلُهُ تَعَالَى: ﴿كَلَّا لَا وَزَرَ﴾<sup>(٢)</sup> سُمِّيَ بِذَلِكَ لِأَنَّ الرَّعِيَةَ يَلْجَأُونَ إِلَيْهِ فِي حَوَائِجِهِمْ، وَقِيلَ مُشْتَقٌّ مِنَ الْأَوْزَارِ وَهِيَ الْأَمْتَعَةُ، وَمِنْهُ قَوْلُهُ تَعَالَى: ﴿وَلَكِنَّا حُمَلْنَا أَوْزَارًا مِنْ زِينَةِ الْقَوْمِ﴾<sup>(٣)</sup> سُمِّيَ بِذَلِكَ لِأَنَّهُ مُتَقَلِّدٌ بِخَزَائِنِ الْمَلِكِ وَأَمْتَعَتِهِ، وَقِيلَ مُشْتَقٌّ مِنَ الْوَزْرِ بِكَسْرِ الْوَوِ وَإِسْكَانِ الزَّوِي وَهُوَ الثَّقَلُ، وَمِنْهُ قَوْلُهُ تَعَالَى: ﴿حَتَّى تَضَعَ الْحَرْبُ﴾<sup>(٤)</sup>

..... الجزء الخامس ٤٢٠

خَلَائِفَ كَصَحِيْفِيَّةٍ وَصَحَائِفَ، وَعَلَيْهِ جَاءَ قَوْلُهُ تَعَالَى: ﴿وَهُوَ الَّذِي جَعَلَكُمْ خَلَائِفَ الْأَرْضِ﴾<sup>(١)</sup> وَالنَّسْبَةُ إِلَيْهِ خَلْفِيٌّ كَمَا يُنْسَبُ إِلَى حَنِيفَةَ حَنْفِيٌّ، وَقَوْلُ الْعَامَّةِ دَرَاهِمُ خَلْفِيَّتِي وَنَحْوَهُ خَطَأً، إِذْ قَاعِدَةُ النَّسْبِ أَنْ يَحْدَفَ مِنَ الْمَنْسُوبِ إِلَيْهِ الْيَاءُ وَهَاءُ التَّائِيْثِ عَلَى مَا هُوَ مُقَرَّرٌ فِي عِلْمِ النَّحْوِ. وَمِمَّنْ وَهَمَّ فِي ذَلِكَ الْمُقَرَّرُ الشَّهَابِيُّ بْنُ فَضْلِ اللَّهِ رَحِمَهُ اللَّهُ فِي كِتَابِهِ «التَّعْرِيفُ» حَيْثُ قَالَ: وَأَوَّلُ مَا نَبَدَأُ بِالْمَكَاتِبَةِ إِلَى الْأَبْوَابِ الشَّرِيفَةِ الْخَلْفِيَّةِ، وَلَعَلَّهُ سَبَقَ قَلَمُ مِنْهُ، وَإِلَّا فَالْمَسْأَلَةُ أَظْهَرُ مِنْ أَنْ يَجْهَلَهَا أَوْ تَخْفَى عَلَيْهِ.

الثاني - الْمَلِكُ. وَهُوَ الرَّعِيْمُ الْأَعْظَمُ مِمَّنْ لَمْ يُطَلَّقْ عَلَيْهِ اسْمُ الْخَلَافَةِ، وَقَدْ نَطَقَ الْقُرْآنُ بِذِكْرِهِ فِي غَيْرِ مَوْضِعٍ كَمَا فِي قَوْلِهِ تَعَالَى: ﴿إِنَّ اللَّهَ قَدْ بَعَثَ لَكُمْ طَالُوتَ مَلِكًا﴾<sup>(٢)</sup> (وقال الملكُ اثْنُونِي بِهِ)<sup>(٣)</sup> إِلَى غَيْرِ ذَلِكَ مِنَ الْآيَاتِ. وَيُقَالُ فِيهِ مَلِكٌ بِكَسْرِ اللَّامِ وَمَلِكٌ بِإِسْكَانِهَا وَمَلِيْكٌ بِزِيَادَةِ يَاءٍ، وَمِنْهُ قَوْلُهُ تَعَالَى: ﴿عِنْدَ مَلِيْكٍ مُقْتَدِرٍ﴾<sup>(٤)</sup> قَالَ الْجَوْهَرِيُّ: وَالْمَلِكُ مَقْصُورٌ مِنْ مَالِكٍ أَوْ مَلِيْكٍ، وَيَجْمَعُ عَلَى مُلُوكٍ وَأَمْلَاكٍ. وَيُقَالُ لِمَوْضِعِ الْمُلِكِ الْمَمْلَكَةُ.

الثالث - السُّلْطَانُ، وَهُوَ اسْمٌ خَاصٌّ فِي الْعُرْفِ الْعَامِّ بِالْمُلُوكِ. وَيُقَالُ: إِنَّ أَوَّلَ مَنْ لُقِّبَ بِهِ «خَالِدُ بْنُ بَرْمَكٍ» وَزَيْرُ الرَّشِيْدِ، لِقَبِّهِ بِهِ الرَّشِيْدُ تَعْظِيْمًا لَهُ، ثُمَّ انْفِطَعَ التَّلْقِيْبُ بِهِ إِلَى أَيَّامِ بَنِي بُؤَيْهٍ فَتَلَقَّبَ بِهِ مُلُوكُهُمْ فَمِنْ بَعْدِهِمْ مِنَ الْمُلُوكِ السَّلَاجِقَةِ وَغَيْرِهِمْ وَهَلَمَّ جَرًّا إِلَى زَمَانِنَا.

وأصله في اللغة الحُجَّةُ قَالَ تَعَالَى: ﴿وَمَا كَانَ لَهُ عَلَيْهِمْ مِنْ سُلْطَانٍ﴾<sup>(٥)</sup> يَعْنِي مِنْ حُجَّةٍ. وَسُمِّيَ السُّلْطَانُ بِذَلِكَ لِأَنَّهُ حُجَّةٌ عَلَى الرَّعِيَةِ يَجِبُ عَلَيْهِمُ الْإِنْقِيَادُ إِلَيْهِ.

(١) لابن حاجب النعمان أنظر صِحْحُ الْأَعْنَى (ج ١).  
(٢) أنظر سورة (القيامة) ورقمها (٧٥). آية رقم (١١).  
(٣) أنظر سورة (طه) ورقمها (٢٠). آية رقم (٨٧).  
(٤) أنظر سورة (محمد) ورقمها (٤٧). آية رقم (٤).

(١) أنظر سورة (فاطر) ورقمها (٣٥). آية رقم (٣٩).  
(٢) أنظر سورة (البقرة) ورقمها (٢). آية رقم (٢٤٧).  
(٣) أنظر سورة (يوسف) ورقمها (١٢). آية رقم (٥٠ و ٥٤).  
(٤) أنظر سورة (القمر) ورقمها (٥٤). آية رقم (٥٥).  
(٥) أنظر سورة (سبأ) ورقمها (٣٤). آية رقم (٢١).

# صَبْحُ الْأَعْيُنِ

في  
صِنَاعَةِ الْإِنْشَاءِ  
Sulham (45-51)

تأليف  
أحمد بن علي القلقشندي  
المتوفى ٨٢١ هجرية - ١٤١٨ ميلادية

شَرَحَهُ وَعَلَّقَ عَلَيْهِ وَقَابَلَ نَصُوحَهُ  
محمد حسين شمس الدين

الجزء الرابع

- خُطِبَتْ وَقُوْبِلَتْ عَلَى طَبْعَةِ دَارِ الْكُتُبِ الْمِصْرِيَّةِ  
وَعَلَى الْمَصَادِرِ الْأَسَاسِيَّةِ لِنُصُوحِ الْكُتَّابِ .  
- مُذْبِلَةٌ بِاسْتِدْرَاكَاتٍ وَنُصُوبِيَّاتٍ وَهَوَامِشٌ تَوْضِيحِيَّةٌ .  
- مُسْتَفِيدَةٌ مِنَ الذَّرَاسَاتِ وَالْأَبْحَاثِ الَّتِي كُتِبَتْ حَوْلَ  
هَذَا السِّقْفِ النَّقِيسِ مِنْ مَكْتَبَتِنَا الْعَرَبِيَّةِ .

دار الكتب العلمية

بيروت - لبنان

Dr. Ahmad Al-Sayid  
No. 10

Dr. Ahmad Al-Sayid  
No. 10  
892.7  
KAL.S

صبح الاعشى ..... ٤٥  
طويل الكُم؛ ويُرخون ذؤابة لطيفة على الأذن اليسرى لا تكاد تلتحق الكتف،  
ويركبون البغال بالكنابيش على نحو ما تقدم.

### الطائفة الرابعة

أرباب الوظائف الديوانية

أما أعيانهم كالوزراء ومن ضاهاهم، فيلبسون الفرجاني المضاهية لفرجاني  
العلماء المتقدمة الذكر، وربما لبسوا الحجاب المفرجة من ورائها. وقد ذكر  
في «مسالك الأبصار»: أن أكابرهم كانوا يجعلون في أكمامهم بادهنجات<sup>(١)</sup>  
مفتوحة، وقد صار ذلك الآن قاصراً على ما يلبسونه من التشاريف. ومن دون  
هؤلاء يلبسون الفرجيات المفرجة من ورائها على ما تقدم.

وأما ركوبهم فيضاهي ركوب الجند أو يقاربه. قال في «مسالك الأبصار»: «  
وتجمل هذه الطائفة بمصر أكمل مما هم بالشام في زيهم وملبوسهم، إلا ما  
يحكى عن قبط مصر في بيوتهم من اتساع الأحوال والنفقات، حتى إن الواحد منهم  
يكون في ديوانه بأدنى اللباس ويأكل أدنى المآكل، ويركب الحمار، حتى إذا صار  
في بيته أنتقل من حال إلى حال وخرج من عدم إلى وجود، قال: ولقد تبألغ الناس  
فيما تحكي من ذلك عنهم.

### المقصد الخامس

في هيئة السلطان في ترتيب الملك، وله ثلاث<sup>(٢)</sup> هيئات

### الهيئة الأولى

هيئته في جلوسه بدار العدل لخلّاص المظالم

عادة هذا السلطان إذا كان بالقلعة في غير شهر رمضان أن يجلس بكره يوم

..... ٤٤ الجزء الرابع

كتفيه ذؤابة تلتحق قروبوس<sup>(١)</sup> سرجه إذا ركب، ومنهم من يجعل عوض الذؤابة  
الطيلسان الفائق، ويلبس فوق ثيابه دلقاً<sup>(٢)</sup> متسع الأكمام طويلها مفتوحاً فوق كتفيه  
بغير تفريج، سابلاً على قدميه. ويتميز قضاة القضاة الشافعي والحنفي بلبس طرحة  
تستر عمامته وتسدل على ظهره، وكان قبل ذلك مختصاً بالشافعي؛ ومن دون هذه  
منهم تكون عمامته الطف، ويلبس بدل الدلق فرجية مفرجة من قدامه من أعلاها  
إلى أسفلها مزرة بالأزرار، وليس فيهم من يلبس الحرير، ولا ما غلب فيه  
الحرير؛ وإن كان شتاء كان القوقاني من ملبوسهم من الصوف الأبيض المطلي،  
ولا يلبسون الملون إلا في بيوتهم، وربما لبسه بعضهم من الصوف في الطرقات،  
ويلبسون الخفاف من الأديم الطائفي بغير مهايز.

الأمر الثاني (مركوبهم). أما أعيان هذه الطائفة من القضاة ونحوهم  
فيركبون البغال النفيسة المساوية في الأثمان لمسومات الخيول، بلجُم يُقال  
وسروج مدهونة غير محلاة بشيء من الفضة، ويجعلون حول السرج قرقشينا من  
جوخ. قال في «مسالك الأبصار»: «وهو شبيه بشوب السرج مختصر منه،  
ويجعلون بدل العبي الكنابيش من الصوف المرقوم محاذية لكفل البغلة، ويمتاز  
قضاة القضاة بأن يجعل بدل ذلك الزناري من الجوخ، وهو شبيه بالعباءة مستدير  
من وراء الكفل ولا يعلوه بردعة ولا قوش، وربما ركبوا بالكنابيش<sup>(٣)</sup>. وأما من دون  
هؤلاء من هذه الطائفة فربما ركبوا الخيول بالكنابيش والعبي.

### الطائفة الثالثة

مشايخ الصوفية

وهم مضاهون لطائفة العلماء في لبس الدلق إلا أنه يكون غير سابيل، ولا

(١) هو جنس السرج، وهما فربوسان، والجمع قرايبس. (الوسيط: ٧٢٣).

(٢) لباس يلبسه العلماء والقضاة والصوفية، ويكون من الصوف غالباً، وهو شعارهم. (مصطلحات

الصبح: ١٣٨).

(٣) راجع الحاشية رقم ١ في الصفحة ١٢ من هذا الجزء.

(تأصيل الدخيل: ص ٣٥).

(٢) الصواب: سبع، كما سنرى.



# الملكيّة ووراثته الحكيم في التاريخ الإسلامي

للأستاذ أحمد موسى سالم

ونعود إلى كتاب الدكتور محمود إسماعيل ، الحركات السرية في الإسلام ، لتكشف عن هذا الهدف السري الذي ركض وراءه ، بالمدارة والتقية فكر المؤلف العربي المهزم قوياً ، والأسير باسم العلم في أغلال نظريات الاستشراق الماركسي والاصتعماري ، والذي سول له ولعه بالتقليد ، أو الانهزام عن الحق أن يقاب بغير مبالاة حقائق التاريخ العربي الإسلامي رأساً على عقب ، وأن ينشط بفكر ظالم ، وأسلوب غاشم لتفريغ مدلول الأمة العربية في عهد الإسلام من أصلها ، وهو يكبيل التهم الجزافية لعصرين من أزهي العصور في تاريخ العرب المسلمين ، بل في تاريخ العالم ، بعد عصر النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم ، وعصر الخلفاء الراشدين ، وهما العصر الأموي والعصر العباسي ، ثم يكون ذلك كله في هذه الظروف التي تناضل فيها الأمة العربية من أجل وحدة أجزائها ، وتثبسط مقوماتها ، في حربها المصيرية

الضارية مع أعدائها الذين ينقل المؤلف العربي المهزم آراءهم العدوانية والمضلة بغير اكترات ، في مقدمة هذا الكتاب يبدأ المؤلف برفع معاول الهدم على عبودة العصر الأموي والعصر العباسي فيصف الأول بأنه ، النظام الملكي الهرقلي الأموي ، ويصف الآخر بأنه ، الحكومة الكسروية العباسية ، ثم ينطلق وراء عقله الباطن والظاهر فيفصح بالتلبيح عن آلة خصومته لهدن العصرين العربيين الإسلاميين فيصنفهما بأنهما ، حكومات دينية ، أو ثيوقراطية كما يسميها ويدعي عليها بالمفهوم اليوناني والغربي لهذا المصطلح . ثم يستعرض مع هواه الموجه فيرى أن تسلط هذه الحكومات العربية بمنهجها الديني ، وبما يقاب عليها من الفكر الجبري ، أي الشرعي ، غير القابل للتطور في نظره قد أوجب على من سماهم قوى المعارضة والظل واليسار من ملاحدة الشعوبية بجوسا ومنزكية وباطنية

## وتراطة أن

الحركات السرية للثورة عليها ، لأنها - في أعجب اختلال المنطق - حرقه المؤلف - قد حادت بفكرها الجبري الشرعي الإسلامي عن جادة الشريعة ، وأنه من أجل ذلك - وبالضيمه العلم والعلماء - قد صار هؤلاء المعارضين الثأرين الملاحدة أن يستعينوا عليها في نضالهم السري - الذي يشاركه المؤلف العربي - بكل مما كانت تزخر به الأرض العربية بالشام والعراق قبل تحربها بالإسلام من آراء وتعاليم مجوسية ، ومن وثنيات وإسرائيليات وفلسفات هيلينية يونانية في حربهم السرية القذرة ضد هذه الحكومات العربية الشرعية الدينية ، فإذا كان الفكر الإسلامي - كما يجب أن تعلموا يا مسلمي هذا العصر وبأشباب مصر الطيبة في الجامعة - ليصم أذنيه ، أو ليغلق عينيه - في نظر عالم الزمان الدكتور محمود إسماعيل - عن هذا الميراث الحضاري الوثني ، الضخم ، أي عن تعاليم ومفاهيم المجوسية والوثنيات والإسرائيليات والهيلينيات التي صنفتها

ومثله - في صورة هؤلاء المعارضين السريين الملاحدة من عملاء الاستعمار الفارسي ، ما لم يتعارض مع جوهر الإسلام ، كما يشترط في جملة اختلاطه وعينه بأبسط حرمان المنطق عالم الزمان المذكور . . . . .  
فالقضية عند تفسيرها بالمنهج الاستشراقي للمؤلف تنتهي إلى أنه من حق الملاحدة وعملاء الاستعمار الفارسي أن يتدخلوا بالحكومات العربية الدينية الشرعية على أرضها ووسط جماهيرها من المؤمنين وذلك باستعمال وسائل الإلحاد المجوسي والإسرائيليات والفلسفات والوثنيات ، ما لم تتعارض مع جوهر الإسلام ، والقضية بهذا التلخيص المنزع من مقدمة الكتاب إلى خاتمة لا يهني إلا أحد احتمالين هما أن المؤلف المصري وتلميذ يندى جويزي الماركسي وأمثال على الوردي وصالح أحمد العلي من شعوبية للعراق يرى أن ، الإسلام لا يتعارض في جوهره ، مع المجوسية والوثنيات والإسرائيليات والهيلينيات ، ولذلك أباح لمعارضيه

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2. Studies. Graf, *GCAL*, ii, 371-446 *passim*; A. Mallon, *Cat. des sceaux de la B.N. de Paris.*, in *MFOB*, iv (1910), 57-90; A. Sidarus, *Bibliographical introduction to medieval Coptic linguistics*, in *Bull. Soc. d'Archéol. Copte*, xxix (1990), 83-5; idem, *Coptic lexicography of the Middle Ages*, in R. McL. Wilson (ed.), *The future of Coptic studies*, Leiden 1978, 125-42; idem, *Les lexiques onomasiologiques gréco-copto-arabes du Moyen Age et leurs origines anciennes*, in R. Schulz and M. Görg (ed.), *Lingua restituta orientalis (Festschrift Julius Assfalg)*, Wiesbaden 1990, 348-59; idem, *Onomastica aegyptiaca ou la tradition des lexiques thématiques en Egypte ...*, in *Histoire, Epistémologie, Langage*, xii/1 (1990), 7-19; idem, *Manuscripts sahidiques de philologie gréco-copto-arabe*, in *MME*, vii (1995).

(A. SIDARUS)

**SULTĀN** (A.), a word which is originally an abstract noun meaning "power, authority", but which by the 4th/10th century often passes to the meaning "holder of power, authority". It could then be used for provincial and even quite petty rulers who had assumed *de facto* power alongside the caliph, but in the 5th/11th century was especially used by the dominant power in the central lands of the former caliphate, the Great Salḍjūks [see SALḌJŪKIDS, II, III.1], who initially overshadowed the 'Abbāsids of Baghdād. In the Perso-Turkish and Indo-Muslim worlds especially, the feminine form *sultāna* evolves to denote a woman holder of power. A denominative verb *tasaltāna* was formed, with the somewhat contemptuous diminutive *mutasaltān* for a petty prince, whilst in Spanish Muslim sources, *sulātān* was used to designate Alfonso VII of Castile after he had come to the throne as a child only (Dozy, *Supplément*, i, 674).

1. In early Islamic usage and in the central lands of Islam.

The native Arabic verb *salata* "to be hard, strong" (cf. Akkad. *salātu* "to have power") often occurs in ancient poetry, but not in the Qur'ān. *Sultān*, on the other hand, occurs frequently in the Qur'ān, with the denominative verb *sallata fulān*<sup>m</sup> 'alā fulān<sup>m</sup> "to empower s.o. over s.o." appearing in IV, 92/90, and LIX, 6. *Sultān* has there most often the meaning of a moral or magical authority supported by proofs or miracles which afford the right to make a statement of religious import. The prophets received this *sultān* from God (cf. e.g. sūra XIV, 12, 13) and the idolators are often invited to produce a *sultān* in support of their beliefs. Thus the dictionaries (like *TA*<sup>1</sup>, v, 159) explain the word as synonymous with *hujūdja* and *burhān*. There are also six passages in the Qur'ān where *sultān* has the meaning of "power", but it is always the spiritual power which Iblīs exercises over men (XIV, 26; XV, 42; XVI, 101, 102; XVII, 67; XXXIV, 20). Now it is this meaning of power, or rather of governmental power, which is attached to the word *sultān* in the early centuries of Islam. The word and its meaning were undoubtedly borrowed from the Syriac *shultānā*, which has the meaning of power, and, although rarely, also that of the wielder of power (Payne-Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, col. 4179; Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, Strassburg 1910, 39; A. Jeffery, *The foreign vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, Baroda 1938, 176-7). The Qur'ānic sense of the word may probably also be derived from the meaning of power (some lexicographers try to explain it as the plural of *salīl*, "olive oil"). Later, an attempt was made to connect the title *sultān* with the meaning of "argument", and it was paraphrased as *dhu 'l-hudūdja* (*TA*, loc. cit.).

In the literature of Ḥadīth, *sultān* has exclusively the sense of power, usually governmental power (the

*sultān* is the *walī* for him who has no other *walī*, al-Tirmidhī, i, 204) but the word also means sometimes the power of God. The best-known tradition, however, is that which begins with the words *al-sultān zill Allāh fi 'l-ard* "governmental power is the shadow of God upon earth" (cf. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii, 61, Eng. tr. ii, 67, and idem, *Du sens propre des expressions Ombre de Dieu, Khalife de Dieu, pour désigner les chefs dans l'Islam*, in *RHR*, xxxv [1897], 331-8). Al-'Utbī quotes this tradition at the beginning of the *Kutāb al-Yamīnī*, and his commentator al-Manīnī says that it was transmitted by al-Tirmidhī and others as going back to Ibn 'Umar (*al-Fath al-wahhī*, *Sharḥ al-Yamīnī*, Cairo 1286, i, 21). This tradition later played a part in the theories of the Sultanate because an allusion to the title was wrongly seen in it. Apart from Ḥadīth, Arabic literature to the end of the 4th/10th century only knows the word *sultān* in the sense of governmental power (among the many examples, cf., e.g. al-Ya'qūbī, *Kutāb al-Buldān*, 346, 349; Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torreṣy, 183, where it is said that in ancient times the residence of the *sultān* of Ifrīkiya was Carthage, and Ibn Ḥawkal, ed. de Goejé, 143, where al-Mawṣil is called the residence of the *sultān* and of the *diwān* of al-Djazīra) or of the person who at a particular time is the personification of the impersonal governmental power, as opposed to *amīr*, which is rather in the nature of a title. This last meaning, which is sometimes more completely rendered by *Dhu 'l-Sultān* (e.g. in Ḥadīth), and is totally different from the first, is found as early as the Egyptian papyri of the first century (for the governor of Egypt, cf. Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Aegyptens*, 90, n. 6) and in the following centuries sometimes also for the caliphs (the caliph al-Manṣūr is called *Sultān Allāh* in a *khutba*, al-Ṭabarī, iii, 426; the caliph al-Muwaffaq is called *Sultān*, *ibid.*, iii, 1894; and again in 997 the caliph al-Kādir, al-'Utbī, *op. cit.*, 265). This practice of designating a person by the word which indicates his dignity has parallels in all languages (see e.g. for Turkish official language, H. Ritter, in *Islamica*, ii [1927], 475); it even appears that the Assyrian form *siltān* was applied to foreign sovereigns (according to Ravaisse in *ZDMG*, lxiii [1909], 330). The meaning of "power, government", has been maintained in Arabic literature to the present day.

The transition in meaning from an impersonal representative of political power to a personal title is a development the stages of which are difficult to follow. Authorities writing later than this development make statements which can only be accepted with reserve. Thus Ibn Khaldūn (*Mukaddima*, ed. Quatremère, ii, 8, tr. Rosenthal, ii, 8-9) says that the Barmakī Dja'far was called *sultān* because he held the most powerful position in the state and that, later, the great usurpers of the power of the caliph obtained *lakabs* like *amīr al-umārā'* and *sultān*. The same thing is recorded of the Būyids (A. Müller, *Der Islam in Morgen- und Abendland*, i, 568) and of the Ghaznawids. Ibn al-Athīr (ix, 92) says that Maḥmūd of Ghazna obtained the title of *sultān* from the caliph al-Kādir. This statement is not confirmed by al-'Utbī, who, in giving the various *alkāb* conferred on Maḥmūd by the caliph (*op. cit.*, i, 317), makes no mention of this title. It is, however, true that al-'Utbī himself always calls Maḥmūd *al-Sultān*, giving in explanation the fact that Maḥmūd had become an independent sovereign (*op. cit.*, 311); but to al-'Utbī *sultān* cannot yet have been an official title, since he gives the same epithet to the caliph (see above). The first Ghaznawid on whose coins the title appears is Ibrāhīm b. Mas'ūd (451-92/1059-99),

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and Alalakh-Amarna *massu* respectively. In other words, the biblical poet draws his pair of synonyms from two different layers of the NW Semitic dialects, the earlier one represented by *sēbel* (Mari: *sablum*), the later one represented by *mas* (Alalakh-Amarna: *massu*).

It now becomes abundantly clear that biblical scholarship errs in deleting *nš* in the expression *nš sabbāl* in I Kings 5:29 and in reading *sabbāl* alone on the basis of II Chr. 2:1, 17. It should be borne in mind that at least II Chr. 2:1 has the idiom *'iš sabbāl*, not just *sabbāl* alone!<sup>108</sup>

<sup>108</sup> There seems to be no escape from the conclusion that the attestation of *sabbāl* "porter" in biblical Hebrew is altogether doubtful. Thus, in II Chron. 2:17 the word *'yš* has accidentally been omitted as is evident from verse 1 where the reading *'yš sēbel* is by now self evident. Note that even in a prosaic text the parallel to *ḥšb bhr* would surely be *'yš sēbel* not just *sbl* alone. It also stands to reason to read in Neh. 4:4 *kšl kh hassēbel wḥ'pr hrḥh* and to render: "The basket carriers are worn out for there is too much earth (to be carried in the corvée baskets!)." More problematic

is II Chron. 34:13 where *sabbālim* "porters" can hardly be correct. The word may denote here "corvée masters." Note the *mšḥym* "overseers" in our verse and cf. *'l hammas* "corvée master" (e.g., I Kings 4:6).  
<sup>109</sup> P. Kraus, *Altbab. Briefe*, II (1932), p. 63:5.  
<sup>110</sup> Observe that in all its occurrences, both in Alalakh and in Amarna, the idiom is always *LÜ.MEŠ massi/a = awilūti massi/a*.

Once again it need only be pointed out for our ready acceptance that the 'correct and original reading of our idiom is certainly *'iš sēbel* which is but a variant of, and in no way different in meaning from, *nš' sēbel*. Such a reading is not only corroborated by the Akkadian expression ERĪN GI.ĪL = *šāb tupšikki* "man of the basket, basket carrier,"<sup>109</sup> but also by the Alalakh-Amarna idiom *awilūti massi/a* "men of the corvée."<sup>110</sup>

In short, when we render such Akkadian expressions as *nāš/zābil tupšikki/kudurri* into biblical Hebrew, we obtain *nōšē' sēbel* or *\*soḥēl sēbel*; similarly, a rendering into Hebrew of the Akkadian *šāb tupšikki* and Alalakh-Amarna *awilūti massi/a* yields *'iš sēbel* and *'anšē mas* respectively.

## MILITARY POLITICS IN THE MUSLIM DYNASTIC STATES, 1400-1750\*

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Nearly half of the political systems in the Middle East late in the 1960s were Islamic monarchies. Two of them, in fact, dated back to the period before the European imperial powers engulfed the Muslim world. Military politics in the eight surviving monarchies, in some respects, resembled military politics of the preimperial dynastic states more closely than of the post-imperial Middle East Islamic republics of the twentieth century. Even in some of the republican polities, particularly those that have fallen under military rule, there are traces of preimperial influence. Moreover, the popularity of the military coup d'état in the postwar Middle East undoubtedly

owes a great deal to the fact that the violent seizure of political power had become an accepted mode of changing political leaders and policies in the Muslim dynastic states. The key to military politics in the preimperial Islamic dynastic states was the failure to fix a policy on succession. It was this ambiguity, as we shall see, that invited military intervention into politics.

The latest possible date at which the general community of Muslim states was still relatively free from the subordinating influence of European imperialism was the turn of the eighteenth century. At that time the present-day area of the Middle East, stretching from Morocco to Afghanistan and Pakistan, comprised four large Muslim dynastic states—the Ottoman (Turkey), the Safavi (Persia), and the Mughal (India) empires, and the 'Alawi kingdom of Morocco. There were, in addition, many small tribal principalities in the Arabian Peninsula and North Africa into

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The salient features of the State envisaged in these sixteen points laid down by the Holy Qur'an are as follows:

- a) This State is brought into existence by a conscious resolve on the part of a politically free nation to renounce all claims to sovereignty in favour of God Almighty, to surrender its autonomy accepting the position of vicegerency under Him, and to work according to precepts and directions given by the Book of God and the Sunnah of His Apostle.
- b) It is theocratic insofar as it is based on the doctrine of sovereignty of God but, in actual and practical realisation of this doctrine, it is vitally different from theocracy. Instead of delegating the vicegerency of God to a particular order of priests and vesting them with the full powers to rule, it vests the believers whose deeds are good with the right of Caliphate.
- c) It is democratic in the sense that the formation of government, change in its administrative set-up, and its working wholly depend upon the general will. But the rights of the people in this system are not so unlimited that they may change the law of the State, its ideology, its internal and external policy, and its resources according to their own sweet will. On the other hand, the Supreme Law of God and His Apostle with its legal and moral code provides a permanent and inviolable check which always keeps the life of the community on the right keel and on a broad pattern which can be changed neither by the executive, nor by the legislature, nor by the judiciary, nor even by the whole nation unless it

decides to renounce the religion of God and break its pledge with Him.

- d) It is an ideological State which must be run only by those who accept its basic ideology and principles wholeheartedly. As for those who do not subscribe to its ideology but live within its territorial bounds, the State guarantees them the same civil rights as are enjoyed by the other inhabitants provided they pledge to behave as law-abiding citizens.
- e) It is a State which makes no discrimination whatsoever on grounds of race or colour and is not bound by any linguistic or geographical barriers. It is a purely ideological State. All peoples, no matter to whatever race, nation, or country they belong, can accept this ideology and become equal partners in all the affairs of the State. Such an ideological State bids fair to become a world State. But even if more than one such States are established.

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— A.R. Rahmani

### Politics and Leadership

*The Qur'an* mentions how political leader have in the past exploited people and their weaknesses and established their aggressive and oppressive domination over them. It mentions the tyrannous role of the Pharaohs:

"And Pharaoh said, "O Chiefs! I know not that you have a god other than me, so kindle for me a fire, O Haman, to bake bricks out to clay, and build for me a lofty tower in order that I may survey the God of Moses; and truly I deem him (Moses) of the liars" (28:38).

"And he and his hosts were arrogant and insolent in the land without right, and thought that they would never be brought back to Us" (28:39).

And in the same *Surah*, we read:

"Truly Pharaoh exalted himself in the earth and broke up its people into sections, depressing a small group among them. He slew their sons and spared their women. And truly he was of those who make mischief" (28:3-4).

And in *Surah Al-Zukhruf* are these words:

"And Pharaoh proclaimed among his people, saying, 'O my people! Does not the dominion of Egypt belong to me, (witness) these streams flowing underneath my (palace)? What! See you not then?'"

Am I not better than this (Moses) who is a contemptible wretch and can scarcely express

himself clearly?...Thus did he make fools of his people and they obeyed him. Truly they were a people rebellious (against God)" (43:51-54).

*The Qur'an* then mentions how God wanted to raise the depressed to power and bring down the tyrant:

"And We desired to show favour to those who were oppressed in the land, and to make them leaders and make them heirs" (28:5).

In these verses, the whole panorama of the political scene, its corruption, bargaining techniques and mass psychology, and the use of slogans and creeds by the chiefs and leaders is summed up in a very beautiful and impressive way. Thus, *the Qur'an* refers to the arrogance of the 'Ad people:

"Do you build a landmark on every high place for vain delight? And do you get for yourselves fine strong buildings in the hope of living therein (for ever)? And when you exert your strong hand, do you exert it like tyrants? (26:128-130).

And to the people of Thamud:

"Will you be left secure in that which is here before us, in gardens and watersprings and tilled fields and heavy-sheathed palm-trees, though you hew out dwellings in the mountain with great skill?" (26:146-149).

Then *the Qur'an* gives its view of the state and its political and legal powers and functions.

*Supremacy of Law: The Qur'an* asserts the supremacy of law in these words:

"No believing man nor any believing woman should exercise choice in their affair once God and His Messenger have decided upon some matter. Anyone who disobeys God and His Messenger had wandered into manifest error" (33:36).

SULTAN *sultān*, presumably an Assyrian word which at an unknown period, but certainly prior to Islam, infiltrated into Arabic by way of Syriac, designating the concept of power bestowed by God. Originally

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## SULTAN

understood in the purely moral or ethical sense - as such it occurs in the Koran (*sūrah* XVII, 35; LXIX, 29; LI 38) - it subsequently connoted also the worldly aspects in the form of sovereign might and authority. Under the early 'Abbāsids\* the term was shifted from the sphere of the abstract to that of the concrete and came to signify the embodiment by the will of God of all power, spiritual and secular, in the person of the caliph, the supreme ruler. As soon, however, as the prestige of the caliphs started to decline they were forced to delegate an ever increasing part of their prerogatives upon their minister of state, the vizier\*. Simultaneously the term *sultān* appeared in titles which these all-powerful dignitaries insisted on having conferred upon them such as *Sultān al-Dawlah* (Possessor of the Authority in the State). To some extent they may have wanted to emphasize their exalted rank; but of equal weight probably was the need they felt to drape with a semblance of sacred right in the eyes of the people with the exercise of functions which in reality they held only by usurpation. The first one who had the title *al-sultān* appear on his coins was the great chieftain of the Saljūq Turks, Toghrul Beg (†1063), vizier and regent of the caliphate at the time of the 'Abbāsīd\* Caliph al-Qā'im (1031-1075). A similar motive of legitimizing their position acquired by the force of arms led the heterodox Fātimīd\* caliphs to assume the epithet 'Sultans of Islam'. They set an example which henceforth was followed not only by their successors on the throne of Egypt, Sultan Salāh al-Dīn (Saladin) of the house of the Ayyūbīds\* (1169-1252) and the Mameluke\* (1250-1517) 'Sultans of Islam and the Moslems', but also by numerous other princes in various Islamic countries. Most of them did not fail to follow the time-honoured practice of having the caliph bestow the title upon them or at least solemnly sanction its use. A remembrance of the former nimbus and splendour of this royal distinction was carried over into the twentieth century by the Sultan-Caliphs of the Ottoman Empire, until on the first of November 1922 the Grand National Assembly at Ankara declared that their office had ceased to exist. At present the title Sultan is borne by the sovereigns of Morocco, the rulers of Muscat and 'Umān\* and some of the more important chieftains in the Aden Protectorate\*.

السلطات الثلاث

Padisah

أنظر أيضاً:  
- قاضي القضاة

القضائية وشخصية القاضي. القاهرة:

١٩٦٧- البكر، محمد عبد الرحمن. السلطة

الزهراء للاعلام العربي، ١٩٨٧م،

ص ٧٨٩.

S.203.206

21 APRIL 2000

عبد الجبار الرفاعي، موسوعة مصادر النظام الاسلامي، ج. الثامن،

"الامامة والسياسة"، ١٤١٧هـ، ISAM KTP 070928

citadel at al-Salt, and stationed troops there. He also renovated the town's mosque. Mamlūk period sources describe al-Salt as being prosperous and noted for its orchards. It came within the *wilāya* of al-Balkā<sup>2</sup>, the sixth *wilāya* of the southern *ṣafka* of Damascus. The administrative status of al-Salt varied, but towards the end of the Mamlūk period it had eclipsed both Ḥiṣbān (Esbous) and ʿAmmān. Its residents probably followed the Shāfiʿī *madhhab*, for it is known that the town had a Shāfiʿī *kaḍī*, and that the *amīr* Sayf al-Dīn Begtimur al-Ḥusāmī (d. 729/1328) founded a Shāfiʿī *madrasa* there. A number of learned men with the name of al-Saltī are listed in the biographical dictionaries of this time.

The Ottoman *tapu defters* provide significant information about al-Salt. In 954/1538 it was the seat of a *nāhiya* comprising two *mahallas*: Awāmla east of the citadel and Maḥallat Akrād west of the citadel; between them there were 168 households, ten bachelors, four imāms, ten Christians, and six soldiers who manned the citadel. An order by the sultan of 959/1551 states that al-Salt was in a ruinous state, which corroborates the population decline recorded in the *tapu defter* of 1005/1596. Both *defters* detail the sum of 12,000 *aḳḳes* in dues that were collected from al-Salt as part of the allowances of the *mīr liwā* of ʿAjlūn. Christians paid the poll tax at the rate of 80 *aḳḳes* per head. At the time, al-Salt was a market place for the district, while Ḥiṣbān is reported as having been derelict.

The citadel at al-Salt continued to be well maintained. In 1033/1623, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Maʿnī II visited al-Salt and installed a garrison of fifty men there. It is claimed that the citadel was destroyed by Ibrāhīm Pasha [q. v.] during his presence in Syria between 1247/1831 and 1256/1840, and only ruins survive today, including trenches that give the neighbourhood the name of *Khandak*.

Little data is available about al-Salt during the 17th, 18th, and early 19th centuries, but there is plentiful information from the second half of the 19th century in connection with the measures taken by the Ottomans to rejuvenate the region during the *Tanzīmāt* period. Al-Salt's importance increased, but it remained administratively dependent upon either the Ḥawrān, Karak or Nābulus. Thus in 1313/1895, it was a seat of a *kaḍāʾ* within the *liwā* of Karak, that included its own *nāhiya* and the *nāhiyas* of ʿAmmān, D̄jīza and Mādaba. *Sāl-nāmes* and other sources report about 300 villages belonging to this *kaḍāʾ*, but it is difficult to accept this figure unless derelict sites are included.

Al-Salt had a *kaʾimmaḳām*, Islamic and civil courts, and special courts for non-Muslims. In addition, it had departments for education, health, land registry, taxation, postal and telegraph services, and religious endowments. The various villages, quarters, tribes and Christian communities each had its own *mukhtār*. The town attracted people from the regions of Damascus, Ḥamā and Palestine, and particularly from Nābulus, and these new settlers were responsible for the flourishing of business and increased construction of houses, shops, baths, and other buildings; Christians, many from Palestine, also came to settle in the city, and were the pioneers in business; along with others, they came to dominate land ownership in the neighbouring villages. A number of missionary groups came to al-Salt, and it had several churches, among them Greek Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic and Protestant. A Chamber of Commerce was instituted in 1301/1884, and a Municipal Council in 1305/1888. The town enjoyed security,

and through its military garrison maintained control over the region, especially the Abad, ʿAdwān, and Banū Ṣakhr tribes. This security attracted the influx of capital, which is reflected in the town's Ottoman-style mansions, many of which survive today.

Al-Salt was ahead of the rest of the country in education because of the number of both state and missionary schools that were established there. The first secondary school in Jordan was established there in 1344/1925, and it accordingly had an important early role in building the modern state of Jordan.

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(M.A. AL-BAKHIT)

**SALTANA** (A.) "sovereignty, ruling power", from the verb *saltana* "become ruler, exercise power", with *salāṭa* meaning "force" (*ḳahr*), thence by extension the holder of power. *Sultān* is found in the *Qurʾān*; see for a detailed discussion of the Islamic origins of the term and its later developments, SULTĀN. The Arabic papyri from the first century of Islam have such expressions as *kharaḳj al-sultān* or *bayt māl al-sultān*, with the sense of "authority of the government, or of the governor, *wālī* or *ḥakīm*". In the standard Arabic dictionaries (Ibn Durayd, *D̄jamhara*, iii, 27; Ibn Sīduh, *Mukḥaṣṣaṣ*, iii, 133 ff.; Ibn Fāris, *Muʿdjam maḳāyīs al-luḡha*, iii, 95; *LʿA*, iii, 2065-6; al-Fīrūzābādī, *Kāmūs*, ii, 365-6; *TʿA*, v, 158-60; Buṭrus al-Bustānī, *Muḥīṭ al-muḥīṭ*, i, 680), *sultān* is invariably connected with the idea of constraint. In popular Arabic usage, *salūt* means "oil", in Yemen, "sesame oil", and *sultān* is thus connected with *salūt* because oil, it is asserted, serves to make things clear, just like political authority. Hence *amīrs* are described as *sultāns* because the latter term is the divine proof which is used to put the proof into practice.



## P

PĀ<sup>2</sup> or bā<sup>2</sup>-i fārsī or bā<sup>2</sup>-i ‘adjāmī, i.e. the bā<sup>2</sup> with three points subscript, invented for Persian as supplement to the Arabic bā<sup>2</sup> and to represent the unvoiced, as opposed to the voiced, bilabial plosive (for the voiced *b*, see BĀ<sup>2</sup>). It is sometimes interchangeable with bā<sup>2</sup> (e.g. *asp* and *asb*, *dabīr* and *dapīr*) and, more frequently, with fā<sup>2</sup> (e.g. *sapīd* and *safīd*, *Pārs* and *Fārs*). The regular use of the letter in manuscripts is comparatively modern, but it is found in good ones of the 7th/13th century while at the same time it is often omitted in manuscripts of much later date (*GIPh*, 1/iv, 74; G. Lazard, *La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane*, Paris 1963, 142).

The usage of the letter pā<sup>2</sup> passed into Ottoman Turkish, for both original Turkish words (early Turkish had distinguished both voiced and unvoiced versions of the sound, and the first writing system for Turkish, that of the Yenisei and Orkhon inscriptions (7th-8th centuries A.D.), had had separate signs for *p* and *b*, see Talāt Tekin, *A grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, Bloomington, Ind. 1968, 24, 27 n. 10, 75) and for Persian loanwords (see J. Deny, *Grammaire de la langue turque (dialecte osmanli)*, Paris 1921, 51-2, 77-8). Pā<sup>2</sup> is likewise used in Urdu both for Persian and Turkish loanwords and for words stemming from the Indo-Aryan basis of the language.

In loanwords into Arabic, pā<sup>2</sup> may be rendered as bā<sup>2</sup>, e.g. in *bāshā* for Turkish *pasha*; *būstal/būsta* for Italian *posta*; *batrūl* for Fr./Eng. *pétrole/petrol*. But it was often rendered, especially in Classical Arabic at a time when Persian cultural influences were strong, as fā<sup>2</sup> also, e.g. *furānik* < MP *parvānak*, NP *parvāna* ‘messenger, courier with despatches’; *fānīdh* < Skr. *phānīta*, NP *pānīd* ‘sugar-cane syrup’; *fīrīnd* < NP *parand* ‘damascening on a sword’ (see A. Siddiqi, *Studien über die persischen Fremdwörter im klassischen Arabisch*, Göttingen 1919, 71).

(R. LEVY-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

## PĀDHŪSPĀN [see RŪYĀN].

PĀDISHĀH (P.), the name for Muslim rulers, especially emperors. The Persian term *pād-i shāh*, i.e. (according to M. Bittner, in E. Oberhammer, *Die Türken und das Osmanische Reich*, Leipzig 1917, 105) ‘lord who is a royalty’ in which the root *pad* is connected with Sanskrit *patiś*, lord, husband, fem. *patni*, Greek *πάτρις* and *δεσ-πότης*, Lat. *potens* (G. Curtius, *Griech. Etymol.*, 377), was originally a title reserved exclusively for the sovereign, which in course of time and as a result of the long intercourse of the Ottomans with the states of the West also came to be approved for certain Western rulers. In the correspondence of the Porte with the Western powers, the grand vizier Kuyudju Murād Pasha (d. 7 Djumādā II 1021/5 Aug. 1612) probably for the first time applied the title *pādishāh* to the Austrian emperor Rudolf II. At the conference of Nemirow (1737), Russia demanded the title for its Tsars (cf. J. von Hammer, *GOR*, vii, 488) and claimed it again at the negotiations at Bucharest (1773; cf. *ibid.*, viii, 412). When *pādishāh* came to be applied to the sultan, the *pādishāh-i āl-i ‘Othmān*, does not seem to be exactly known. In any case it is found in conjunction with all kinds of rhyming words as early as the beginning of the 10th/16th century in Ottoman documents. *Pādishāh* therefore may have come to be used towards the end of the 9th/15th century,

presumably instead of *khunkīār* (from *khudāwendkīār*; cf. *JA*, ser. ii, vol. xv, 276/572), an obsolete word, as well as *sultān* (cf. *Isl.*, xi [1921], 70) already found in dervish *Šūfism*, and was regularly used till the end of the sultanate (cf. the cry of *pādishāhimiz čok* or *biñ yasha* with which the sultan was greeted by his troops and subjects).

In Persian usage, followed by that of the Indo-Muslim rulers such as the Mughal emperors, *pādishāh* became a normal designation for the ruler, though regarded as lower than that of *shāhanshāh* [see *SHĀH*], and in more recent times it was used by Persian monarchs in diplomatic documents addressed to European kings. Already the *Hudūd al-‘ālam* (end of the 4th/10th century) uses *pādshā(h)* ‘ruler’ and *pādshā<sup>2</sup>/pādshāy* even for petty princes of the upper Oxus region and northern Afghānistān (tr. Minor sky, 108, 109, § 23.65, 75; idem, *Addenda to the Hudūd al-‘ālam*, in *BSOAS*, xvii [1955], glossary, 257). When ‘Alī, son of the head of the Šafawī order Haydar b. Djunayd, adopted the title of *pādishāh* in his struggle with the Aḳ Koyunlu [q.v.] towards the end of the 9th/15th century, it was a clear indication of the ambitions of the Šafawī family (see R. M. Savory, *Iran under the Safavids*, Cambridge 1980, 20). In the later half of the 19th century, A. de Biberstein Kazimirski noted that some of the officials of Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh [q.v.] had taken to describing their master, not only as *shāhanshāh*, but also as *pādishāh-i kull-i mamālik-i Irān*, apparently in imitation of the Tsar’s designation ‘Emperor of all the Russias’ (*Menouchchéri, poète persan du 11<sup>ème</sup> siècle de notre ère (du 5<sup>ème</sup> de l’hégire)*, Paris 1887, 359-60).

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(F. BABINGER-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

PADRI, the name of a major Islamic revivalist movement in Minangkabau [q.v.], Sumatra, 1803-38. The appellation Padri is derived from *orang Pidir* ‘men of Pidir (Pidie)’, in reference to those who made the pilgrimage to Mecca by way of the Atjehnese port of Pidië. The Padri built on earlier Minangkabau reform movements initiated by the two major Šūfī *tarekat* which had been the instrument for converting the central highlands of Sumatra, the Naksyabandiyah (Nakshbandiyya [q.v.]) and the Syattariyah (Shaṭṭāriyya [q.v.]). Operating by the late 18th century in a society which was only very partially Islamicised, these *tarekat* flourished around *surau* or centres for religious studies which attracted hundreds of students from throughout Minangkabau.

In the 1780s the hilly regions surrounding some of the major *surau* in the valley districts of Agam, Tanah

V. MUSLIM INSTITUTIONS

HALIFE A. Caliphate

29 OCAK 1997

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~~HALIFE~~  
~~SULTAN~~

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## CALIPH AND SULTAN

V. V. BARTOLD

(Translated by N. S. DONIACH)

### FOREWORD BY THE TRANSLATOR

VASILIY VLADIMIROVICH BARTOLD (1869-1930) was an outstanding Russian orientalist whose works on the history of Central Asia have gained him universal acclaim. He published over four hundred articles and books of which perhaps the best known is his study of Turkestan in the epoch of the Mongol invasion. This was translated into English by Professor Sir Hamilton A. R. Gibb and is, to this day, a standard work of reference.

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### CALIPH AND SULTAN

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Bulletin d'études Orientales, XVIII (1963-1964)

DAMAS

UN TRÉSOR DE DINARS ĠAZNAWIDES ET  
SALĠŪQIDES DÉCOUVERT EN AFGHANISTAN\*

PAR

DOMINIQUE SOURDEL

Le trésor publié ci-après provient de Tchardara, dans le district de Qunduz, localité située dans le nord de l'Afghanistan à une cinquantaine de km au sud de l'Amu Darya. Il a été découvert en novembre 1960 et déposé au Musée de Caboul. Le directeur de ce Musée, Monsieur A. A. Motamedi, à qui j'adresse ici tous mes remerciements, a bien voulu m'autoriser à en entreprendre l'étude et c'est à la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan que je dois d'avoir eu communication de la documentation photographique utilisée (1).

Les pièces, qu'accompagnaient des fragments de bijoux en or (2) et un morceau de laiton en forme de botte, se trouvaient dans des récipients de poterie, mais on ne possède pas de renseignements plus détaillés sur les circonstances de la trouvaille. Ces pièces ont fait l'objet à Caboul d'un premier classement et ont reçu alors des numéros qui ont été conservés dans le présent inventaire (3).

\* ABRÉVIATIONS BIBLIOGRAPHIQUES

- BM = S. LANE-POOLE, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, London 1875-1889, vol. II, III et IX.  
 Caboul = D. SOURDEL, *Inventaire des monnaies musulmanes anciennes du musée de Caboul*, Damas, 1953.  
 K = S. LANE-POOLE, *Catalogue of the Collection of Arabic Coins preserved in the Khedivial Library of Cairo*, London, 1897.  
 MARKOV = A. MARKOV, *Inventarnii katalog musulmanskikh monet imperatorskaga Ermitaja*, Saint-Petersbourg, 1896.  
 MILES, NHR = G. C. MILES, *The Numismatic History of Rayy*, New York, The American Numismatic Society (Numismatic Studies, n° 2), 1938.  
 THOMAS = E. R. THOMAS, *On the Coins of the Kings of Ghazni*, dans *JRAS*, IX, 1848, pp. 267-386.  
 THOMAS, N. Ser. = E. R. THOMAS, *Supplementary Contributions to the Series of the Kings of Ghazni*, dans *JRAS*, XVII, 1860, pp. 138-208.  
 ZAMBAUR, *Contributions I et II* = E. von ZAMBAUR, *Contributions à la numismatique orientale*, dans *WNZ*, 1904, pp. 43-122, et 1905, pp. 113-198.

(1) MM. Marc Le Berre et Charles Kieffer se sont chargés de réunir la documentation photographique et d'établir un tableau de correspondance entre les clichés et les pièces.

(2) Ces fragments reproduits à la planche VIII comportent, outre deux éléments d'un bracelet torsadé, des médaillons et pendentifs de formes diverses décorés, selon la technique du filigrane, de motifs

de perles et de tresses dessinant des figures géométriques simples, notamment des rosettes à multiples pétales.

(3) Ce numérotage comportait les séries suivantes: F 1 à F 18, i 1 à i 64, im 1 à im 36, x 1 à x 4, X 1 à X 37 (X 38 étant en miettes), A 1 à A 54. Les pièces reproduites dans les planches suivent l'ordre ainsi défini.

- Afghanistan  
 - Gornelès  
 - Selwalar  
 - Sultan  
 - Alpaslan  
 - Tugul Bey  
 - Sikke

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# THE SULTAN & THE CONSTITUTION

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Muhammad Kamil Awang



39615

Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka  
Kuala Lumpur  
1998

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Most recently Cornell Fleischer, in his book on Mustafa 'Ali, suggested that in its most developed form in the late sixteenth century, Ottoman government was highly bureaucratized.<sup>11</sup> Before the sixteenth century, he alleges, "the position of the bureaucracy, the initially undifferentiated chancery and financial organization of the men of the pen, fell somewhere between the sword and learning and shared characteristics (administrative responsibilities and literacy respectively) with both."<sup>12</sup> In the sixteenth century, "the need to regularize the empire-wide administrative practice and to cope with growing financial problems led to the formation of an increasingly professionalized bureaucratic establishment. . . ." In conclusion, Fleischer speaks of "an independent bureaucratic career track" and the growth of *kanun* consciousness in the late-sixteenth-century Ottoman empire.

The question we raise is this: taking into account this bureaucratic development, are we justified in rejecting Weber's initial characterization of the Ottoman state as a "sultanism" based on arbitrary patrimonialism? One can argue that this development can never be interpreted as a real bureaucracy and Ottoman *kalemiye* (bureaucracy) always remained a complete tool of sultanism. It may be argued that the Ottoman political system could never allow the emergence of a corporate bureaucratic establishment in Weber's sense. Therefore, it is of key importance whether the bureaucratic group really attempted to assert itself as an autonomous body with well-defined responsibilities guaranteed under the *kanun* and attempted to carry out government activities within the pre-established rules and regulations. The argument is that their attacks on clientship, favoritism, and bribery institutions, which were inseparable from a patrimonial system of government,

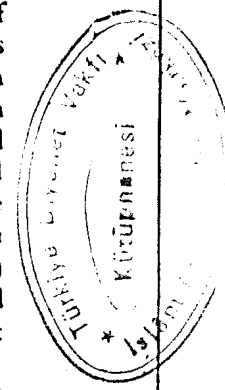
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S.9-18.

apparently were for the purpose of establishing such a bureaucratic system.<sup>13</sup> *Kanun*, as an objective rule in the conduct of government affairs, would bring a certain rationality and objectivity and ensure a controlling position to the bureaucrats in government.

I believe this is what Cornell Fleischer examined in the biography of Mustafa 'Ali. It is true that throughout Ottoman history there were periods when members of the *kalemiye* became more influential with the sultan and thus participated more directly in the decision-making process than other times. This, however, was possible only through a typical patrimonial institution, *musahibilik*.<sup>14</sup> One can argue that as a rule *kütüb* were regarded as simple employees or tools providing technical expertise to the responsible men representing sultanic authority. Mention of the *kalemiye* or *ahl al-kalam* side by side with the *seyfiye* (men of the sword), and *ilmiye* (men of learning) occurred only in a later period. In the earlier works on government and politics the hierarchy ranks first, *seyfiye*, followed next by *ilmiye*, without any mention of *kalemiye*.<sup>15</sup>

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But in reality the situation was not so simple. Every new succession in Ottoman history represented a revolution. Upon the death of a sultan no legitimate authority is considered to exist. All his legal dispositions, appointments, and titles to possessions become null and void. In order to prevent anarchy the grand vizier tried to conceal the sultan's death, even



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22 OCAK 1993

the second being the content (chiefly social) in which the derived theme is applied. On the first point, a word which means 'seek' in G will almost certainly mean the same thing in Gt, because the reflexive is contained already in the ground theme. On the second, where the context is a restricted one, e.g. dealing with legal procedures, a verb such as 'draw near' is quite likely to take on a meaning which appears to be a far cry from the ground theme; thus in Christian ecclesiastical literature *qarraba* is used for 'giving Holy Communion' and the same word in old military contexts has been used for 'putting one's sword in one's scabbard', both usages deriving from an extended application of 'being near'. Space forbids the presentation and explanation of many such unusual themes, but it is hoped that the simple scheme proposed herein will be judged on its merits.

27 MAYIS 1996

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London-1963, s. 117-135.



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d'une question complexe et, dans l'ensemble, encore assez mal connue; elles ont aussi la valeur d'un témoignage : celui d'un homme qui a vécu la plupart des événements au cours desquels le nationalisme arabe s'est peu à peu forgé et qui a pu ainsi suivre les lents cheminements d'une pensée qu'il a par ailleurs lui-même, dans ses écrits, puissamment contribué à élaborer, à définir et aussi à répandre.

ORIENT, année: 6 / numéro: 21

1962 (Paris) s. 119-134.

D. 1908

Radisson

21 EYLUL 2000

Traduit de l'arabe par M. Colombe

## LES PAYS ARABES ET LE SULTANAT OTTOMAN

A l'aube du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, au moment où « l'idée de nation » allait commencer à jouer en Europe un rôle de premier plan, les pays arabes étaient, depuis de longs siècles, des parties intégrantes du sultanat ottoman, à l'exception toutefois du Maghreb extrême d'une part, du Hadramaout et du centre de la péninsule arabique d'autre part.

L'occupation de ces pays n'avait pas coûté au sultanat de nombreuses guerres. Seuls, en effet, les souverains régnants et non les populations, avaient dû être combattus : quelques engagements armés entre les troupes ottomanes et celles des Mameluks assurèrent l'entrée de la Syrie, de l'Égypte et du Hidjaz sous le pouvoir ottoman; quelques combats entre l'armée ottomane et les troupes persanes firent passer l'Irak au sein de l'empire; enfin quelques batailles navales entre les flottes ottomanes et espagnoles garantirent l'annexion de Tunis et de Tripoli de Barbarie. Quant à Alger, son rattachement, sans guerre ni combat, fut dû à la seule volonté de l'amiral Khair al-din Barberousse.

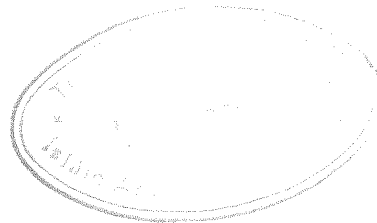
Après la conquête, le sultanat ottoman n'eut pas de



Edited by Melin Kunt and Christine Woodhead  
Söleyman the Magnificent and his Age  
London-1995, s. 122-137. DN: 47693.

P M HOLT

# The sultan as ideal ruler: Ayyubid and Mamluk prototypes



9 NISAN 1997

The more one reads and sifts the more dubious become all these chronicles,  
the more questionable becomes every assertion in them.

Lord Rosebery, *Napoleon: the last phrase*

## I

In Shawwāl 581/December 1185 Saladin was stricken with a prolonged illness, so serious that his life was despaired of. Andrew Ehrenkretz, the least sympathetic of his modern biographers, has suggested in the form of a rhetorical query, that if in fact he had died at this time, his career would have presented an appearance remarkably different from that which has been conventionally ascribed to it over the last eight centuries.<sup>1</sup> At the time of Saladin's illness, to develop Ehrenkretz's point, the crowning mercies of the defeat of the Franks at Ḥaṭṭīn and the restoration of Jerusalem to Islam lay nearly two years in the future. The previous eleven years since the death of Saladin's lord, Nūr al-Dīn b. Zangī, in 569/1174 had revealed a consistent and dominant purpose in his policy and actions, namely to usurp the rule over the Zangid possessions in Syria and Mesopotamia. To achieve this he was already provided with a base in Egypt, which he had ruled since 564/1169 as Nūr al-Dīn's viceroy. Saladin's bearing as an over-mighty subject had aroused his lord's apprehensions, and only Nūr al-Dīn's death had ended the growing tension between the two. In the ensuing decade, during

<sup>1</sup> Andrew S Ehrenkretz, *Saladin* (Albany 1972), 237.

which Saladin gained possession of the two Zangid capitals in Syria, Damascus in 570/1174 and Aleppo in 579/1183, his dealings with the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem resemble those of his predecessors – an unstable relationship of warfare alternating with truces between Muslim and Christian parties which were equally involved in the vicissitudes of regional politics.

If, then, Saladin had died in 1185, during, one may note, operations against Mosul, the capital of Zangid Mesopotamia, his career, as Ehrenkretz suggests, would hardly have attracted more notice than those of other warlords of the period, who in striving to establish themselves might more or less incidentally become embroiled with the Frankish states, and thus sanctify a part of their blood-letting as holy war. The death of Saladin, had it occurred at this time, would moreover have denied him his most influential apologist, Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, whose short, well-written and persuasive biography, *al-Nawādir al-sultāniyya wa'l-mahāsīn al-Yūsufiyya* ('The rare merits of Sultan Yusuf') was used by later Arabic historians, and as published with a Latin translation in 1732 was the principal primary source on Saladin available to Gibbon and Stubbs. Bahā' al-Dīn was certainly acquainted with Saladin in 1185, but only because he had twice come to him as the ambassador of the Zangid lord of Mosul. It was not until 584/1188 that he changed masters. Returning from the pilgrimage to Mecca, he visited the newly recovered holy city of Jerusalem, and was dissuaded by Saladin from returning to Mosul. So at least he tells us.

Bahā' al-Dīn was therefore in Saladin's personal entourage only during the last five years of the sultan's life. He wrote *al-Nawādir* after Saladin's death but when he himself was still in Ayyubid service as the judge of Aleppo, having been appointed by Saladin's son, al-Zāhir Ghāzī. The structure of the biography is interesting and significant. In the published edition edited by the late Gamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl,<sup>2</sup> a short preliminary chapter, one page in length, covers Saladin's early years from his birth in 532/1137–8 to his participation in the expedition to Egypt led by his uncle, Shīrkūh, in 558/1163. This is followed by eight chapters dealing with his virtues, and taking up twenty-eight pages. Of the remainder of the book, forty pages cover events of the quarter-century from 558–83/1163–87, while no less than 170 pages are devoted to the following six years to Saladin's death in 589/1193. This chronological imbalance in itself imposes a certain perspective of events on the reader.

<sup>2</sup> Bahā' al-Dīn b. Shaddād, *al-Nawādir al-sultāniyya wa'l-mahāsīn al-Yūsufiyya*, ed. Gamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl (Cairo 1964). Hereafter *Nawādir*.

maintained along purely personal lines. In the selection of officials, loyalty to the ruler supersedes all other concerns. Officials are selected from among the ruler's personal attendants.<sup>7</sup> Professional training and specialization are not considered necessary prerequisites. Promotions depend not on objective criteria but on the ruler's favor. The ruler makes his officials' economic compensation completely subject to his discretion with no provision for hereditary service. Officials never constitute a corporate group or a monopolistic, legally autonomous sodality.<sup>8</sup> In brief, the basic features of the patrimonial bureaucracy stem from its personal-patrimonial character. According to Weber the household characteristics of the patrimonial state were maintained "to a grotesque degree. . . at the Turkish court" up to the nineteenth century.<sup>9</sup> Weber also observes that in the course of financial rationalization the patrimonial state in general moves imperceptibly toward a rational bureaucratic administration.<sup>10</sup> In their conceptual approach, recent studies on Ottoman bureaucracy rely to a great extent on Weber's typification. Even when these studies tend to define Ottoman "sultanism" as being modified by an autonomous bureaucracy and objective laws, *kanuns*, they essentially follow Weber's theory.

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letler hukuku eğitiminde ve öğretiminde karşılaşılan bazı ana meseleler üzerinde, Devletler hukuku ve komşu dallarda öğretim yapan ve çalışan arkadaşlarımız ve meslektaşlarımızla hep birlikte düşünmenin ne kadar yerinde olacağına işaret etmek istiyoruz.

Milletlerarası münasebetler ve Devletler hukuku alanında memleketimizde başlıca ilmi çalışma merkezleri olan, İstanbul Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesindeki Milletlerarası Münasebetler ve Devletler Hukuku Türk Enstitüsü ile, Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesindeki Dış Münasebetler Enstitüsünün, bir tartışma grubu halinde ve belirli bir çalışma plâm içinde ilgilileri bir araya getirebileceklerini sanıyoruz. Böyle bir ilmi toplantıya, halen bu konularda ve komşu konularda çalışmakta olanlarla, memleketimizde bu konuları uzun zaman okutmuş olanların ve tatbikatçıların da dâvet edilmesi, herhalde faydalı olacaktır. Devletler hukuku öğretimi ve çalışmaları hakkında bir ilmi toplantı tertiplendiği takdirde, Devletler hukuku öğretimi tartışmalarına esas hazırlanmakta, bu yazımızın da malzeme sağlamasını umuyoruz.

Böyle bir ilk toplantıda öne sürülecek görüşler ve varılabilecek sonuçlar, memleketimizde Devletler hukuku öğretiminin gelişmesine şüphesiz büyük ölçüde faydalı olacaktır.

Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler  
Fakültesi Dergisi, c. XIV / 1 (1959)

Ankara, s. 69 - 94.

16 TEMMUZ 1985



## OSMANLILAR'DA SALTANAT VERASETİ USULÜ VE TÜRK HAKİMİYET TELAKKİSİYLE İLGİSİ

Prof. Dr. Halil İNALCIK

Osmanlı padişahlarının soy kütüğüne bir göz atarsak, I. Ahmed (1603-1617) in ölümüne kadar tahtın daima babadan oğula geçmiş olduğunu, ondan sonra kardeşlerin de tahta çıkmağa başladığını görürüz. Bu durumu, Hammer<sup>1</sup>, şöyle açıklamaya çalışmıştır: Osmanlılarda, aslında, Cengiz Han'dan kalmış *ekberiyet* kaidesi hâkimdi, yani taht, büyük oğula, sonra ölen sultanın akrabasından en yaşlısına ait oluyordu. Fakat kardeş öldürme âdetinin bir neticesi olarak bu kaide kardeşler için tatbik sahası bulamamış ve ilk defa 1617 de, ölen Sultanın kardeşi hayatta bulunduğundan uygulanabilmiştir. Giese<sup>2</sup> bu görüşü red ederek Osmanlılarda *saltanat verasetini düzenleyen herhangi bir kanun veya kaide olmadığını* ileri sürdü. Daha önce Radloff<sup>3</sup> Türk kavimlerinden hiç birinde muayyen bir saltanat veraseti kanunu olmadığına dair misaller vermişti. Son defa F. Laszlo<sup>4</sup> meseleyi daha geniş bir açıdan ele alarak kesin bir şekilde ifade etmiştir ki, Türklerde "bütün hanedan âzası hakimiyet hakkına maliktir, ne *primogenitura* ve ne de *senioratus* şeklinde bir veraset tarzı yoktur".

Bununla beraber son zamanlarda, Türk devletlerinde hükümdarlığın intikalinde *senioratus*'un yani, hanedan içerisinde yaşca en büyük olanın tahta geçmesi kaidesinin hakim olduğunu söyliyener olduğu gibi, *primogenitura*, yani ancak büyük oğulun tevarüs hakkının tanındığını iddia edenler de vardır. Z. V. Togan'a<sup>5</sup> göre "memlekette büyük hakanlık rütbesi biraderler arasında yaşlı olana geçtiğinden onun bulunduğu ülke memleketin merkezi oluyordu. Bu husus, Kök Türklerin halefleri olan

<sup>1</sup> Hist. de l'empire ottoman, terc. J. J. Hellert, c. VIII, Paris, 1837, s. 237 - 38. Kırım hanlarında en yaşlı tahta geçerci (Es - seb'üs - seyyâr, s. 262).

<sup>2</sup> Fr. Giese, Das Seniorat im osmanischen Herrscherhause, MOG, II (1925), s. 248 - 256.

<sup>3</sup> Kudatku bilik mukaddimesinde, s. LII, Giese tarafından zikred.

<sup>4</sup> Kağan ve Ailesi, Körösi Czoma Archivum, III, 1 (1940), s. 1 - 39 dan tercüme, S. Baştav, Türk Hukuk Tarihi Dergisi, I (1944), s. 42.

<sup>5</sup> Umumi Türk Tarihine Giriş, İstanbul 1946, s. 42.

# السُّلْطَنَة

## في الفكر السياسي الإسلامي

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حقوق الطبع محفوظة

الطبعة الأولى

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دار الفكر للطباعة والنشر

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## THE SULTAN AND THE COMMON PEOPLE

Irmeli Perho

According to Sunni political theorists, such as Nizām al-Mulk (d. 485/1092), the highest authority in Islamic society was invested in one person, the ruler – be he the Caliph or the Sultan to whom the Caliph had delegated his power. Nizām al-Mulk wrote in his *Siyāsāt nāme* that 'God (be He exalted) has created the king to be the superior of all mankind.' (Nizām al-Mulk 1960: 192.) The ruler – *imām* – was appointed by God and therefore had to be seen as God's representative on earth. This is illustrated by Nizām al-Mulk with a story where Caliph al-Mu'taṣim (ruled 218/833–227/842) is reported to have said '[...] a man who does not fear God (to Him be power and glory) will not be afraid of me.' (Nizām al-Mulk 1960: 61.)

The view of one supreme ruler was shared also by the later theorists Ibn Taymīya (d. 728/1328) and Ibn Jamā'a (d. 733/1333) both of whom lived after the abolition of the universal Caliphate. More explicitly than their predecessors they presented the actual wielder of power as the *imām*, the lawful ruler of the Muslims. Ibn Taymīya wrote that all those who had power (*wilāya*) were God's representatives (Laoust 1939: 299). Similarly Ibn Jamā'a held the opinion that the Sultan was the Shadow of God upon earth and he accepted the Sultan as the direct link between the people and God (Lambton 1981: 140).

The view that the ruler was God's representative entailed that opposition to the ruler was actually rebellion against God and as such the gravest of sins. However, the ruler was not identical with God but a human being and prone to error. Therefore the scholars limited the obedience to the ruler with the hadith 'There is no obedience in sin.' Only a ruler who respected the *sharī'a* should be obeyed, not a ruler who demanded something illegal. In this way the demand for obedience was balanced with a demand of justice. Whereas the ruler was permitted to ask for obedience, the ruled were entitled to a just ruler.

These mutual obligations were described by Ibn Jamā'a as rights (*ḥuqūq*). Apart from obedience and respect the Sultan had also the right to demand guidance from the population. The people should be prepared to advise him and help him to carry out his duties (Lambton 1981: 142; Laoust 1939: 312). They were also expected to protect the Sultan 'with their words, deeds, possessions and lives.' (Lambton 1981: 142.)

As for the people, they had the right to demand protection of the lands of Islam against the attacks of enemies. The Sultan was also expected to support the scholars, see that *sharī'a* was implemented and take care of his administrative duties (Lambton 1981: 143).

Ibn Taymīya described the ideal situation for an individual in a state as cooperation, not submission: each member of the society had to participate in the state affairs either by

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Din kapısı ve...  
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DERLEYEN

NECDET ÖKLEM



# SALTANATIN KALDIRILMASI

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
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## ANADOLU SELÇUKLU DEVLETİNDE "SULTAN"

Öğrt. Gör. Adem ARI\*

### GİRİŞ

Selçuklu hanedanı 24 Oğuz boyundan Kınık boyuna mensuptur.<sup>1</sup> Kınık boyu da Oğuz Han'ın altı oğlundan biri olan Deniz Han'ın boyudur.<sup>2</sup>

Deniz Han, Oğuz'un küçük oğullarından (üç oklardan) biridir ki: Bu üç küçük oğlan Batı'ya gönderilmişlerdir. Kınık boyu Divân-ı Lügâtî-Türk'de en üstte zikredilirken daha sonraki şecerelerde altlarda yer alması siyasi olaylarla ilgilidir. Selçuklu egemenliği döneminde yazılan eserler, Kınık boyunu öne çıkarmışlardır.

Anadolu Selçuklu Devleti, Süleyman Şah tarafından kurulmuş, 1243 Köseadağ Savaşı'yla iyice yıpranmış fakat 1277'ye kadar vezir Pervane Muineddin Süleyman Moğollara karşı mücadele ile devleti ayakta tutarak "Pervane Devri" yaratmıştır.<sup>3</sup> Moğol tahakkümü altında devlet gölge hakimiyet olarak

\* AKÜ, Fen Ed. Fak. Yeniçağ Öğr. Gör.

- (1) Osman Turan, *Türk Cihan Hakimiyeti Mefkuresi Tarihi*, İstanbul, 1979, s. 179
- (2) Richard Peters, *Batı Gözü ile Türk Tarihi*, Tercüme: Dr. Razi Manner, İstanbul, 1975, s. 26. (F.Sümer'in Oğuzlar-Türkmenler kitabından)
- (3) Osman Turan, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye*, s. 644-645.
- (4) Oğuz Ünal, *Horasandan Anadoluya*, Ankara 1980, s. 176

1318'e kadar yaşamıştır<sup>4</sup>. Bu tarih 1308 olarak da gösterilir. Konu tartışmalıdır.

Anadolu Selçuklu Devleti yükselme devrinde, şekil itibarıyla tam bir Ortaçağ İslam Devleti manzurası arz eder.<sup>5</sup> Ayrıca Büyük Selçuklu İmparatorluğunun İranlı-İslam hüviyetindeki idare sistemini miras almış olan Anadolu Selçuklu Devleti, bununla beraber hakim hüviyetin altında eski Türk hususiyetlerini muhafaza etmiştir.<sup>6</sup> Aynı zamanda Bizans'la doğrudan münasebetlerle Bizans'tan da etkilenmiş olmalıdır.

### "Sultan" Kelimesinin Anlamı ve İlk Kullanılışı

"Sultan" kudretli bir emiri veya muayyen bir bölgenin müstakil hükümdarını ifade etmek için H. IV. (M. XI.) asırdan itibaren görülen bir ünvandır. Kelime ve manası (Arapça'ya) Süryanice "Sultana" dan alınmıştır. Kelimeye "iktidar, idari iktidar" manası İslamın ilk asırlarında verilmiştir.

Tuğrul Bey, keza paralarında Sultan lakabını veya daha ziyade ünvanını ve buna ilaveten "al-sultan al-muazzam" terkiibini kullanan ilk İslam hükümdarıdır. Ünvanın asli unsurundan olan "al-muazzam" sıfatı kısa bir müddet sonra resmi dil haricinde terk olunmuştur. Böylece Sultan, Selçuklular ile hakiki bir hükümdar ünvanı haline gelmiştir. Az sonra Anadolu Selçukluları da Sultan ünvanını almışlardır. Bu ünvan Kılıç Arslan II. den itibaren onların paralarında da görülür.<sup>7</sup> Nitekim Süleyman Şah da ken-

(5) Nejat Kaymaz, *Anadolu Selçuklu Devleti'nin inhitatında İdare Mekanizmasının Rolü*,

(6) Nejat Kaymaz Aynı Makale, s. 97-98

(7) J.H. Kramers, "Sultan" maddesi *I.A., C. XI., s. 24-28*

Paadisaan

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**The Just Ruler**  
**(*al-sultān al-'ādil*)**  
**in Shī'ite Islam**

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*The Comprehensive Authority  
of the Jurist  
in Imamite Jurisprudence*

**Abdulaziz Abdulhussein Sachedina**

24 EYLÜL 2003

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
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"*sunna* equals *ḥadīth*," although one would also agree with Schacht that the tendency seems to have begun in Iraq.<sup>90</sup>

What we thus see illustrated by the major third century collections of *ḥadīth* in their almost total reliance on Prophetic material to the exclusion of any other, and what we see reflected in the rejection of *sadl* for *qabḍ* by the later Sunnī *madhhabs* (and several later Mālikīs) is the rejection of *sunna* as transmitted by 'amal in favor of *sunna* as transmitted by *ḥadīth*. In both cases this *sunna* was understood as being the *sunna* of the Prophet. What differed was the methodology by which such knowledge was arrived at, and thus the details of its practical expression, namely, the differences in the details of *fiqh*. The rejection of 'amal in favor of *ḥadīth* was the triumph of the methodology of "one from one" over that of "one thousand from one thousand" and, as the report from Rabi'a continues, "One from one would tear the *sunna* right out of your hands." This suggests that if we want to arrive at a clearer picture of the original "*sunna* of the Prophet," we would do better to look at Madinan 'amal than at the classical collections of *ḥadīth*.



<sup>90</sup> See Schacht, *Origins*, 58, 59, 77, 80, where the shift in definition of the word *sunna* evident from al-Shāfi'i's writings is most forcefully noted. (This indeed I consider the strongest point in Schacht's critique. What I disagree with is his understanding of what *sunna* meant before it became redefined as *ḥadīth*.) For this shift happening via Iraq, see, for example, Zafar Ishaq Ansari, "The Early Development of Islamic Fiqh in Kufa" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, McGill University, 1968), *passim*, esp. 14, 23-24, 176, 212, 234, 243, 250, 370, 377, 381; also *Origins*, 73, 77, 80, 223, where Schacht argues that Islamic jurisprudence—which one can see as the formalisation of 'amal—began in Iraq. Note also the attitude expressed in Abū Yūsuf's comment in n. 89 above.

## THE JUDICIAL FUNCTIONS OF THE *SULTĀN* IN CIVIL CASES ACCORDING TO THE MĀLIKĪS UP TO THE SIXTH/TWELFTH CENTURY\*

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### Abstract

In the earliest Mālikī texts, civil cases in which the *sultān* plays a role can be divided into four groups: (i) those in which the *sultān* plays an instrumental role to help in claiming a right that is substantively endorsed by the *fiqh*; (ii) those in which the *sultān* is called upon to adjudicate for a practical reason; (iii) those in which the *sultān* adopts a solution required by equity; and (iv) those which fall under the *sultān*'s exclusive jurisdiction. Whereas the earliest Mālikīs held that the *sultān*'s judgment can be reversed by the qāḍī only if it is manifestly corrupt, later Mālikīs introduced the notion of delegation of judicial power and the idea that a *mujtahid*, a qāḍī or a *muftī* has a general right to redress an erroneous judgment.

### Introduction

MUSLIM JURISTS (*fuqahā'*, sg. *faqīh*) made few attempts to articulate the judicial powers of the *sultān*. With the exception of the Mālikīs, Sunnī legal texts do not devote any attention to the *mazālim* courts.<sup>1</sup> The earliest Mālikīs, such as Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795), Ibn al-Qāsim (d. 191/806) and Saḥnūn (d. 240/854), treat the *sultān*'s administrative and judicial functions only in a sporadic manner. It was not until the Shāfi'i jurist, al-Māwardī (d. 450/1058) wrote *al-Aḥkām al-sultāniyya* that the *mazālim* courts headed by the caliph or the *sultān* were treated in a theoretical and systematic manner.

The lack of attention by Muslim jurists to the judicial functions of the *sultān* can be explained by their conviction that *fiqh* is the unique law to be applied to Muslims and that cases involving Muslims fall under the jurisdiction of the qāḍī, who, as a *faqīh*, is expected to judge in strict accordance with *fiqh*, whether by himself or assisted by *muftīs*.

This is not to say that the earliest Mālikīs, or Muslim jurists in general, were always satisfied with positive rules of *fiqh*. There are

\* I wish to express my special thanks to the Executive Editors of *Islamic Law and Society* for their helpful comments on draft versions of this essay.

<sup>1</sup> Emile Tyan, "Judicial Organisation," in *Law in the Middle East*, ed. Majid Khadduri and Herbert B. Liebesny (Washington D. C.: The Middle East Institute, 1955), 268; Jørgen S. Nielsen, "Mazālim," in *EJ*<sup>2</sup>.

suliyet yüklenmemekte haklı olduğu gibi, davacı da kendi kanununun verdiği haktan fazlasına sahip olmamalıdır derler. Bu kaide daha ziyade ceza hukukundaki suçlunun lehine hareket etme prensibinden doğmaktadır. Halbuki bir hâdiseye tatbik edilecek kanun meselesi hâkimiyet esasına da yanır. Aynı hâdisede ise muhtelif iki devletin hâkimiyeti aynı zamanda cereyan edemez [31].

cc) Ecnebi karasularında vaki çatmalarda ise karasularında çatma vaki olan devletin kanunu tatbik edilmek gerekir. Hâdisede bir Türk gemisi bahis mevzuu ise çatma nerede vaki olursa olsun Türk kanunu tatbik edilir derler [32]. Yabancı ve yerli ekseri müellifler bu kaideye taraftar iseler de, bu prensip her zaman hukukî bir esasa dayanmamaktadır. Bu sebepten Ripert ecnebi karasularında vaki çatmalarda bir Fransız gemisi methaldar olsa da, ecnebi kanunun tatbikini icap eder görmekte ve buna bir çok Fransız Temyiz Mahkemesi içtihatlarını da şahit olarak göstermektedir. Bu prensip daha mantıktır.

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[31] M. Raşit Seviğ, sah. 237-238; Ripert, no. 2077.

[32] M. Raşit Seviğ, sah. 237-238; Schaps, sah. 684.

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İstanbul-1946, s. 713-733.

### TÜRKİYEDE SULTANLARIN TEŞRİİ SIFAT VE SALÂHİYETLERİ VE KANUNNÂMELER

Prof. Ömer Lütfi BARKAN

Örfî hukuk sahasına ait salâhiyetler:

Osmanlı padişahlarının kendilerine ayrılmış olan sahalarda *din kitaplarını karıştırmaya* lüzum görmeden ve kendi mutahassis idare adamlarının tecrübelerinden başka kimseye danışmadan şeriat kaidelerinden ayrı bir takım kanun ve nizamları istedikleri gibi vazetmek hususundaki sıfat ve salâhiyetlerini burada münakaşa etmeğe lüzum görmüyoruz. Çünkü islâm memleketlerinde prensip olarak, sultanlara ait olan bu gibi sıfat ve salâhiyetlerden bundan evvelki yazımızda bahsetmiştik [1].

Hükümdarın üstünlük ve iktidarına dair Roma âmme hukukunun bazı umumî fikirlerini benimsemiş gözükten ve Bizans imparatorlarının tahtlarında oturan Osmanlı padişahlarının, imparatorluk dahilinde en yüksek otorite olarak, askerî, mülkî ve dinî salâhiyetlerle, teşriî, icraî ve kazai kuvvetleri nefislerinde cemetmiş olduklarını da biliyoruz. Gerçekten, Osmanlı padişahları, yeryüzünde peygamberin vekili mukaddes bir şahsiyet sıfatıyla cismanî iktidara ruhanî sıfat ve salâhiyetlerini de ilâve eden bir devlet reisi olarak, ne *Sena* şeklinde herhangi bir meclisin ne de şeyhülislâmlık gibi bir makamın tasdik veya işbirliği yapmasını temine lüzum görmeden kanunları çıkarmak hususunda nazarı olarak veya hiç olmazsa tatbikatta, serbest gözükmektedir [2].

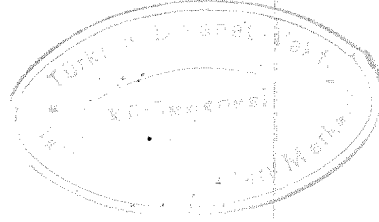
[1] Hukuk Fakültesi Mecmuası, cilt 11, sayı 3-4, Sf. 203. Aynı suretle «XV ve XVI ncı asırlarda, Osmanlı imparatorluğunda ziraat ekonominin hukukî ve mali esasları» 1945 isimli kitabımızın mukaddemesi (sf. XIII) ne bakınız.

[2] Osmanlı imparatorluğunda *sultanların teşriî sıfat ve salâhiyetleri* ile onların muhtelif sahalardaki icraatlarında *arzu ve iradelerini tâyin ve takyit eden bir takım kanunî mevzuatın mevcudiyetinin bahis mevzuu ediliş dilemiyeceği meselesi*, Avrupalı mütefekkir ve tarihçileri ötedenberi meşgul eden bir «mesele» teşkil etmiştir. Bunlar arasında *Legislation orientale* (Amsterdam 1778) nam eserin müellifi *Anquetil Duperron*'ın yürüttüğü tenkit ve mülâhazaları burada hatırlamak faydalı olabilir. Ger-

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Doğu Batı, yıl 13, sayı 54, 2010 Ankara, ss. 9-22

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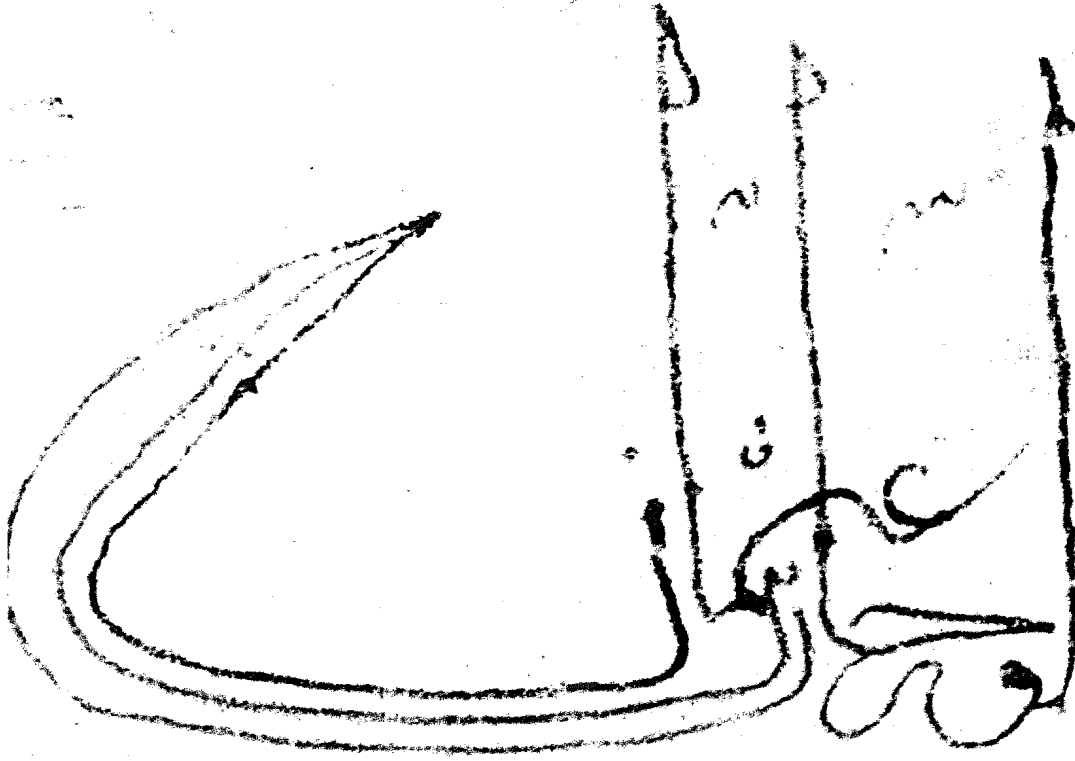
160001

4 NISAN 2010

# OSMANLI PADİŞAHI\*

Halil İnalçık

MADDE YAYIMLANDIRTAN  
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN



Orhan Gazi'nin kullandığı ilk tuğra-1348

1. *Pâdişâh ve Hâkimiyetin Menşei, Hilâfet:* Fatih Mehmed kendi şahsında Osmanlı Padişahı tipini yaratmış olan ilk padişahdır. Orta Asya Türk devlet telâkkisi, Osmanlılar'a, Selçuklular ve Moğollar vasıtasıyla olduğu kadar uçlarda (askeri hudud bölgeleri) hâkim Türkmen çevresi yolile de intikal etmiş olmalıdır. 15. asır başlarında Germiyanlı şair Ahmedî, Moğol hanlarını kanuna bağlı, adaletli hükümdarlar olarak övmekte idi: II. Murad zamanında Yazıcı-zâde, eski Türk devlet ananesini şuurla ve hararetle canlandırırken, şüphesiz, muhitine tercüman olmaktadır: Yazıcı-zâde, Osman Gazi'nin eski Türk töresine göre Türk kabileleri tarafından seçilmiş olduğunu iddia ediyor, Osmanlı hanedanını Oğuz Han'a bağlıyor, böylece bu hanedanın bütün Türk kavimleri üzerinde meşru hâkimiyete namzet yegâne hanedan olduğu iddiasında bulunuyordu. Aslında bu iddia, romantik bir Türkçülük hareketinden doğmuş olmayıp pratik bir ihtiyaçtan, siyasî maksatlardan doğmuştu. Osmanlılar, bu suretle Doğu'daki Timur oğullarına karşı bağımsızlık, hattâ üstünlük iddialarını meşrulaştırmak gayesini takip etmekteydiler. Fatih'in oğlu Sultan Cem, oğluna Türk destanlarının en büyük şahsiyeti Oğuz Han'ın adını veriyor ve Oğuz ananesi üzerinde bir eser (*Câm-i Cem-âyîn*) yazdırıyordu. Osmanlı hükümdarları 14. asırdan beri *Han* unvanını isimlerine eklemekteydiler.

\* Makalenin ilk versiyonun yayımlandığı yer: *Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi*, Cilt XVIII, Yıl: 1958, Sayı 4'ten ayrı baskı, Yeni Matbaa, Ankara, 1958

David Ayalon

4612

Modern Arab

# EUNUCHS, CALIPHS AND SULTANS ✓

A Study in Power Relationships

27 MAYIS 2002

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
Dem. No:	83462
Tas. No:	336.35607 A/A F

The Magnes Press, The Hebrew University, Jerusalem

1999

## 18. yüzyıl başlarında yönetici elitin saltanatın meşruiyet arayışına katılımı\*

Tülay Artan\*\*



Tarihçilik tartışmalarını izleyenlerin bildiği gibi, bugün Osmanlı-Türkiye tarihçiliği alanında derece derece gerilikler söz konusu. Aile, toplumsal cinsiyet, zihniyet, materyal kültür, gündelik yaşam ve standartları, tüketim biçimleri vb. alanlarını da içine alan bir "total tarih" arayışı doğrultusunda atılan adımlar, en ileri iktisat tarihçileri tarafından dahi, bütünü parçaya, *grand narrative*'i küçük ölçeğe feda ettikleri kuşkusuyla, genel olarak Yeni Tarihçiliğe yöneltilen "post-modernlik", "salt estetik arayışı", "hafif ve eğlenceli konularla uğraşmak" suçlamalarına maruz bırakılabiliyor; ya da "belge yok" veya "tek başına altından kalkamayacak kadar çok/dağınık" türü mülahazalarla "ciddi" tarihçilerin ilgi alanı dışında tutulmaya devam ediyor.<sup>1</sup>

Bu bağlamda, tarih anlayışımızı kökten değiştirmese bile hayli zenginleştirilebilecek alanlardan olan biyografiler, aile tarihleri, prosopografik çalışmalar, hatta hanedan üyelerinin yaşam öykülerinin yanısıra, saltanat biçimleri, iktidar kavgaları ve meşruiyet arayışlarına ışık tutacak araştırmalar dahi, bugün hâlâ bir elin parmaklarıyla sayılacak kadar azdır.<sup>2</sup> Rical ile hanedan üyesi kadınların

(\*) Bu makale ilk olarak Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı'nın 24-26 Mayıs 1993 tarihinde Ankara'da topladığı, "Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e. Problemler, Araştırmalar, Tartışmalar" başlıklı I. Uluslararası Tarih Kongresi'ne sunulmuş; ancak 1998'de yayınlanan aynı başlıklı kongre kitabına bir teknik hata sonucu girmemişti. Burada dipnotları güncelleştirilerek yayınlanmaktadır.

(\*\*) Sabancı Üniversitesi, Sanat ve Sosyal Bilimler.

1 Bu bağlamda bir istisna oluşturan Cemal Kafadar'ın çalışmalarına dikkat çekmek istiyorum: C. Kafadar, 1986; 1989; 1992a; 1992b; 1994.

2 1985'te Suraiya Faroqhi, bu konularda son otuz yılda yapılmış olan çalışmaların gözden geçirilmişti: S. Faroqhi, 1985. Ayrıca C. Kafadar'ın yukarıda sözü edilen 1989 makalesi de ayrıntılı bir bibliyografya içeriyor. Metinde yeri geldikçe, özellikle son on yılda yapılmış çalışmalara işaret edeceğim. Bu makalede özellikle faydalandığım bazı incelemeleri ise tekrarlamayı yararlı buluyo-

bireysel tarihi, genellikle "asıl" tarihe "ek" düzeyinde ele alınırken, iktidar ortağı bu iki grup arasında gerçekleşen evliliklerin, yönetici sınıfın ittifak ve dayanak arayışlarında bir araç olarak kullanılmasının üzerinde hemen hiç durulmamış bulunuyor. Bu yüzden, örneğin 1730 isyanıyla patlayan bunalımı hâlâ "Lale Devri" efsanesi ile Sultan III. Ahmed ve Nevşehirli Damad İbrahim Paşa'nın tenperver kişilikleri üzerinde yoğunlaşarak "okur"ken, arka plandaki ailevi bağlar örüntüsünü, çıkar çatışmalarını, gerilim çizgilerini ve kopuş noktalarını hiç görmeyebiliyoruz (Münir Aktepe'nin *Patrona İsyanı* adlı araştırması ve Reşad Ekrem Koçu'nun isyancıyı konu alan *Patrona Halil* adlı tarihsel romanı bu genellemenin dışında kalan nadir yaklaşımlardır [Aktepe, 1958; Koçu, 1967]). Oysa bu isyanın ardındaki evlilik ve akrabalık ilişkilerine sosyal tarih açısından tekrar, yakından ve çok dikkatle eğilmek gerekir, çünkü önümüze serilen ve yer yer içinden çıkılmaz gibi gözükten, 18. yüzyılın ilk çeyreğindeki ailevi bağlantılar sıklığı, aslında Osmanlı tarihinde bir kopuşa işaret ediyor.

### Menfaat şebekelerinin ihmal edilen boyutları

1730 isyanının kurbanları olan Damad İbrahim Paşa, Kaymak Mustafa Paşa ve Kethüda Mehmed Efendi etrafındaki bu örüntü şöyle bir ortamda gelişmişti: Tahta geçtiği 1703 tarihini izleyen on beş yıl içinde on iki sadrazam değiştiren III. Ahmed uzun yıllardır hizmetinde bulunan Nevşehirli İbrahim Paşa'yı önce damat, hemen ardından da 1718'de sadrazam yaptı. Bu andan itibaren, İstanbul'da sadaret, meşihat, kaptan-ı deryalık, yeniçeri ağalığı, nişancılık, sadaret kethüdalığı ve defterdarlık (hatta darphane eminliği, tersane eminliği, matbah-ı âmire eminliği) gibi en üst mevkilerde, 1730 yılına kadar pek az değişme gözleniyordu (Aktepe, 1958: 107).

Ama bu durum genel bir hoşnutluğa işaret etmekten çok uzaktı. Tersine, 1730'da Patrona Halil isyanına neden olan sosyo-ekonomik bunalım, Aktepe'nin de ifade ettiği gibi "sadece İstanbul halkına ve taşrada zulüm ve haksızlığa uğrayıp işleri bozulanlara, esnaf ve küçük memurlara, görevden düşmüş veya sürgünde bulunan vüzera ve ulemaya, savaş ganimetlerinden yoksun yeniçeri zümresine" münhasır kalmamıştı (age.: 122). Uzun süredir en yüksek mevkileri işgal etmekte olan bürokratlar ve ulema, hatta Damad İbrahim Paşa'nın

rum: Akalın, 1955; Derin, 1958 ve 1959; Uluçay, 1959; Mardin, 1969; Türek ve Derin, 1969; Faroqhi, 1974 ve 1975; Kunt, 1975, 1977 ve 1983; Zilfi, 1977; Mayer, 1978; Findley, 1980; Reindl, 1983; Fleischer, 1986; Atasoy ve Atasoy, 1990; Dankoff 1991. Bunlara ek olarak J. von Hammer, A.D. Alderson, M. Süreyya, R.E. Koçu, M.Ç. Uluçay ve Y. Öztuna'nın bazı çalışmalarını ile ansiklopedilerdeki biyografi maddelerini sayabiliriz. Bu arada sanatçılara, özellikle mimarlara dair şu monografiler de dikkati çekiyor: Ahmed Refik, 1932 ve 1936; Altan, 1941; Orgun, 1941; Öz, 1943; Erdoğan, 1954, 1955a, 1955b, 1958, 1960 ve 1962; Akalın, 1958; Uzunçarşılı, 1959; Gökyay, 1976; Eyice, 1979; Crane, 1987. Mimar Sinan'ın hayatına ilişkin çok sayıda araştırma arasında şunlar dikkati çekiyor: Konyalı, 1948 ve Meriç, 1965.