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Mawlāy Ibrāhīm's sister, Sayyida al-Ḥurra, married the kā id of Tetuan al-Mandrī and, after becoming a widow, became the wife of the Wattasid sultan Aḥmad. She played a leading role in the politics of the region, and Mawlay Ibrahim himself distinguished himself in warfare against the Portuguese of Așīla before succeeding his father as kā'id of Shafshāwan. As a splendid and faithful warrior, Sīdī Brāhīm/ Mawlay Ibrahim compelled the admiration of his enemies, who did not cease to heap praises on his great deeds and generosity (Bernardo Rodrigues, Anals de Arzila, ed. D. Lopes, Lisbon 1915-20; R. Ricard, Moulay Ibrahim, caïd de Chefchaouen, in Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc, Portugal, Paris 1948, iii, 146-57, and the same article in al-And. [1941]). But his family fell victim to the conflicts between the last Waţţāsids and the Sa^cdids. After Abū Hassūn's capture of Fas in 961/1554, Shafshawan was besieged by the minister Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad 'Abd al-Kādir in the name of the sultan al-Ghālib, and the Banū Rāshid fled in Safar 969/October 1562 and disappeared from the political scene.

Shafshāwan played an essential role in the fight against the Portuguese installed at Ceuta, Tangiers and Aṣīla, and Leo Africanus states that its citizens were "freed from taxes because they serve as cavalrymen and infantrymen in the fight against the Portuguese". The 9th/15th century was its most brilliant one, when it produced several renowned scholars, such as Abū Muḥammad Abd Allāh al- $Habt\overline{\imath}\,(d.~963/1556)$ and $Ibn~^cAskar,$ the author of the Dawhat al-nāshir, banished by the Banū Rāshid. Once occupied by the Sa^cdids, the town lost its importance and, henceforth, is hardly ever mentioned. Mawlay Ismā^cīl built a kasba there. It was in turn held by al-Raysūnī, al-Khadir Ghaylān and then by the pasha Aḥmad al-Rīfī (d. 1146/1743), and in October 1920 was occupied by Spain. During 1922-6 Abd al-Krim made it a base of operations for the war in the Rīf [q.v.].

The surrounding region, despite its steep slopes, is fertile and well-watered and produces cereals and fruit (grapes, figs, pomegranates etc.), but the water-mills and the presses which gave the town its fame survive only vestigially. The activity recorded by G. Colin in the earlier decades of this century (EI^1 art. s.v.) is only a memory, and Shafshawan lives essentially off tourism, with many tourists attracted by the climate and the beauty of its site, and with handicrafts: textiles (drāza), pottery, leatherwork and copper ware. The fortified town has walls pierced by eleven gates. Its clearly individual quarters, its numerous mosques, its kasba and the shrine of Sīdī Alī Ben Rāshid, bear witness to a past era now completed, for the town now suffers from its cramped site. It remains a modest place, and its eccentric position and the poverty of the region have not encouraged the growth of population which characterises other urban centres of Morocco. It is thought to have had between 3,000 and 7,000 inhabitants before 1918. In 1953 the census counted 11,500 Muslims, 2,500 Spanish and 15 Jews. The population reached 16,850 in 1969, but did not go beyond 24,000 in 1982.

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<u>SH</u>ĀH "king", and <u>SH</u>ĀHAN<u>SH</u>ĀH "king of kings", two royal titles in Persian.

They can be traced back to the Achaemenid kings of ancient Persia, who, from Darius I (521-486 B.C.) onwards, refer to themselves in their inscriptions both as xšāyaθiya "king" (from the root xšay- "to rule", cognate to Sanskrit kṣáyati "possess" and Greek κτάομαι "acquire") and as κṣấyaθiya κặāyaθiyānām "king of kings". Even earlier the title "king of kings" had been used by the rulers of Assyria and of Urartu (in the Caucasus) and it is not unlikely that the Persians adopted it from the latter (see O.G. von Wesendonk, The title "King of Kings", in Oriental studies in honour of Cursetji Erachji Pavry, London 1933, 488-90). The implication of this title would seem to have been, not that the Achaemenid monarch was the chief king over other sub-kings (there is no evidence that there were any other "kings" within the empire), but rather that he was the king par excellence. We have thus to do with a rhetorical figure which might be called the superlative genitive, as also in the Biblical "vanity of vanities'' (habel habalīm).

The same two titles, in their Western Middle Iranian forms shāh and shāhān shāh, occur in the inscriptions of the Arsacid and Sāsānid kings. In inscriptions in the Parthian language these are represented by the Aramaeograms MLK3 and MLKYN MLK3 respectively; Middle Persian uses the Aramaeogram MLK³ (also MRK) and in books occasionally the "phonetic" spelling šh) for the former and the "semi-phonetic" spelling MLK'-n MLK' (and variants) for the latter (for references, see Ph. Gignoux, Glossaire des inscriptions Pehlevies et Parthes, London 1972, 28, 57, and add the new Arsacid inscription discussed by E. Lipiński in Orientalia Lovaniensia analecta, xlviii [1993], 127-34). The Sāsānid inscriptions refer to the emperor consistently as shāhān shāh, and use shāh as a title for other members of his family: the emperors appointed their sons as "kings" of the outlying provinces, assigning them the royal titles of the former rulers of those regions (e.g. Kushān shāh "king of the Kushāns"), in much the same way that the heir to the English throne bears the title "Prince of Wales". However, in a contemporary Manichaean text (published by W.B. Henning. Mani's last journey, in BSOS, x/4 [1942], 941-53) the Sāsānid Wahrām I is referred to merely as "the king'' (\underline{shah}). It would thus appear that, although in official protocol the ruler was always shahan shah, in everyday speech he could be simply shāh. The distinction between the "king of kings" and the subordinate "kings/princes" is mirrored by the title "queen of queens'' (Middle Persian bāmbishnān bāmbishn, written MLKT'-n MLKT'), borne by the monarch's principal wife, to distinguish her from the other queens in the royal household, and similarly further down the hierarchy, with the mowbed ī mowbedān "priest of priests", and so forth. It is not unlikely that Islamic titles like kādī 'l-kudāt continue this Iranian tradition.

Neo-Persian shāh (also shah) is the usual word for ''king'' in that language, and is used either by itself or else in conjunction with a personal name. In the latter case it can precede the name (e.g. shāh Mahmūd), follow it in an idāfa-construction (Mahmūd-i shāh), or be appended directly to the name and form an accen-

enlarman

MUHAMMAD 'ADIL SHAH

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The death of energetic Islām Shāh and the minority of his son Fīrūz gave the Afghan chiefs an opportunity to reassert their position in the sultanate. The attempt of 'Adil Shah to follow Islam Shah, however, revived the conflict between the king and the chiefs culminating in the dissolution of the sultanate and the Afghan loss of sovereignty in Northern India.

Murder of Firuz

On October, 30, 1553, on the death of Islām Shāh, his son Fīrūz, a boy of twelve, was placed on the throne at Gwalior by the supporters. of the late king. Tāj Khān Karranī, to whom the dying king had entrusted the guardianship of his minor son, became his wazīr. But the disaffection which Islām Shāh's strong monarchy and centralised, government had created among the Afghan chiefs proved too strong for the boy king and his guardian minister and on the third day of his accession², Fīrūz was killed by his maternal uncle Mubariz Khān Sur, the son of Sher Shah's younger brother Nizam Sur, who had the support of Pahār Khān Sarwāni, Ibrāhīm Khān Sūr, Shamshīr Khān, the younger borther of Khwas Khan, and other disaffected Afghan chiefs3.

In his life time Islam Shah had foreseen that such a calamity might befall his successor and he wanted to ensure his safety by executing Mubariz, who formed the centre of the conspiracy of the Afghan chiefs against him. His wife Bībī Baī, however, prevented him from executing her brother, saying that he was given to music and pleasures and was not interested in the throne. Islam Shah was disgusted and remarked that she would live to see the consequences of her folly. Badāyūnī writes that the prophesy of Islam Shah came true and, in spite of her entreaties, Mubariz murdered her son in her very presence⁴. With the consent

¹ Shahi, 272-74.

² Badayuni, 1, 416; *Tabaqat*, II, 118; Firishta I, 438.

All the contemporary historians, except Ahmad Yadgar, say that Firuz was killed within a few days of his accession, the general statement being 3 days.

Waq'iat-i-Mushtaqi, 76b.

⁴ Badayuni, I, 416.

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Dans la suite des études de W. Madelung sur la titulature des Bouyides, l'A. montre, à partir de la numismatique, comment les Samanides ont utilisé le titre al-malīk al-mu'ayyad et plus tard celui de sāhānšāh pour asseoir leur autorité dynastique, notamment face à leurs rivaux bouyides. Une lecture précise des sources (Ibn al-Atīr, Miskawayh) permet d'éclaircir le contexte historique, et notamment l'épisode où pendant quelques mois, Nūh b. Naşr a perdu puis repris son trône, face à un prétendant appuyé par les Bouyides. Nūh et ses successeurs n'ont pas utilisé ces titres de façon régulière et suivie, et seulement sur des monnaies issues de certains ateliers (ceux de l'ouest) ou destinées à une circulation restreinte. Si, au contraire des Bouyides, les Samanides ne se sont pas franchement proclamés roi et empereur, c'est dû en partie, remarque l'A., à leur passé de guerriers gāzī défenseurs de l'islam, à qui ne seyait pas le titre de roi, tenu en suspicion au début de l'époque musulmane.

M.G.