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(060108) Fatimiler
(230310) Ziriler

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN
01 Kasım 2016

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Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Kütüphanesi İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi

Lotfi Abdeljaouad*

Les relations entre les Zirides et les Fatimides à la lumière des documents épigraphiques

Résumé : La documentation épigraphique fatimide et ziride, recensée sur les monuments et dans les cimetières de la Tunisie, constitue un véritable miroir sur lequel se reflètent les moments de stabilité ou de tension qui régissaient les relations entre l'Ifrīqiya et le Caire au Xe-XIe siècle. En effet, les titulatures politiques et les formules d'inspiration chiite, figurant dans les textes officiels des premiers souverains zirides, témoignent des rapports de vassalité qui les unissaient aux Fatimides. Néanmoins, l'abandon de ces titres et formules ainsi que l'inflation des formules anti-Fatimides dans les textes d'al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs, constituent des indices sur le cheminement de l'Ifrīqiya vers la rupture et la proclamation de l'indépendance. La destruction totale ou le martelage partiel des inscriptions rappelant le passé chiite, documentent la consommation de cette rupture. Les données épigraphiques confirment ainsi les faits relatés par la littérature historique sur ce sujet.

Mots-clés : Épigraphie islamique, Ifrīqiya, Fatimides, Zirides, Ṣabra al-Manṣūriyya, al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs, conflits sunnites chiites

Abstract : *Epigraphic data witness of the Fatimid and Zirid relations*. The Fatimid and Zirid inscriptions, listed on the monuments and in the cemeteries of Tunisia, constitute a real mirror on which are reflected the moments of stability or tension which governed the relations between Ifrīqiya and Cairo (10th-11th century). Indeed, the political titles and the shiite expressions, appearing in the official texts of the first Zirid sovereigns, testify their subjection to the Fatimids. Nevertheless, the disappearance of these titles and expressions, as well as the verbal inflation against the Fatimids observed in the texts of al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs,

* Institut national du Patrimoine, Tunis

Aix-en-Provence

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2984 ABDELJAOUAD, Lotfi. Les relations entre les Zirides et les Fatimides à la lumière des documents épigraphiques. *Revue des Mondes Musulmans et de la Méditerranée*, 139 (2016) pp. 147-166. With reference to the Fatimid and Zirid inscriptions, listed on the monuments and in the cemeteries of Tunisia. Abstract(s): English.

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MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

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MAKALE TAYIMLANDIKTAN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

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روابط سیاسی و مذهبی فاطمیان و زیریان: رهایی دعوت خلافت فاطمی در عصر معز زیری

حبیب زمانی محجوب[۱]
حسن زندیه[۲]

تاریخ دریافت: ۹۰/۳/۲۵
تاریخ تصویب: ۹۰/۱۲/۶

چکیده

حکومت بنی‌زیری، نخستین حکومت مغربی خالصی است که بربرها پس از ورود اسلام در افریقیه و بخش‌هایی از مغرب میانه بنیان نهادند. زیریان از زمان تأسیس حکومتشان (۳۶۱ق) تا سال ۴۴۱ هجری پیرو دعوت فاطمیان بودند، اما مُعزِبن بادیس در این سال حکومت زیریان را از فاطمیان مستقل ساخت. در این نوشتار، ضمن بیان چگونگی به قدرت رسیدن زیریان به دو سؤال اصلی پاسخ داده می‌شود:

روابط سیاسی و مذهبی بین زیریان و فاطمیان چگونه بوده است؟

چرا زیریان در عهد معزبن بادیس، دعوت فاطمیان را رها کردند و با قبول مذهب اهل سنت، خطبه به نام عباسیان خواندند؟

واژه‌های کلیدی: بنی‌زیری (زیریان)، معزبن بادیس، افریقیه، فاطمیان.

۱. دانشجوی دکتری تاریخ و تمدن ملل اسلامی -دانشگاه آزاد واحد علوم و تحقیقات zamani1358@gmail.com
۲. استادیار گروه تاریخ دانشگاه تهران. hasan_zandieh@yahoo.com

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MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

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چاپ منوچهر ستوده و ایرج افشار، تهران ۱۳۶۸ ش؛ اسماعیل زاهدی، *واژه‌نامهٔ گیاهی*، تهران ۱۳۳۷ ش؛ علی زرگری، *گیاهان دارویی*، ج ۲، تهران ۱۳۶۷ ش؛ محمودبن عمر زمخشری، *پیشرو ادب، یا، مقدمة الادب*، چاپ محمدکاظم امام، تهران ۱۳۴۲-۱۳۴۳ ش؛ محمد پادشاه‌بن غلام محیی‌الدین شاد، *آنندراج: فرهنگ جامع فارسی*، چاپ محمد دبیرسیاقی، تهران ۱۳۶۳ ش؛ آندرو شوالیه، *دایرةالمعارف گیاهان دارویی*، ج ۲، ترجمهٔ عباس زارع‌زاده، تهران ۱۳۸۳ ش؛ عادل ابوالنصر، *تاریخ النبات*، بیروت ۱۹۶۲؛ محمدحسین‌بن محمدهادی عقیلی علوی خراسانی، *مخزن‌الادویه*، کلکته ۱۸۴۴، چاپ افست تهران ۱۳۷۱ ش؛ زکریابن‌محمد قزوینی، *عجایب المخلوقات و غرائب الموجودات* (تحریر فارسی)، چاپ نصرالله سبوحی، [تهران] ۱۳۶۱ ش؛ احمد قهرمان، *فلور ایران*، تهران، ج ۱۵، ۱۳۷۵ ش، ج ۲۲، ۱۳۷۹ ش؛ همو، *کورموفیت‌های ایران: سیستماتیک گیاهی*، ج ۲، تهران ۱۳۷۲ ش؛ احمد قهرمان و احمدرضا اخوت، *تطبیق نامهای کهن گیاهان دارویی با نامهای علمی*، تهران ۱۳۸۳ ش- ؛ محمد کافی، *زیره سبز: فناوری تولید و فرآوری*، مشهد ۱۳۸۱ ش؛ *کرمان در اسناد امین‌الضرب: سالهای ۱۲۸۹-۱۳۵۱* قمری، به‌کوشش نرگس پدرام و ایرج افشار، تهران: ثریا، ۱۳۸۴ ش؛ مهدی میرحسینی، «جایگاه زیره سبز در صنایع دارویی، غذایی و صادرات»، در *مجموعهٔ مقالات اولین همایش ملی زیره سبز: ۱۲ آذرماه ۱۳۸۳*، سبزوار، تهران: جهانکده، ۱۳۸۳ ش؛ ناصرخسرو، *دیوان*، چاپ مجتبی مینوی و مهدی محقق، تهران ۱۳۵۳ ش؛ محمود نجم‌آبادی، *تاریخ طب ایران*، تهران ۱۳۴۱-۱۳۵۳ ش؛ موفق‌بن علی هَرَوی، *الابنیة عن حقایق‌الادویة*، تصحیح احمد بهمنیار، چاپ حسین محبوبی اردکانی، تهران ۱۳۷۱ ش؛

William **Dymock, C. J. H. Warden, and David Hooper,** *Pharmacographia Indica*, London 1890-1893, repr. Karachi 1972; Karl Heinz **Rechinger,** *Umbelliferae* (Flora Iranica, ed. Karl Heinz Rechinger, no.162), Graz 1987; J.L.**Schlimmer,** *Terminologie médico- pharmceutique et anthropologique: française-persane*, Litho. ed. Tehran 1874, typo. repr. 1970.

/ مرضیه کاظمی /

زیریان، یا بنوزیری، سلسله‌ای از حاکمان صَنهاجی اِفریقیه (تونس کنونی)، از قرن چهارم تا ششم. آنان از شاخه‌های مهم قبایل صَنْهاجه* (از قبایل بربر) و به زیری‌بن مَناد*بن مَنْقوش صنهاجی منسوب‌اند، که شهر آشیر را (در الجزایر کنونی) تأسیس و پایتخت خود کرد. زیریان حکومتهایی در افریقیه و مغرب اوسط (الجزایر کنونی) و اندلس به‌وجود آوردند (نُوَیْری، ج ۲۴، ص ۱۵۶-۱۶۱؛ ابن‌ابی‌دینار، ص ۹۳؛ وزیر، ج ۲، ص ۶۲، ۹۷).

مَنادبن منقوش. او پیش از سقوط حکومت آغلَبیان در ۲۹۶، در رأس قبیلهٔ تَلْکاته بود و در قلعهٔ المَنادیَه حکمرانی می‌کرد (ادریس[1]، ج ۱، ص ۸). ابن‌خلدون (ج ۶، ص ۲۰۳) به نقل از برخی مورخان مغربی گفته‌است، منادبن منقوش بر بخشهایی از افریقیه و مغرب اوسط به نام عباسیان حکم می‌راند و در ادارهٔ امور، تابع امیران اغلبی (دست‌نشاندگان عباسیان) بود. او دارای قدرت و ثروت و فرزندان بسیار بود و به نیازمندان کمک می‌کرد (نویری، ج ۲۴، ص ۱۵۷-۱۵۸) و خود را از موالی علی‌بن ابی‌طالب می‌دانست و نسب خویش را به قَحطان (جدّ قبایل جنوب عربستان) می‌رساند (ادریس، همانجا).

پس از مرگ وی، به‌ترتیب، پسرش زیری‌بن مناد، نوه‌اش بُلُقّین‌بن زیری* و سپس در اواخر ذیحجهٔ ۳۷۳، ابوالفتح منصوربن بلقّین (که در هنگام مرگ پدرش در اشیر بود) حاکم افریقیه و مغرب شدند (ابن‌اثیر، ج ۹، ص ۳۴؛ ابن‌عذاری، ج ۱، ص ۲۳۹؛ نویری، ج ۲۴، ص ۱۷۷؛ ابن‌خلدون، ج ۶، ص ۲۰۷).

منصوربن بلقّین. او در آغاز، برادرش یَطّوفَت را با شتاب راهی قَیروان و منصوریه کرد. یطّوفت نیز در نیمهٔ محرّم ۳۷۴ بر امور افریقیه مسلط شد. سپس، منصور از بزرگان قیروان، که برای تسلیت و تبریک به وی به اشیر رفته بودند، استقبال کرد و در رجب ۳۷۴، از اشیر وارد رَقّاده (در حومهٔ قیروان) شد و هدیهٔ بسیار گران‌بهایی برای نزار، خلیفهٔ فاطمی، فرستاد. او پس از چند ماه اقامت در رقّاده، در اواخر ذیحجهٔ ۳۷۴، به‌همراه عبدالله کاتب (متصدی خراج) به مغرب بازگشت. در همان سال، سپاه عظیمی به سرکردگی یطّوفت برای سرکوب قبایل بربر زَناته* و بازپس‌گیری شهرهای فاس و سِجِلماسَه از آنان، به آن نواحی فرستاد. در نزدیکی فاس، زیری‌بن عَطیّه زناتی معروف به فَرطاس / قرطاس، در رأس سپاهیان زناته، سپاه صنهاجه را به‌سختی شکست داد و یطّوفت با اندک افراد باقیماندهٔ سپاهش به اشیر بازگشت (ابن‌اثیر، ج ۹، ص ۳۴، ۴۶؛ ابن‌عذاری، ج ۱، ص ۲۳۹-۲۴۱؛ نویری، ج ۲۴، ص ۱۷۷-۱۷۹؛ ابن‌خلدون، ج ۶، ص ۲۰۷-۲۰۸؛ ابن‌ابی‌دینار، ص ۹۸).

در ۳۷۶ عزیزبالله فاطمی، حسن‌بن نصر معروف به ابوالفهم خراسانی را برای تحریک قبایل کُتامَه برضد منصوربن بلقّین روانهٔ سرزمین کتامه کرد، ولی هنگامی که کارش بالا گرفت، منصور در رأس سپاهی او و یارانش را در ۳ صفر ۳۷۸ کشت و به این غائله پایان داد (ابن‌اثیر، ج ۹، ص ۵۳-۵۴؛ ابن‌عذاری، ج ۱، ص ۲۴۱، ۲۴۳-۲۴۴؛ نویری، ج ۲۴، ص ۱۸۲-۱۸۳).

در ۳۷۶، کارگزار قیروان، یوسف‌بن عبدالله کاتب، به دستور منصور ساختن کاخ بزرگی در شهر منصوریه را آغاز کرد که پس

1. Idris

İSAM DN. 268568 دانشنامه جهان اسلام، جلد ۲۲، تهران ۱۳۹۶

x Muiz b. Badi
- Ziriler

9882 LEVEY, MARTIN, KREK, MIROSLOV, and HADDAD, HUSNI. "Some notes on the chemical technology in an eleventh cent. Arabic book on bookbinding." *Isis* (Cambridge) 47 (S '56) 239-43. Discusses tanning, glues, dyes, paints, and inks on the basis of an 11th cent. technical work entitled *'Umdat al-kuttab wa-'uddat dhawī al-albāb.* (Staff of the scribes and implements of the discerning) by al-Mu'izz b. Bādīs, a royal patron of the arts of the North African dynasty of Zīrīds (1007-61 A.D.). Cf. Brockelmann GAL I 268.

29 TEMMUZ 1992

ZİRİLER

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12 NISAN 1992

3204. Ibrāhīm, 'Afīfī Maḥmūd: Banū-Zīrī wa-'alāqātuhum as-siyāsīya bi'l-quwā 'l-islāmīya fī ḥaud al-Baḥr al-Mutawassiṭ : (362 - 543 h.) / 'Afīfī Maḥmūd Ibrāhīm. - Al-Qāhira : Maktabat al-Anglū 'l-Miṣrīya, 1989. - 179 S.
Inhaltsangabe: Geschichte des Ziridenreiches und seiner Beziehungen zu den islamischen Machtzentren im Mittelmeerraum (973-1148). - Arab. - In arab. Schrift
ISBN 977-05-0765001 2 8 E 4126

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Tarihul-Maġrib-555

اسماعيل العربى
دولة بنى زيرى ملوك غرناطة / اسماعيل العربى. - الجزائر: ديوان المطبوعات الجامعية، ١٩٨٢. - ٢٣١ ص.

14 OCAK 1999

٩١٩ - ٩١٥ ..... - الزيريون

13 ...

شاكر مصطفي، موسوعة العالم الاسلامي ورجالها، مج . ٢، بيروت ١٩٩٣، İSAM KTP DN. 24598

25 OCAK 2005

218 BARRUCAND, M. Palastarchitektur der Ziriden, Hammadiden und Fatimiden. *Schätze der Kalifen: Islamische Kunst zur Fatimidenzeit.* Hrsg. W.Seipel. Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien; Milan: Skira, 1998, pp.223-224

1473 BEN-SASSON, Ménahem. Mouvements de population et perceptions d'identité. Fès sous les Idrissides et les Zirides. *Juifs de Fès.* Textes choisis par Joseph Cohen. Côte-st-Luc (Canada): Élysée, 2004, pp.19-26;294-295.

TARİH

3464 IDRIS, H. R. La vie intellectuelle en Ifriqiya méridionale sous les Zirides (XIe siècle) d'après Ibn Al-Chabbat'. *Mél. hist. arch. Occ. musul.*, II. *Hommage à G. Marçais*, 1957, pp. 95-106

Ibn el-Şabba'ya göre (11.nci asır) Ziride'ler zamanında Orta Afrika'da fikrî hayat.

Lévi-Provençal, *Les Mémoires de 'Abd Allâh, dernier roi zîrîte de Grenade* (frag. édités et traduits) 1935-6 *(in Al-Andalus,* III, et IV).

11

Al-Rummānī concludes that the first view is easier to understand, because the phrase occurs in a context related to the battle.[61]

The above examples show that al-Rummānī's attitude to the views of the cited Mu'tazilite scholars does not reveal a clear tendency in his preferences or in his disagreements with one particular branch of Mu'tazilism. This, however, could indicate several possibilities. One could still conclude from these examples that al-Rummānī was firmly aligning himself with the Ikhshidiyya, if one follows Daniel Gimaret's suggestion that the thought of Ibn al-Ikhshīd should be viewed as "a sort of highly eclectic synthesis between a particular 'Basran' tradition and the diverse positions characteristic of the so-called 'school of Baghdad'".[62] However, both the authority of the Mu'tazilite scholars and the questions on which al-Rummānī agrees or disagrees with al-Jubbā'ī or al-Balkhī extend beyond purely theological issues; and this raises the possibility that al-Rummānī considered the Mu'tazilite scholars as forming a tradition in Quranic exegesis – one that was distinct from other traditions but which was not uniform, and which allowed for certain differences of opinion. Al-Rummānī's commitment to this tradition is manifest in his citations of Mu'tazilite scholars and the contexts in which they occur, and in his description of such scholars as "people of the truth" or "our followers".

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61 Ms 6523 Paris, f. 106a, line 3pp.: *wa-yuqālu mā ma'nā wa-yattakhidha minkum shuhadā'a Θ al-jawāb fīhi qawlān al-awwal li-yukrama bil-shahāda man qutila yawm Uḥud 'an al-Ḥasan wa-Qatāda wa-Ibn Isḥāq Θ wal-thānī wa-yattakhidha minkum shuhadā'a 'alā al-nās bi-mā yakūnu minhum min al-'iṣyān li-mā la-kum fī dhālika min al-rif'a wa-jalālat al-manzila 'an Abī 'Alī wa-Abī l-Qāsim wal-awwal asbaqu ilā al-nafs li-annahu fī dhikr al-qatl.* There are other occasions on which al-Rummānī disagrees with al-Jubbā'ī and gives preference to alternative interpretations: for example, in the interpretations of Q. 14:41–2 and Q. 17:42.

62 Gimaret, "Ebn al-Ekšīd".

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doi:10.1017/S0041977X14001050

The diplomacy of empire: Fatimids and Zirids, 990–1062

- Zirids 230310
- Fatimids 060108
- Diplomasi 040726

Michael Brett
SOAS, University of London
mb7@soas.ac.uk

Abstract
Over a period of some forty years, 380/990–421/1030, the Fatimids in Egypt exchanged embassies with their Zirid viceroys in Ifrīqiya after these had been recognized as a hereditary dynasty, and to a lesser extent with their Kalbid deputies in Sicily. *Sijillāt* or official letters of the Fatimid chancery, accompanied by sumptuous presents, invested the Zirids with their authority and favoured them with important announcements, while the Zirids replied in kind. The embassies were ostentatiously welcomed by the Zirids as proof of their legitimacy, while serving to maintain the connection with Cairo on which the Fatimids were similarly dependent for the sake of their imperial standing in the world. The importance of that connection to both dynasties was shown in the 440s/1050s, when it was broken by the Zirids and restored by a Fatimid intervention, celebrated in a fresh series of *sijillāt*. With their emphasis on the style as much as the substance of the messages, the exchanges are excellent illustrations of mediaeval diplomatic correspondence as described by John Wansbrough in *Lingua Franca in the Mediterranean*.
Keywords: Diplomacy, Empire, Fatimids, Zirids, Kalbids, Egypt, Ifrīqiya, Sicily, Investiture, Chancery practice, Present-giving, Wansbrough, *Lingua Franca*

I

In *Lingua Franca in the Mediterranean*, his last work, published in 1996, John Wansbrough harked back to his doctoral thesis of 1961 on the texts of commercial treaties between Venice and Mamluk Egypt in the form of an extended essay on communication in the Ancient and Mediaeval Mediterranean.[1] His argument was summed up in the title of "Orbits" given to the first chapter, whose first sentence envisaged a map of the Mediterranean in the sixteenth century heavily inked with the traces of movement, a network of routes and terminals exhibiting the accumulated expertise of the past 3,000 years. While much of that expertise was technological and commercial, it operated within a shifting economic, political and administrative context, such that the indispensable matrix of long-distance trade was diplomatic contact. For that, the source and the framework was the chancery practice with which he had been concerned in his original thesis, and which he now took as the focus of his study. The orbits of the title

1 J. Wansbrough, *Lingua Franca in the Mediterranean* (Surrey, 1996).

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(Tārīkh al-Maghrib al-'Arabī)
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D.i.N. İqin tarandı.

تاريخ المغرب في العصر الإسلامي

Zirve

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı
Kütüphanesi
İslâm Ansiklopedisi

تأليف
الدكتور السيد عبد العزيز سالم
أستاذ التاريخ الإسلامي والحضارة الإسلامية
كلية الآداب . جامعة الإسكندرية

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ت ٣٩٤٧٢ الإسكندرية

(٢)

علاقة الصنهاجيين بالخلافة الفاطمية

أ ـ الدور الأول من انفصال بني زيري عن الخلافة الفاطمية بمصر :

سادت العلاقات الودية بين الدولة الفاطمية في مصر والدولة الصنهاجية في إفريقية في إمارة أبي الفتوح يوسف بلكين بن زيري . ولما توفي ، وخلفه ابنه أبو الفتح المنصور أبدى ميلا صريحا إلى الانفصال الروحي والسياسي عن الخلافة الفاطمية ، وعبر عن ذلك بقوله لشيوخ القيروان ووجوه الناس ممن قدموا إليه لتهنئته بالإمارة : « إن أبي وجدي أخذا الناس بالسيف قهرا ، وأنا لا آخذهم إلا بالإحسان ، وما أنا في هذا الملك ممن يولى بكتاب ويعزل بكتاب ، لأني ورثته عن آبائي وأجدادي ، وورثوه عن آبائهم وأجدادهم حمير »[1] . فالمنصور يستنكر بهذا القول أن يتولى الإمارة بكتاب ، ويعزل بكتاب ، ويرى أن بلاد إفريقية والمغرب ملك ورثه عن آبائه وأجداده ، وفي ذلك تلميح بتحديه للعزيز بالله الفاطمي .

ولا شك أن العزيز بالله قد غضب لهذا القول ، وأحس بما يعتمل في نفس المنصور من نوايا الانفصال ، فعمل على إزعاجه وتأليب قبائل البربر عليه ، فأرسل داعيا له في سنة ٣٧٦ هـ اسمه أبو الفهم الخراساني إلى قبائل كتامة لكي يدعوهم إلى طاعته . ويبدو أن العزيز بالله ، كان يهدف من وراء ذلك إثارة قبائل كتامة على ولاة إفريقية ، إضعافا لنفوذهم في البلاد.

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(١) ابن عذارى ، جـ١ ص ٢٤٣ ـ ابن الأثير ، جـ ٧ ص ١٢١

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للطباعة والنشر
بيروت ص.ب ٧٤٩

الفصل التاسع

المغرب الأدنى والأوسط فى ظل بنى زيرى وبنى حماد الصنهاجيين

(١) أمراء بنى زيرى منذ قيامهم بأمر المغرب حتى استقلال الحماديين بالمغرب الأوسط

ا ـ دولة أبى الفتوح يوسف بن زيرى

ب ـ دولة أبى الفتح المنصور بن بلكين

ج ـ دولة نصير الدولة باديس بن أبى الفتح المنصور

د ـ انقسام دولة الصنهاجيين

(٢) علاقة الصنهاجيين بالخلافة الفاطمية بمصر

ا ـ الدور الأول من انفصال بنى زيرى عن الخلافة الفاطمية بمصر

ب ـ الدور الثانى » » »

ج ـ الدور الثالث » » »

د ـ الدور الأخير » » »

(٣) انتقام المستنصر بالله الفاطمى: غزو عرب الهلالية وبنى سليم لبلاد المغرب

ا ـ دخول قبائل بنى هلال وبنى سليم فى أرض المغرب

ب ـ هزيمة جيوش المعز على أيدى العرب

TUNISIA

Crossroads of the Islamic and European Worlds

Kenneth J. Perkins

Ziriler

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için
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4
Berber Dynasties

THE ZIRIDS, 973–1160

For some time after the Fatimid departure, Buluggin and his successors engaged their former masters in a cat-and-mouse game testing the limits of their independence and their legitimacy apart from their status as Fatimid agents. The Fatimids were unwilling to incur heavy expenses in curbing Zirid ambitions, but they were also unprepared simply to hand over their former territories to their vassals. They encouraged the Kutama Berbers, their original North African allies, to revolt, preventing the Zirids from focusing too sharply on their relationship with Cairo. The Fatimids' reluctance to participate in an internal Zirid dispute early in the eleventh century, however, revealed their decision to let events in Ifriqiya run their course.

When Buluggin died in 984, his relatives divided the extensive Fatimid inheritance. Hammad, Buluggin's son, received the lands of the central Maghrib just west of Ifriqiya. An attempt in 1016 by other members of the family to deprive Hammad of his domain provoked a civil war that ended with the creation of a separate Hammadid state. Their confinement to Ifriqiya proper actually enhanced the Zirids' security, for the Hammadids provided a barrier against Zanata Berber and Spanish Umayyad attacks. With the threat of direct Fatimid intervention simultaneously waning, Muiz, the Zirid amir after the war, orchestrated affairs in Ifriqiya much more easily than had his predecessors.

Cognizant of the depth of anti-Shii sentiment among many of his subjects, Muiz sought support from the influential Maliki ulama of Kairouan. Soon after assuming power, he permitted a frenzied slaughter of Shia throughout Ifriqiya. For the duration of his reign, he lavished attention on the mosque of Sidi Uqba in Kairouan and generally indulged the Sunni Muslims whom the Fatimids had at best ignored. In 1049, Muiz gave his allegiance to the Abbasid caliph, formally severing Ifriqiya's links with the Fatimids. The greater than

caused widespread suffering, affecting not only townspeople but also the neighboring rural inhabitants whose prosperity was linked to that of the city. Peasant unrest, reminiscent of the disorders that had ended in the Donatist and Kharajite uprisings, smoldered in the Kairouan region and spread to other parts of Ifriqiya.

These economic disorders, in conjunction with Muiz's political aspirations, caused the final break with the Fatimids. Desperate for revenue, the amir confiscated vast fortunes after outlawing Fatimid coinage in Ifriqiya in 1049. The Zirids began minting their own coins to symbolize their sovereignty, and the break ended any further need for a show of deference toward Fatimid trade routes in the Sahara.

Although their vassals' disloyalty did not entirely surprise the Fatimids, they nonetheless felt obliged to respond. In forcing a group of Arab bedouin tribes, the Banu Hilal, to migrate from Upper Egypt to Ifriqiya, they rid the Nile Valley of as many as a quarter of a million nomads and unleased their energies, so disruptive to agriculture, on Ifriqiya as a punishment. When the Banu Hilal first trickled into Ifriqiya, the Zirids tried to incorporate them into the army, hoping to use the bedouins to quell disorders in rural areas precipitated by the deteriorating economy. The Zirid decision to ally with the bedouins rather than rally resistance to them indicates the magnitude of the gap between the rulers and the populace. Some Hilali tribespeople did enter Zirid service, but the amirs could not confine the rest to the peripheries of their territory. As they encroached on the settled lands, the Zirids had to mount a defense. In a pitched battle in 1052 at Haidaran, northwest of Kairouan, the Banu Hilal routed the Zirid forces, eliminating the only obstacle to their dispersal throughout Ifriqiya. Banu Hilal pressure on the Zirids continued, culminating with the sack of Kairouan in 1057.

Students of the Maghrib have long debated the consequences of this invasion. Ibn Khaldun, the fourteenth-century Tunisian scholar, compared the bedouins to a swarm of locusts destroying everything in their path while showing particular contempt for sedentary, civilized society. More recent research presents a less harsh view.[1] Disorders did, indeed, characterize eleventh-century Ifriqiya, and although the Banu Hilal took advantage of this situation, they were neither its sole nor its primary cause. Economic decline predated their appearance, and it, rather than nomadic depredations, led to the ruin of Kairouan. The spread of nomadism in the Kairouan region after 1057 sealed an already determined fate. The bedouins never controlled any important urban center, including Kairouan, for any significant period, and many smaller provincial cities actually prospered at this time,

charles-andré julien
professeur à la sorbonne

Ziriler

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brusque succès du calife rendit les Zirides maîtres de l'Ifriqiya, n'abandonnèrent-ils leur capitale qu'à regret. Sans doute, Bologguin s'installa-t-il aussitôt à Mançouriya, mais ce fut petit à petit que les émirs y attirèrent leurs familles, relâchèrent les liens qui les attachaient à Achir et firent de leur ancien domaine une marche confiée à leurs proches, jusqu'au jour où elle leur échappa.

Les souverains zirides. — Cependant, tout souverain qu'il fût dans son domaine propre, Bologguin n'était, dans l'ensemble du Maghreb, qu'un gouverneur de province pour le compte des Fatimides. Il payait tribut, envoyait de magnifiques cadeaux au Caire et était entouré de personnages à la solde des Fatimides qu'el-Moᶜizz avait laissés là pour le surveiller autant que pour l'aider.

Devenu émir, il recommença la lutte contre les Zénata, qu'il chassa définitivement du Maghreb central, détruisit Tiaret et prit Tlemcen, dont il transporta la population à Achir. En 978, le nouveau calife fatimide, el-ᶜAziz, consentit à lui confier le commandement de la Tripolitaine qui, jusque-là, était placée sous l'autorité d'un gouverneur distinct.

En 979, Bologguin reprit la lutte contre les Zénata et leurs protecteurs omaiyades et s'empara, non seulement de Fès, mais de tout le Maroc (980). Il recula, toutefois, devant une attaque de Ceuta, où s'était fortifié le vizir omaiyade. Ses derniers succès furent précaires, car, aussitôt après le départ de ses troupes, les Zenata reprirent, de la Moulouya à Tanger, la prière au nom du calife de Cordoue.

C'est son fils et successeur, el-Mançour (984-996) qui, le premier, tenta de secouer le joug des Fatimides. Dès sa prise de pouvoir, il déclara aux notables de Kairouan venus le féliciter : « Je ne suis pas de ceux qu'on nomme d'un trait de plume pour les révoquer de même, car j'ai hérité ce royaume de mes pères et de mes aïeux (Ibn ᶜIdhari). » La réaction fatimide ne se fit guère attendre : un propagandiste officiel (*daᶜi*) fut envoyé du Caire dans le pays des Kotama et souleva ces rudes guerriers contre el-Mançour (986) ; la rébellion dura deux ans, mais fut réprimée par le Ziride avec la dernière cruauté ; une seconde révolte, en 989, n'eut pas un meilleur sort : c'en était fait des Kotama ; les Çanhaja d'Achir avaient établi leur hégémonie sur toute la moitié orientale du Maghreb.

Mais ils abandonnaient le reste aux Zenata ; en effet, après avoir vainement essayé de rétablir son influence sur Fès et Sijilmasa (985), el-Mançour laissa tout l'Occident à ses anciens ennemis et au dictateur espagnol el-Mançour ibn Abi-ᶜAmir et entretint

avec eux des relations correctes. Ainsi s'établissait, après le départ des Fatimides qui avaient tourné leurs ambitions ailleurs, un équilibre relatif entre les Zenata et les Çanhaja, rivaux pendant trois quarts de siècle et désireux, les uns et les autres, de jouir un peu de leurs conquêtes.

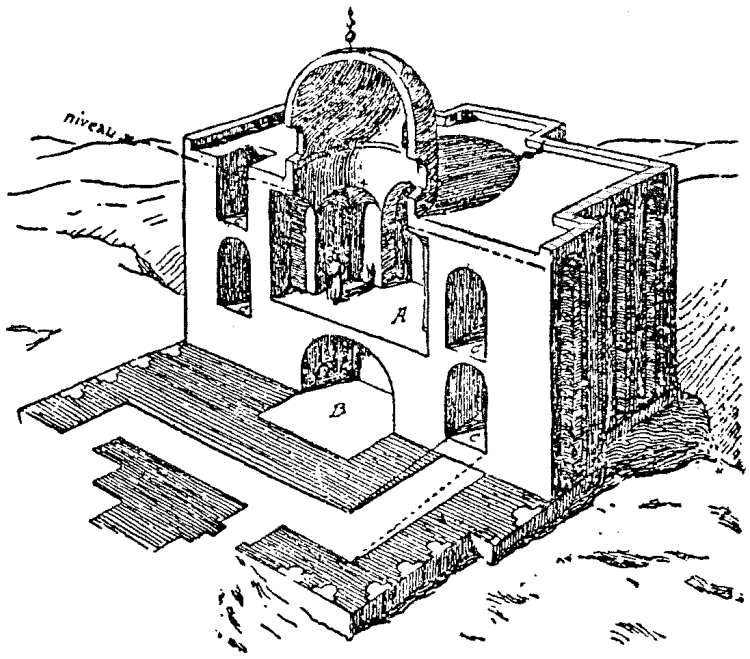


Fig. 7. — *La Qala des Beni Hammad. Le donjon du Fanal.* Vue perspective, coupe et plan établis par G. Marçais. *A*, salle cruciforme ; *B*, magasin en sous-sol ; *C*, rampe. « Toute la partie au-dessus du niveau *x* est une restitution hypothétique. » (G. Marçais.)
(D'après Georges Marçais, *Manuel d'art musulman*, Aug. Picard, éd., I, p. 122.)

Badis (996-1016) revint à plus de soumission envers le calife du Caire sans aucun profit : au moment où son oncle Hammad faisait sécession (1014), il ne reçut pas la moindre aide d'Egypte, bien que le rebelle reconnût la suzeraineté des Abbasides.

Son fils et successeur, el-Moᶜizz (1016-1062), revêtu du pouvoir à l'âge de huit ans, n'en usa pas de même : fut-ce l'influence de sa formation première sous l'égide d'un maître sunnite, fut-ce le désir de satisfaire une opinion publique très hostile aux chiᶜites à Kairouan comme dans l'ensemble de l'Ifriqiya ? Toujours est-il que, peu à peu, el-Moᶜizz se détacha du Caire pour finir, en 1048, par proclamer la suzeraineté de Bagdad.

S. 68-70

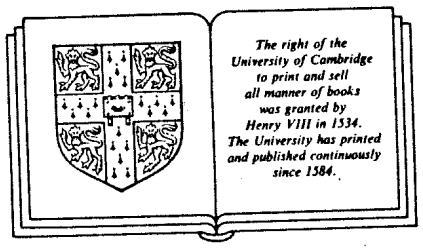
A history of the Maghrib in the Islamic period

JAMIL M. ABUN-NASR

Professor of Islamic Studies
University of Bayreuth

Ziriler

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı
Kütüphanesi
İslâm Ansiklopedisi



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sainthood he could influence the lives of a larger number of persons than the latter. Ifriqiya produced during the Zirid period a number of saintly defenders of Islamic orthodoxy. The most prominent amongst them was Ibn Abi Zayd's cousin, Sidi Muhriz b. Khalaf (d. 1022), who became recognized as the patron saint of Tunis. Sidi Muhriz is especially remembered as securing for the Jews the permission to live inside the walls of Tunis in a quarter of their own, and for his attacks on Shi'ite teachings in the name of Islamic orthodoxy.

During the reign of Badis the Malikites started to become more and more assertive in public life and openly critical of their rulers' identification with Shi'ite Islam. The reign of Badis' successor al-Mu'izz (1016–51) began with Sunnite riots directed against the Shi'ites, which started in October 1016 in Qayrawan and thereafter spread to other towns. About 20,000 Shi'ites are said to have been killed during these riots. Conflict of economic and political interests between the urban Sunnite leadership and the Shi'ite aristocracy constituted the background of these riots. Malikite religious leaders, such as Sidi Muhriz and the eminent jurist Abu 'Ali b. Khaldun al-Balawi of Qayrawan, pressed the economic and political grievances of their community by the campaign they led against Shi'ism and its maintenance as the doctrine of the state. In this way they provoked the Sunnite popular explosion of October 1016. Al-Balawi and another Qayrawani scholar Abu Muhammad al-Gharyani were killed in March 1017. Although the governor of Qayrawan arrested two men whom he accused of the murder, it was known at the time that it was the governor himself who perpetrated this murder against men he held responsible for the riots (Idris, 1962, pp. 148).

Although the riots of the Sunnites could be contained, they form the background for al-Mu'izz's rupture with the Fatimids. The thesis suggested by Poncet (1967, pp. 1110–12) that this rupture had economic reasons, and that it was especially influenced by al-Mu'izz's desire to introduce a monetary reform in the context of replacing the Fatimid currency by one of his own, is difficult to substantiate. Substituting nominal submission to the Fatimid caliph by the nominal recognition of the 'Abbasid caliph's authority was a religiously symbolic act, but one which had important political significance for the Zirids' position. The riots of 1016–17 had weakened the influence of the Shi'ites in economic and political life and demonstrated the strength of the Sunnite leadership. Through renouncing submission to the Fatimids the Zirids do not seem to have been concerned over salvaging the economy of Ifriqiya, as Poncet maintains, but to secure their own position as rulers. They might have been also concerned to complete the transformation of their position from that of tribal leaders who first acquired prominence in the service of the Shi'ites to that of the ruling dynasty in an area whose political culture was dominated by Sunnite Islam. It is not certain when the final break with the Fatimids took place. The dates given in the sources

range from 1041 to 1051, but 1044 seems to be the most likely (Idris, 1962, pp. 181–2).

During the reign of Badis, when the Zirids had started to adapt themselves to the Arab–Islamic culture of Qayrawan, a collateral branch of their family, the Banu Hammad, carved out a Sanhaja kingdom for itself in north-eastern Algeria. In the first years of the eleventh century the Zirid *amir* Badis delegated his authority in this area to his uncle Hammad. Like his grandfather Ziri b. Manad, Hammad seems to have been expected to organize the Sanhaja militarily, and with their help to check the expansion of the Zanata from north-west Algeria eastwards. In return for Hammad's accepting this responsibility, Badis undertook never to recall him and to let him rule any parts of the central Maghrib which he could conquer. After consolidating his authority over north-eastern Algeria and building a capital for himself, the Qal'at Bani Hammad near Msila, Hammad rebelled in 1015. He and his descendants ruled thereafter over a kingdom comprising the area extending along the Algerian coast from the east of 'Annaba (Bône) to the west of Algiers and reaching southwards to the Awras massif. The Banu Hammad were able to retain their independence from the Zirids and to defeat several attempts which they made to destroy their state. But they also contributed to the stability of the Zirid state through acting as a buffer between it and the Zanata.

The Zirids' rebellion against the Fatimids was punished by the latter through unleashing the Arabian nomadic tribes of Banu Hilal and Banu Sulaym upon the Maghrib. These two tribes had entered Egypt in the eighth century and had been since then the cause of much turbulence in public life. Encouraging them to invade the Maghrib served therefore the additional purpose of ridding the Fatimids of a constant threat to the stability of their rule. The Fatimid caliph al-Mustansir (1036–94), acting upon the advice of his vizier al-Yazuri, 'granted' the Maghrib to the Banu Hilal and Banu Sulaym and even allocated provinces and towns to their various factions and chiefs.

When the Banu Hilal and Banu Sulaym invaded the Maghrib in 1050 or 1051 (A.H. 442), their number was estimated at about 50,000 warriors, in addition to women and children. Warfare was their normal way of life. After these two tribes entered Cyrenaica, the Banu Sulaym decided to settle there. Factions of this tribe were to move further west only in the thirteenth century. But the Banu Hilal set their sights from the start on the fertile plains of Tunisia. The Zirids tried to stop their advance into this territory in 1052, but suffered a crushing defeat at Haydaran near Gabis. The Arab tribesmen then advanced on Qayrawan, a large part of whose inhabitants had already fled to Tunis. But the nomads did not attempt to take Qayrawan, preferring instead to pillage the countryside. The Zirid *amir* tried in vain to restrain the tribesmen through offering them enlistment in his army and even marrying three of his own daughters to their

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı
Kütüphanesi
Yayınları Merkezi

موسوعة تاريخ المغرب العربى

المغرب العربى بين
الفاطميين والمرابطين والموحدين
٢٩٦ - ٦٦٨ هـ / ٩١٠ - ١٢٧٠ م
دراسة فى التاريخ الإسلامى

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı
İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi
Kütüphanesi
Demirbaş No: 12983-2
Yer No: 961
GAN.M

الجزء الثالث

Zirler. 16-193

حقوق الطبع محفوظة لمكتبة مدبولي

الطبعة الأولى
١٤١٤هـ - ١٩٩٤م

22 SUBAT 1995

الناشر
مكتبة مدبولى
ميدان طلعت حرب بالقاهرة - ج م ع
تليفون ٧٥٦٤٢١

الباب الأول

دولة بنى زيرى

بنى زيرى والدولة الفاطمية

قامت الدولة الفاطمية فى المغرب وحالفتها كتامة وصنهاجة وسارتا فى ركابها وبدأت الدولة الجديدة تتوسع صوب المغرب وكان الصراع على أشده بين الفاطميين وأحلافهم وبين زناتة التى كانت وأحلافها صاحبة السيادة على المغرب الأقصى بالإضافة إلى أن زناتة قد اتخذت المغرب الأوسط والأقصى وطنا لها .

وكانت منازل ومرابط صنهاجة وزناتة متجاورة مختلطة والعداء بينهما معروف ذلك العداء الذى عرفه تاريخ المغرب ، لكن خرج هذا النزاع المحلى إلى نطاق أوسع حيث ساندت صنهاجة الدولة الفاطمية منذ قيامها وكان هذا التأييد الصنهاجى قد حقق أحلام الفاطميين وأتاح لجنود الفاطميين أن تتوسع شرقا وغربا ووقفت زناتة فى المغرب الأوسط موقف الحذر ثم أخذت تهاجم المدن مما دعا الدولة الفنية أن تهاجمها اعتمادا على قوات صنهاجة وكتامة ولم تستطع زناتة أن تصمد طويلا أمام قوات هذه الدولة الناهضة .

وسيطرت زناتة على المغرب الأقصى وبايعت عبد الرحمن الناصر فى الاندلس وأحس الفاطميون أن زناتة أصبحت خطرا على كيان الدولة فكان إرسال الحملات العسكرية لاستعادة المغرب . واتخذ العداء بين الطرفين صورة جديدة من الحروب العنيفة والغارات المتواصلة .

وأمعن الصنهاجيون كيدا لزناتة فى تأييد الفاطميين أكثر من ذى قبل . فأقام مناد بن منقوش زعيم صنهاجة سلسلة من الحصون فى أملاكه استطاع عن طريقها أن يصد عدوان زناتة عن أفريقية وكانت زناتة بالمغرب الأوسط لاتزال قوية وبرز دور مناد كمساند أول للدولة الفاطمية والتى اعتمدت عليه كثيرا .

لكن الخطر الزناتى بلغ أشده فى ثورة أبى يزيد بن مخلد بن كيداد الذى كاد أن يقضى على ملك الفاطميين فى أفريقية وبقية المغرب ، لكن الفاطميين انتصروا وهزمت زناتة ولاذت قبائلهم بالفرار وزال خطر أبى يزيد وما أن انتهت ثورة أبى يزيد حتى كانت قوات الفاطميين تغزو المغرب الأوسط وتصدعت جبهة زناتة وتفرق شملها وتقلص نفوذها وبدأت زناتة ترحل بالتدريج من المغرب الأوسط إلى المغرب الأقصى وأمعن ابن زعيم صنهاجة زيرى (تستمد الدولة اسمها منه) بن مناد بن منقوش الصنهاجى فى حربهم والتقى بقوات زناتة فى موقع بين أشير وتلمسان وأحرز نصرا عظيما عليهم كما ذكر ذلك جوتيه وحوصر العدو وبذلك تمت سيادة صنهاجة على المغرب الأوسط بعد ذلك النصر ، إذ لولا ذلك الانتصار العظيم الذى حققه زيرى بن مناد لما قدر للمعز أن يبايع صنهاجة وأن تخلف الفاطميين فى حكم المغرب .

وتوفى زيرى ، تاركا ابنه أحد أبطال البربر البرانس فى أفريقية وهو بلكين الذى قاد قوات صنهاجة لتهزم زناتة والتى لم تستطيع الصمود أمامه فولت الأديار صوب سجلماسة وراح بلكين ينتزع منها مدن المغرب الأوسط فاسترد طبنة وبغاية والمسيلة وبسكرة وتلمسان وقتل من زناتة فى هذه المعارك جموعا لا تحصى وأصبح المغرب الأوسط لأول مرة منذ الغزو والفتح الإسلامى خاليا من زناتة وهاجرت فولوها إلى المغرب الأقصى وبذلك فان سيطرة صنهاجة بقيادة زعيمها بلكين الذى بدأ نجمه يسطع فى سماء الفروسية والقتال والسياسة والذى استعان به الفاطميون وأدركوا قوته فزاد اعتمادهم عليه . وقد أصبحت صورة حقيقية وواقعة فى مجال السياسة المغربية .

ولكن بلكين والذى أصبح من أكبر قواد الدولة والزعيم الأوحد بعد والده زيرى لصنهاجة رأى تدخل الأمويين بالأندلس فى عهد المستنصر قد ازداد فى المغرب الأقصى وساندوا زناتة ومدوا لها يد العون وقضى على نفوذ الخلفاء الفاطميين فى المغرب الأقصى وعاد المغرب الاقصى إلى طاعة الأمويين ، لكن بلكين كان لها بالمرصاد إذ

محمد ولد داداه

DIA 6K
Tome

مفهوم الملك في المغرب

من انتصاف القرن الأول إلى انتصاف القرن السابع

دراسة في التاريخ السياسي

7221
964
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دار الكتاب اللبناني ـ دار الكتاب المصري
بيروت ـ لبنان القاهرة ج م ع

Zirifer

الفصل الثالث : بنو زيري في إفريقية

أ ـ بنو زيري في الناحية الشرقية من افريقية (تونس) (٢٢٠)

تتابع ، مدة قرنين تقريباً ، ثمانية ملوك من **بني زيري** على الناحية الشرقية من افريقية ، من سنة ٣٦٢ الى سنة ٥٥٥ / ٩٧٢ ـ ١١٦٠ . وكنا ذكرنا أهمية صنهاجة في نطاق الامبراطورية الفاطمية(٢٢١) ، كما اننا اتينا بكلمة عن بني زيري(٢٢٢) .

فكان هؤلاء من أوفى الناس للفاطميين اول أمرهم ، متمسكين بدعوتهم ، مقربين عندهم . فلا غرو أنْ **عهد المعز لبلكين بن زيري بن مناد** بولاية الممتلكات الفاطمية في الشمال الافريقي ، لما قرر الانتقال من صبرة (المنصورية) الى القاهرة عاصمته الجديدة . فصار بلكين أول ملوك أسرته . ويذكرنا هذا العهد الذي خوله الفاطميون لبلكين بعهد هارون الرشيد لابراهيم ابن الاغلب(٢٢٣) . ولكن هنالك فوارق بين الدولتين وان كان شكل اسناد الحكم إليهما واحداً . فبنو الاغلب حافظوا على استمرار العلاقات الحسنة التي كانت تربطهم ببني العباس ، وكذلك باعترافهم بسلطة الخلفاء القائمين ببغداد وبسيادتهم عليهم . ولم يكن هذا الاعتراف المعنوي ينقص ، في الواقع من استقلالهم السياسيّ . أمّا بنو زيري ، فتأثروا بمذهب سكان افريقية ، أي

DIN 1911
Tercüme R12A

عبد الرحمن بن محمد الجيلالي

Zirilo
25 TEMMUZ

تاريخ الجزائر العام

يشتمل على ايجاز وافٍ مُفصّل لتاريخ القطر الجزائري في جميع أطواره
وحركاته السياسيّة والاجتماعيّة والعلميّة والدّينية والأدبيّة والفنيّة
والاقتصاديّة والعمرانية والصّناعيّة ، مع تراجم العبقريّين وأرباب القرائح
من مشاهير الجزائريّين منذ أقدم العصور إلى الآن .

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Kütüphanesi
Kayıt No. : 12763-1
Tasnif No. : 965
C1L.T

الجزء الأول

دار الثقافة
بيروت - لبنان

جدول تاريخي

(296 ـ 361 هـ / 909 ـ 972 م)

تاريخ الحوادث	أهم الحوادث وأبرز الأحداث
296 هـ / 909 م	تأسيس الدولة العبيدية ـ الفاطمية ـ .
297 هـ / 910 م	مبايعة عبيد الله المهدي بالخلافة .
298 هـ / 910 م	هيجان الشعب الجزائري ضد الشيعة العبيديين وقتل الداعية الصنعاني .
299 هـ / 911 م	الحملة الشيعية الكبرى على المغرب الأوسط .
310 هـ / 922 م	مقتل أبي معلوم فلحون عامل أوراس .
312 هـ / 924 م	مقتل مصالة بن حبوس عامل تيهرت .
314 هـ / 926 م	ابتداء ظهور الدعوة الأموية بالمغرب العربي .
315 هـ / 927 م	انشاء مدينة المسيلة .
324 هـ / 936 م	انشاء مدينة آشير .
336 هـ / 947 م	القضاء على ثورة أبي يزيد الخارجي صاحب الحمار .
338 هـ / 949 م	انشاء مدينة افكان .
345 هـ / 956 م	هجوم أسطول الأمويين بالأندلس على مرسى الخزر ـ القالة ـ وطبرقة .
358 هـ / 969 م	إعادة ظهور الدعوة الأموية بالجزائر وفتح البلاد المصرية على يد الشيعة الفاطميين .
361 هـ / 972 م	انتقال الخلافة الشيعية من المغرب إلى مصر .

الدّولة الزيريّة « الصّنهاجيّة »

(361 ـ 405 هـ / 972 ـ 1014 م)

نشأتها :

تنتسب هذه الدولة الجزائرية لحما ودما الى عاهل صنهاجة وزعيمها الأكبر زيري بن مناد الصنهاجي منشيء مدينة آشير بجبل تيطري ـ شرقي قصر البخاري ـ أو البوغاري نسبة الى بوغار اسم لذلك المكان .

وصنهاجة ـ بضم الصاد وكسرها ـ علم يطلق على وطن وقبيلة ، اما الوطن فهو قطعة من ارض الجزائر ما بين وطن زواوة شرقا واماكن زناتة غربا ، ويمتد على الساحل البحري من مدينة الجزائر الى تونس ، يحده وطن الحضنة والمسيلة والمدية وملیانة . واما القبيلة فانها راجعة بنسبها الى جذمين : قار وحزمار ابني صنهاج ، من قبائل البرانس وهي ذات بطون وافخاذ منتشرة بكامل هذا الشمال الافريقي فلا يكاد يخلو منها مكان . وعدها الهمداني صاحب الاكليل وغيره من المحققين فخذا من قبائل حمير العربية . وليس لها في البربرية سوى النسبة العرفية .

كانت هذه القبيلة مرغمة على الخضوع للخلافة العباسية والاذعان للامارة الأغلبية وذلك بموجب كونها علوية بالولاء . فلما استتب الامر لدولة بني عبيد العلوية بهذه البلاد انقلبت على العباسيين فكانت بجانب الفاطميين ، فاستعان بها هؤلاء على محاربة اعدائهم زناتة احلاف الأمويين ومواليهم . فكانت هناك حروب واهوال عظيمة بين هاتين القبيلتين وكلها ترجع الى هذا الاختلاف السياسي في المبدأ والتزاحم على الرئاسة أيضا . وقد المعنا فيما تتقدم الى مكان من حوادث الشيعة والامويين بالمغرب . وما كان لزيري الصنهاجي من اليد البيضاء في القضاء على ثورة أبي يزيد الخارجي سنة 335 هـ ـ 946 م . وموقفه في فتح المغرب الاقصى سنة 347 هـ ـ 958 م . ومقاومة كل ناهض ضد بني عبيد الخ ... فأحرزت صنهاجة بذلك مقاما رفيعا ومكانا ساميا لدى الدولة الفاطمية وعلى شأن رؤسائها عند الخلفاء فبالغ هؤلاء الملوك والخلفاء في أكرام رؤساء صنهاجة وتقديرهم . وأطلق الخليفة يد زيري في قومه وعلى كل مكان تغلب عليه أو احتله بأي صفة كانت . وولاه أمر تاهرت وباغاية فأمنت دولة العبيديين يومئذ من اخطار سكان هذه النواحي من بني يفرن الزناتيين ، فملك زيري يومئذ البلاد وضرب العملة باسمه .

T.C. Süleymaniye Vakfı
Kütüphanesi
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صبح الأعشى

في

صناعة الإنشا

Ziegler (120-121)

تأليف

أحمد بن علي القلقشندي
المتوفى ٨٢١ هجرية - ١٤١٨ ميلادية

a isim-i arandı.
Debt.

شرحه وعلق عليه وقابل نصوصه

نبيل خالد الخطيب

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6414-5
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الجزء الخامس

- ضُبطت وقوبلت على طبعة دار الكتب المصرية
وعلى المصادر الأساسية لنصوص الكتاب.
- مذيلة باستدراكات وتصويبات وهوامش توضيحية.
- مستفيدة من الدراسات والأبحاث التي كتبت حول
هذا السفر النفيس من مكتباتنا العربية.

دار الكتب العلمية
بيروت - لبنان

أبو يزيد صاحبُ الحمار. وتوفّي سنة أربع وثلاثين وثلثمائة، وكان قد عهدَ إلىٰ آبنه المنصور بالله إسماعيل، فقام بالأمر بعده، وكتَمَ موتَ أبيه فلم يتسَمَّ بالخليفة ولا غيَّرَ السِّكةَ والخطبةَ والبُنودَ، وتُوفّي سلخَ رمضان سنة إحدىٰ وأربعين وثلثمائة لسَبْع سنينَ من خلافته.

وولي الأمرَ بعده آبنهُ (المعِزُّ لدين الله مَعَدّ) فاستقام له الأمر، وآنتهت مملكته بالغرب إلىٰ البحر المحيط، وآفتتح مصرَ علىٰ يد قائده «جَوْهر» في منتصف شعبان سنة ثمان وخمسين وثلثمائة، وآختطَّ له القاهرة، ثم قدمَ المُعِزُّ إلىٰ مصر، ودخلَ القاهرة لخمس من رمضان سنة ثنتين وستين وثلثمائة علىٰ ما سبق في الكلام علىٰ مملكة الديار المصرية.

الطبقة الثالثة
(ملوكُها من بني زِيري)

كان المُعِزُّ مَعَدُّ الفاطميّ حين قَدِم مصرَ علىٰ ما تقدّم آستخلف علىٰ أفريقيَّةَ والمغرب (بُلُكِينَ بن زِيري) بن مَيّاد البربري، ويقال: الحِمْيريّ وأنزله القَيْروان، وسمّاه يُوسفَ، وكنّاه أبا الفُتوح، ولَقّبه سيفَ الدّولة وبقي حتّى تُوُفّيَ سنة ثلاث وسبعين وثلثمائة ومات المعزُّ بالقاهرة، وآنتقلت الخلافةُ بعده إلىٰ آبنه العزيز نزار، فولّى علىٰ أفريقيَّةَ والمغرب بعد بُلُكِين آبنَه (المنصورَ بن بُلُكِين) بولاية عهد من أبيه وبقي حتى تُوُفّيَ سنة خمس وثمانين وثلثمائة.

وقام بأمره بعده (آبنه بادِيسُ) بن المنصور فبقيَ حتىٰ تُوُفّيَ سنةَ ست وأربعمائة بمعَسْكَره فَجْأة وهو نائم بين أصحابه.

وبويع آبنه (المُعِزّ بن بادِيس) وهو آبن ثماني سنين، واستمرّ مُلْكُه بأفريقِيَّة وعظُم مُلْكُه بها؛ وكان المُعِزُّ مُنْحرفاً عن الرَّفْض والتشيُّع، مُنْتَحِلاً للسُّنَّة، وأعْلنَ بذلك في أوّل ولايَته؛ ثم كان آخِرُ أمره أنْ خَلَعَ طاعةَ العُبَيْدِيِّينَ، وقطَعَ الخطبةَ لهم بأفريقيَّة سنة أربعين وأربعمائةٍ علىٰ عهد المستَنْصِر العُبَيديّ خليفة مصر، وخطب للقائم بن القادرِ الخليفةِ العَباسيّ ببَغْداد، فاضطَرَب لذلك مُلْكُه، وثارَتْ عليه

الثُّوّار، وملَكُوا منه النَّواحيَ؛ ومات المُعِزُّ سنةَ أربع وخمسين وأربعمائة.

وقام بأمره من بعد آبنُهُ (تميمُ بن المُعِزّ بن باديس) وغلبه العَرَب على أفْرِيقيَّةَ، فلم يكن له إلا ما ضَمَّه السُّور، وآستمرّت الثُّوّار في أيامه وبقي حتىٰ هلك سنة آحدىٰ وخمسمائة.

وملك بعده آبنه (يحيىٰ بن تميم) فراجعَ طاعةَ العُبَيْدِيِّين خُلَفاءِ مصرَ، ووصلَتْه منهم المخاطَبات والهَدَايا والتُّحَف، وأكثرَ في غَزْو النصارىٰ من الفَرَنْجة وغيرهم، حتىٰ لقَّبُوه بالجرية من وراء البحر، ومات فَجْأة في قصره سنة تسع وخمسمائة.

وملك بعده ابنه (عَلِيّ بن يحيىٰ) وقام بالأمر علىٰ طاعة خُلَفاء العُبَيْديين بمصر، ومات سنة خمسَ عشرةَ وخمسمائة.

وملك بعده آبنه (الحسنُ بن عليّ) وهو ابن آثنتي عَشْرَة سنةً، وقام بأمره مولاه صَنْدل، ثم مولاه مُوَفَّق وغلبه النصارىٰ علىٰ المهدِيَّة وبلاد الساحل كلِّها إلىٰ أن آستنقذها منهم عبدُ المؤْمِن[1] شيخ الموحِّدين، ولحقَ الحسنُ بالجزائر ونزل بها إلىٰ أن فتحَ الموحِّدون الجزائر سنة سبع وأربعين وخَمْسِمائة بعد مِلْكِهم المغربَ والأنْدَلُس، فخرجَ إلىٰ عبد المُؤْمن فأحسن إليه وبقِيَ معه حتىٰ آفتتحَ المهدِيَّة فأنزله بها، فأقامَ بها ثماني سنين. ثم سار إلى مَرَّاكُش فمات في طريقه، وآنقرضتْ دولةُ بني بادِيسَ من أفريقية في أيامهم عند وقوع الفِتَن.

---

(١) هو: عبد المؤمن بن عليّ بن مخلوف بن يَعلى بن مروان أبو محمد الكوفي: أمير المؤمنين، مؤسس دولة (الموحِّدين المؤمنية) في المغرب وإفريقية وتونس. توفي سنة ٥٥٨هـ. أنظر الاستقصا (ج١، ص١٣٩). والأعلام (ج٤، ص١٧١).

ANDREW HANDLER: *The Zirids of Granada*. xii, 208 pp. Coral Gables, Florida: University of Miami Press, [1974]. $10.

In the blurb this book is described as an attempt to bring to life a little-known period in the history of medieval Spain, the rise and fall of

the Zirid princes of Granada. It claims to offer a clear, detailed, and convincing account of the historical evolution of a post-caliphal kingdom. The aims of the research as published in the current edition of the book appear to the reviewer to be only partially fulfilled.

On the credit side the material brought to light is carefully presented, and it is good to see that the *Kitāb al-tibyān*, edited and published by Lévi-Provençal, and the *Dīwān* of poems by the Jewish *wazīr* Ismā'il b. Naghralla (Samuel ha-Nāgīd) and other recent or primary sources have been used to build the chapters which trace the fortunes of this dynasty. But the reader, unless he is mainly interested in the unending squabbles and battles which nourish most books on Spanish Islam, would probably like to know more about the cultural life of the Zirids, and what gave their Andalusian contribution a particular character and flavour. Only one chapter of 16 pp., 'The organisation of Zirid Granada' really tries to do this. It is one of the most readable and rewarding chapters in the book.

The flaw in the book is its notes. Where these appear they are concise and clear, but unfortunately at some stage in the printing the notes to ch. vi and vii wholly vanished or became lost or jumbled with their predecessors. On p. 193, the notes jump from ch. v to the 'Epilogue', much to the distress of the reader who will find the references, particularly those of ch. vii, of value for further reading.

In view of the above it would not be fair to review this book comprehensively as it stands. Despite its flaws, the volume in print fills an obvious gap, though it does not conclusively analyse the basic social, tribal, or ethnic and economic factors which determined relations between the North African Zirids, their Iberian neighbours, or the Almoravids, whom the author (p. 108) seems to believe were 'kinsmen' of the Zirids; in fact we know that a wide variation in culture, habitat, and social organization existed between the peoples classified by the semi-bogus Arab 'umbrella term' of Ṣanhāja. The author's ideas about the Banū Hilāl too (p. 150) seem to be out of touch with much recent research. Meanwhile, at least some errata or addenda slips for the elusive or absent notes should be provided by the author or the publisher.

H. T. NORRIS

عبد الوهاب بن منصور، اعلام المغرب العربي
مج ٢، ١٩٧٩ الرباط

110) الحلل السندسية ١ : 330 و 961 ونظم الجمان ص 236 ووفيات الأعيان 6 : 213 و 217 .

371) **ابو الفتوح بن يحيى الصنهاجي** ، امير من اسرة بني زيري الصنهاجيين أمراء افريقية ، ولاه ابوه يحيى بن تميم على صفاقس فثار به اهلها ونهبوا قصره وارادوا قتله ، فغضب يحيى لذلك واخذ يُضرب بينهم حتى فرق كلمتهم وشتت شملهم ، ولم يزل يُضيِّق عليهم الى ان شفى منهم غليله فسكت غضبه وعفا عنهم ، وفي هذه الحالة يقول امية بن عبد العزيز ابن ابي الصلت قصيدته التي مطلعها :

قضى الله ان يفنى عِداك وان تبقى ... وتخلدَ حتى تملكَ الغرب والشرقا

ومنها يذكر الحادثة ويشكر ليحيى عفوه عن اهل صفاقس :

وربَّ اناس اججوا نار فتنة ... يُجنّبُها الأتقى ويصلَى بها الأشقى
وجرَّ عليهم جهلُهم حلمَ مالك ... يرقُ ويحنو كلما ملك الرقا
ولو شاء روى السيف منهم فطالما ... نضاه فسقّاه من الدم ما استسقى
ولكن دعاه الحِلمُ والفضل والحجا ... الى ان يكونَ الأحلم الاكرم الأتقى
سجية مجبول السجايا على الهدى ... اذا غضب استأنى ، وان ملك استبقى

ولما حاول جماعة من مدعي صناعة الكيميا اغتيال والده يحيى بالمهدية عام 507 هـ صادف مجيئهم مجيئه مع اصحابه الى القصر وعليهم السلاح ، فمنعوا من الدخول ، وثبت عند يحيى ان ذلك كان باتفاق بينهم ، فأمر باخراج ابي الفتوح وزوجته بلارة – وهي ابنة عمه – الى قصر زياد ، ووكل بهما مَن يحرسُهما ، فأقاما به في حالة اعتقال حتى توفي يحيى عام 709 هـ وتولى ابنه علي الامارة ، فسيرهما في البحر الى الديار المصرية ومعهما ابنُهما العباس رضيعاً ، ووصلا الى الأسكندرية وانزلا بها خير منزل بأمر الآمر صاحب مصر ، فأقام ابو الفتوح بها مدة يسيرة وتوفي (110) .

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Volume 2

from *c.* 500 BC to AD 1050

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charge of Syria and Palestine. It was a fragile arrangement. Yaʿqūb b. Killīs, the Jewish convert whom Kāfūr had promoted in the administration at the expense of Jaʿfar, fled to the Fatimid caliph Muʿizz. In October the Carmathians overran Syria, driving out Ḥasan, who returned to Egypt to imprison the vizier. Meanwhile Nicephoras Phocas laid siege to Antioch.

Jawhar returned to Ifrīqiya with the tribute of the west to find a great army assembled. In January 969 Jaʿfar b. Faḍl was released and reinstated, and Ḥasan returned to Syria, buying off the Carmathians with an indemnity and the promise of an annual tribute. But in February Jawhar set out from Kairouan, and by May he was at Alexandria. The Ikhshidid regime, impoverished by years of famine, given up for lost by those who regarded a Fatimid victory as inevitable, was divided, with a majority in favour of surrender. Jaʿfar sent to negotiate the entry of Jawhar into the capital. It was delayed only by a brief resistance from the Ikhshidid guard. In July Jawhar took possession of Fusṭāṭ, and immediately traced out the site of a new palace city to be a capital worthy of his master. This was beyond the area of al-Qaṭā'iʿ, the city of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, still further to the north-east of Fusṭāṭ where the Ikhshidids had had their residence on the bank of the Khalīj, the large canal which had once connected the Nile at Babylon with the Red Sea. The new city of al-Qāhira, Cairo, 'the Victorious', was a massively walled rectangle about a kilometre in length, centred on two principal palaces, with the Mosque of al-Azhar in the south-eastern quadrant. It was a monument to a great achievement. Virtually without a blow, without any revolutionary violence, simply with the promise of government in accordance with the Law, the Fatimids stepped into the place of the Ikhshidids. Their victory was a masterpiece of the art of succession, of capturing support for a winning cause. Ironically, it was a measure of the Ikhshidid achievement in creating a political system in which such a smooth transfer of power from one dynasty to another could occur.

Preparations went on methodically for the climax, the arrival of the Fatimid caliph himself, which waited only for the completion of the building. Undeterred by the news from Syria, where the coalition had fallen apart, and Fatimids and Carmathians were fighting each other for possession of Damascus, undeterred too by trouble in the west, Muʿizz settled his Ifriqiyan estate, and in August 972 set out with his household, his treasure and the coffins of his ancestors on a long, slow, triumphal procession along the coast. In May 973 he arrived at Barce,

where he took ship for Alexandria and Fusṭāṭ. In June he entered his new city of al-Qāhira. It was intended for what it became, a permanent home. The possibly apocryphal detail of a palace especially built to house the ʿAbbasid rival when Baghdad at last should fall illustrates the fact that the dynasty had no intention of moving a second time. The fighting in Syria was undoubtedly an effective hindrance to any advance upon Iraq, but that was not central to the design. At the summit of their career, the Fatimids did not reopen the question of the Islamic empire as a single state. So far as government was concerned, the Ikhshidid inheritance was sufficient. Through it, the Fatimids came to their full stature. As they settled in Egypt, their achievement was to complete the new political order of the tenth century.

THE ZIRID SUCCESSION

Nothing illustrates this better than the arrival of Muʿizz at Cairo as the pattern of his new empire was already taking shape. When, after the fall of Egypt, real fighting broke out in Syria, the Fatimids were not so successful. Within a few years they were trying to maintain a frontier north of Damascus against incursions from Iraq and expeditions by the Byzantines, who had taken Antioch in October 969. In the west, Muʿizz had dealt with a revolt in the Aures mountains which only briefly disturbed his good relations with the Ibadite shaykhs. But the prospect of his departure had led to a war over the succession. By the end of 970, Muʿizz was turning away from his first choice as lieutenant of Ifrīqiya, Jaʿfar b. ʿAlī, the governor of the Zab at Msila, who was suspected of relations with Cordoba, and was looking instead to Zīrī b. Manād and his son Buluggīn at Ashīr. Early in 971 Buluggīn defeated and killed the Maghrāwa chief Muḥammad b. al-Khayr near Tlemcen. But Jaʿfar abandoned Msila with his treasure and his guards, and joined with Muḥammad's son to defeat and kill Zīrī at Tiaret. While Jaʿfar took Zīrī's head to present to the Umayyad Ḥakam II, who had succeeded his father, the great ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, at Cordoba in 961, Buluggīn restored the situation with a second victory over the Zanāta at Sijilmasa, to be rewarded with the government of Jaʿfar's territories in addition to his father's. In 972 he accompanied his sovereign on the first stages of his journey to the east, then remained behind apparently as viceroy over all except Sicily and Tripoli. As a mark of this exceptional favour he was renamed and restyled Sayf al-Dawla ('Sword of State') Abū 'l-Futūḥ ('Man of Victories') Yūsuf.

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Mevsuatu düveli'l-alemi'l-İslami ve ricali'ha

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5

كتاب التبيان للأمير عبد الله بن بلقين

آخر امراء بني زيري بغرناطة

حقق المخطوط وقدم له وعلق عليه

الدكتور أمين توفيق الطيبي

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı
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أستاذ محاضر في التاريخ الوسيط
كلية العلوم الإنسانية والاجتماعية ـ تونس.

تقديم

اندلعت معركة حيدران في شهر ذي الحجة سنة ٤٤٣هـ/ نيسان/ابريل ١٠٥٢ مباشرة بعد وصول قبائل بني هلال إلى إفريقية قادمين من الصعيد المصري، وبعد محاولة الأمير الزيري المعز بن باديس تطويقهم لصالح دولته. ماذا تمثل هذه المعركة بالنسبة لبني زيري ولإفريقية لا سيما بعد قطع العلاقات مع الفاطميين في مصر وإقامة الدعوة للخليفة العباسي في بغداد؟ هل هي مجرد معركة عسكرية تقابل فيها جيشان غير متكافئين من ناحية العدد والعدة: من جهة ٣٠,٠٠٠ مقاتل في صف المعز بن باديس ومن جهة أخرى ٣٠٠٠ رجل من جانب العرب الهلاليين؟ أم هل أن الحدث يتجاوز المستوى العسكري البحت ليكون حينئذ ـ كما أكد ذلك بعض الدارسين المحدثين من المستشرقين ـ حدثاً دافع خلاله المعز عن كيان دولته وعن الحضارة الإفريقية بصفة عامة أمام مجموعات قبلية بدوية غير منظمة لها أهداف معينة تريد تحقيقها (السيطرة على مجالات في البلاد الإفريقية واستغلال الخيرات ثم تقسيم الإمارة الزيرية بينها) ثم إن هذه المجموعات تعيش حسب نمط عيش مغاير لنمط عيش السكان الأفارقة؟ وبالتالي يجب ربط هذه المعركة المصيرية بالصراع الزيري الهلالي ككل. وفي هذا الإطار يجب أن نتساءل عن معنى هذا الصراع، هل هو صراع بين عرب بدو قادمين من نجد والحجاز أقاموا مدة في الصعيد المصري قبل الانتقال إلى إفريقية في منتصف القرن الخامس للهجرة وبين عناصر حضرية مستقرة في إفريقية ولها كيان منظم ودولة ومؤسسات وجيش؟ بعبارة أخرى، هل يتعلق الأمر من ناحية بقبائل مشتتة لا تربط بينها وحدة ماعدا النسب (الانتماء إلى الفرع القيسي المضري العدناني الشمالي) جاءت إلى إفريقية مدعومة من طرف الفاطميين في مصر، ومن جهة أخرى بدولة بربرية أسسها بنو زيري من صنهاجة بعد انتقال الفاطميين إلى مصر، وكانت تسيطر على إفريقية وتجمع المصادر على كونها مزدهرة قبل ذلك، ثم ستتحول إثر الغزو الهلالي إلى فسيفساء من الإمارات العربية البدوية في المدن الساحلية والداخلية بينما يقتصر النفوذ الزيري على مدينة المهدية المحصنة. وتتغير الأوضاع في النصف الثاني من القرن الخامس للهجرة لتصبح البلاد مهددة من طرف النورمان إلى أن يتمكن الموحدون القادمون من الغرب من تحريرها من براثنهم وضمها إلى إمبراطوريتهم الشاسعة التي تشمل كامل المغرب العربي والأندلس.

الإشكالية الثالثة تهم المعركة في حد ذاتها: هل حصلت معركة وحيدة بين المعز بن باديس والعرب البدو من بني هلال تقرر إثرها مصير إفريقية، وهو رأي العديد من الدارسين مثل هادي روجير إدريس؟ أم هل ينطبق اسم الموضع (حيدران) على الأقل، على معركتين: أولى في شهر ذي الحجة من سنة ٤٤٣ والثانية في السنة اللاحقة ٤٤٤هـ وهو رأي دافع عنه جورج مارسي ونشاطره في هذا إلى حد بعيد.

لا فائدة في الرجوع إلى قضية أسباب قدوم بني هلال إلى إفريقية في منتصف القرن الخامس للهجرة ـ فقد تطرقنا إليه في السابق وأكدنا أهمية العنصر الاقتصادي من ناحية، وكذلك العوامل الأخرى المتعلقة بالأوضاع من كل من إفريقية الزيرية

aded: 55 (1418/1997) Bagdad IRCICA

Bergl / Kitap
Kütüphane de Meycuttur

03 TEMMUZ 1993

Biblia.

Gen.,	II,	2 = a 3.
	III,	20-24 = a 2.
	IV,	15 = a 1.
	XII,	13 = e 4.
	XX,	2 = e 4.
	XXIX,	= e 4.
	XXX,	= e 4.
	XXXII,	24-32 = a 6.
		30 = e 11.
	XXXVII,	= e 2.
	XXXVIII,	= e 3.
Exo.,	III,	8, 17 = a 7.
		11 = a 6.
	IV,	13-14 = a 6.
	VI,	20 = e 4.
	VII,	10-12 = e 5.
	VIII,	6-7, 17-19 = e 5.
	XII,	12-13, 21-23 = e 8.
		14-20 = e 9.
	XIII,	5 = a 7.
	XIV,	2 = e 6.
	XV,	3 = e 10.
	XVI,	31 = a 7.
	XXIII,	1-5, 11-17 = a 5.
	XXIV,	9-10 = e 11.
	XXXII,	2-5, 19, 25 = e 12.
		9-14 = a 5.
		13 = e 7.
		33-34 = a 5.
	XXXIII,	3 = a 7.
		20-23 = e 11.
Lev.,	XX,	24 = a 7.
Num.,	III,	17-39 = e 15.
	X,	79 = e 21.
	XI,	= e 13.
	XIII,	28 = a 7.
	XIV,	8 = a 7.
	11-12,	20 = e 14.
		17-18 = a 1.
	XVI,	13-14 = a 7.
Deut.,	IV,	24 = e 19.
	VI,	3 = a 7.
	IX,	3 = e 19.
		4-5 = e 18.
	XI,	9 = a 7.
		10-11 = a 8.
	XVII,	18-19 = e 22.
	XXIV,	16 = a 1.
	XXVI,	9, 15 = a 7.
	XXVII,	3 = a 7.
	XXVIII,	15-57 = c
	XXXI,	9-12 = e 22.
		20 = a 7.
	XXXII,	13 = a 7.
I Reg.,	XXV,	29 = a 4.
II Reg.,	XI,	= e 4.
III Reg.,	XI,	1 = e 4.
		1-8 = e 20.
IV Reg.,	XX,	7 = a 7.
Psal.		? = e 19; n 32.
Prov.,	VIII,	22-30 = a 4.
Eccl.,	I,	4 = a 4; n 23.

Libros talmúdicos.

Diversos pasajes = e 2; e 6; e 16; e 17; e 18.

EMILIO GARCÍA GÓMEZ.

Al-Andalus, 4/1, 1936 Madrid, 29-146

LES «MÉMOIRES» DE ʿABD ALLĀH, DERNIER ROI ZIRIDE DE GRENADE

(Conclusion.)

TRADUCTION DU FRAGMENT II

[HOSTILITÉS CONTRE IBN ʿABBĀD. PRISE DE BELILLOS]

[P. 86] ..... Lorsqu'Alphonse fut renseigné exactement sur ces difficultés intérieures, il se rendit compte que c'était là pour lui une bonne fortune et la meilleure occasion de demander de l'argent. Il m'envoya son ambassadeur; c'était la première fois que nous entrions en négociations. Cet envoyé, Pedro Ansurez [1], vint en effet me trouver pour me demander de lui payer tribut. Je lui opposai une fin de non-recevoir, jugeant qu'il n'en fallait rien faire et qu'il n'y avait rien à craindre de la part d'Alphonse, puisque en avant de mon territoire s'en trouvait un autre, c'est-à-dire celui d'Ibn Dī-l-Nūn [2]. Je ne supposais pas que quelqu'un [de notre religion] pourrait s'allier à lui contre un musulman. L'ambassadeur s'en alla donc, sans avoir obtenu de résultat.

1 Ce personnage a son nom transcrit différemment dans les deux passages du fragment où il en est question: ici باطر شولشب et plus bas, p. 120 (89 du texte), بطرة شولسب. De même, le nom d'Alphonse VI, qui apparaît tout au début du fragment sous la forme الفنش, est ensuite constamment transcrit avec un ū long: الفونش. — Pedro Ansurez, qui avait été chargé de l'éducation d'Alphonse VI, joua un rôle très important sous le règne de ce prince, dont il fut le conseiller: sa carrière a été retracée en détail par R. Menéndez Pidal, *La España del Cid* (cf. l'index de cet ouvrage, s. v.).

2 C'est-à-dire le territoire du royaume de Tolède agrandi considérablement avant sa mort par al-Ma'mūn.

AL-Andalus, 3, 1935 Madrid 233-244

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-Zirids

UN TEXTE ARABE INÉDIT SUR L'HISTOIRE DE L'ESPAGNE MUSULMANE DANS LA SECONDE MOITIÉ DU XIÈME SIÈCLE:

LES «MÉMOIRES» DE ʿABD ALLĀH, DERNIER ROI ZIRIDE DE GRENADE

FRAGMENTS PUBLIÉS D'APRÈS LE MANUSCRIT DE LA BIBLIOTHÈQUE D'AL-QARAWĪYĪN À FÈS, AVEC UNE INTRODUCTION ET UNE TRADUCTION FRANÇAISE

A mes amis E. García Gómez, F. Hernández Giménez et L. Torres Balbás.

INTRODUCTION

Dans les annales de l'Espagne chrétienne et musulmane, le dernier quart du XIème siècle marque une série de dates décisives. C'est la progression, lente mais sûre, de la reconquête du sol national, qui justifie la politique habile d'Alphonse VI; la chute de l'antique métropole tolédane; récupérée définitivement par la chrétienté dès 1085; l'immixtion de plus en plus pressante du prince castillan dans l'économie des royaumes musulmans des *taifas,* souvent dressés les uns contre les autres, vestiges morcelés de l'unité califienne réalisée au prix de tant d'efforts au siècle précédent par les Umaiyades de Cordoue; puis, l'emprise d'Alphonse qui semble tenir à la gorge les dynastes à bout de souffle et à court d'argent; l'intervention quasi-

ABDALLAH LAROUI
The History of the Maghrib, Princeton, 1977, s. 130-156. DT 124431
18 SUBAT 1994

6. Eastern Forces for Unity: The Fāṭimid and Zīrid Ventures

The tenth century (fourth century H.) was the beginning of a period in which the Maghrib participated actively in the history of Islam as a whole. The direct consequence was marked progress in the adoption of Islamic civilization; the indirect consequence was a distinct tendency toward unity based on the state established in Ifrīqiya. The history of this period is fairly well known because during it North Africa was closely involved on the one hand with the Fāṭimid movement and on the other with Umayyad Spain, then at its apogee.

I

Fāṭimid Ifrīqiya

This part of the Maghrib, as we know, was then juridically a part of the 'Abbāsid Empire, which at the end of the third century underwent a grave crisis, provoked by increasingly extremist Shī'ite propaganda (the Qarmatian movement). Under the same conditions and for the same reasons Shī'ite proselytism developed in Ifrīqiya. It is no longer possible to contend that Shī'ism was unknown in the Maghrib before this time; there is good reason to suppose that it had been competing for some time both with Khārijism and with orthodox Islam,[1] with intermittent success. The new element in the middle of the fourth century was the development of Shī'ism itself: the emergence of the Ismā'īlī sect with its secret organization and unified direc-

[1] A careful distinction must be made between the dogmatic orthodoxy which did not take on its definitive form until the fifth century H. and the preexisting save-the-community movement (*Ahl al-Jamā'a*), which provided its social foundation and was essentially characterized by a rejection of all exclusivism.

torate disposing of numerous propagandists (*du'āt*). These propagandists traveled widely, looking for favorable areas in which to recruit. Because of the secrecy surrounding this propaganda, scholars have not been able to agree about the stages of the Ismā'īlī offensive.[2] We do know, however, that it developed simultaneously in Ifrīqiya, Syria and Iraq. Consequently the Aghlabid amir could not hope for any help from his suzerain.

One of these propagandists seems to have been led by a stroke of luck to take a special interest in the Maghrib. Meeting some Kabyles in Mecca and noting their attitude of independence toward the established powers, he quickly grasped the strategic possibilities of their country, situated on the frontier of the Aghlabid emirate. This *dā'ī*, known to us only by his pseudonym Abū 'Abd Allah the Shī'ite, accompanied his new friends on their return journey and settled in Ikjān in 893/280. We possess little information about the beginning of his stay, which, however, cannot have been very different from that of Idrīs I at Oulili or of Ibn Rustum at Ṭāhart. He raised an army, won the population over to his ideas, and built up a political organization. When he thought he was ready, he attacked the fortresses which the Aghlabids like the Byzantines had built on the confines of Kabilya and the Aurès. His first attack (902) was a failure and he withdrew to his base, which was beyond the reach of the enemy. A second offensive, in which he bypassed the Aghlabid territory on the south, was successful: Sétif was taken in 904 and Tobna the following year. The army of Ziyādat Allah III, the last Aghlabid amir, was crushed at Al-Urbus, and Abū 'Abd Allah entered Raqqāda, the amir's palace, in March 909/296. Meanwhile the Qarmatian revolts had been crushed in the east, and in 902 the Mahdī (the true descendant of 'Alī), who had been living at Salamīya in Syria awaiting the outcome, set out for the west by the route long familiar to fugitives from the east

[2] See Laoust, *Les Schismes dans l'Islam*, pp. 140ff. and "Fāṭimides," *EI*², vol. II, pp. 870ff.

81656

الشاذلي بويحيى

الحياة الأدبية بإفريقية في عهد بني زيري

الدولة الصنهاجية

(362 -555هـ / 972 - 1160م)

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı
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المجلد الأول

المجمع التونسي للعلوم والآداب والفنون
بيت الحكمة
1999

08 EKİM 1993

locally as al-Mabyāt/al-Mābyāt (cf. *mabīt* "place where one halts for the night") along the main route down the Wādī 'l-Ḳurā to Medina, in an extensive plain, a spot well-fitted to be a flourishing commercial centre and market and a convenient staging-post, 12 miles/18 km. south of al-ʿUlā (al-Naṣīf, *The identification of the wādi 'l-Qurā and the ancient Islamic site of al-Mibyāt*, in *Arabian studies*, v [1979], 1-19). Jaussen and Savignac saw ruins there, and in 1968 the expedition of P. J. Parr, G. Lankester Harding and J. E. Dayton made a surface survey of the site (see *Preliminary survey in N.W. Arabia*, 1968, in *Bull. of the Inst. of Archaeology*, London, viii-ix [1970], 199-204, section on "Maʿabiyat"). Excavation of the site may well settle the question finally.

Bibliography: given in the article, but see also Abdullah al-Wohaibi, *The Northern Ḥijaz in the writings of the Arab geographers 800-1150*, Beirut 1973, 220-1. (C. E. Bosworth)

ḲURḤUB b. Dj̲ābir al-Kh̲uzāʿī, the ardent eulogist of the Zīrid princes of al-Ḳayrawān and of their governors, the Banū Abi 'l-ʿArab, and a virulent and shameless satirist. He dominated with great verve the poetic contests stirred up by his strong personality and his biting aggressiveness in the literary sessions of al-Ḳayrawān, owing his success as much to his lack of scruple as to the swiftness of his replies and his improvisations.

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However, Ḳurḥub remains a poet with a ready talent able to adapt himself to the thematic and formal exigencies of the genres employed by him. Variety of usage of verse-forms, suppleness of verses and purity of language combined in due course to place him in the élite of the poets of Ifrīḳiya during the Zīrid period. He died at al-Ḳayrawān in 420/1029.

Bibliography: ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, ms. Paris 2327, xvii, ff. 96a-98a, and Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, ms. Tunis 4850, xxii, 65-6, who both use Ibn Rash̲īḳ's *al-Unmūdh̲adj̲*. See also ʿA.-R. Yāghī, *Ḥayāt al-Ḳayrawān*, Beirut 1962, 100, 214-15; H.-R. Idris, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Zīrides*, Paris 1962, 791; Ch. Bouyahia, *La vie littéraire en Ifrīqiya sous les Zīrides*, Tunis 1972. (Ch. Bouyahia)

ḲURĪLTĀY, Arabic orthography of Mongol *ḳurilta* from *ḳuri-* "to collect, gather together", an assembly of the Mongol princes summoned to discuss and deal with some important question such as the election of a new kh̲ān. Djuwaynī describes the *ḳūrīltāy*s that preceded the accession of Ögedey, Güyük and Möngke. John de Plano Carpini was present in person at the *ḳūrīltāy* held in the Kh̲angay mountains at which Güyük was elected and enthroned. The institution still survived in the time of Tīmūr, when however it seems to have become little more than a parade. The very word has disappeared from the modern Mongolian language; it has been resuscitated by the Turks in the form *kurultay* and used in the sense of "assembly, congress".

Bibliography: Djuwaynī-Boyle, i, 178-91, 248-58, ii, 555-602; J. A. Boyle, *The seasonal residence of the Great Khan Ögedei*, in *Sprache, Geschichte und Kultur der altäischen Völker*, ed. G. Hazai and P. Zieme, Berlin 1974, 145-51 (147); V. V. Barthold, *Four studies in the history of Central Asia*, tr. V. and T. Minorsky, Leiden 1958, 27; G. Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, i, Wiesbaden 1963, 435-7 (No. 305). (J. A. Boyle)

KŪRIN, designation used by the Ottomans in the 10th/16th century and by the Russians in the 18th-19th centuries for the Lezgh̲ins [*q.v.*]. Kürin (Russian: Kürinskiy yazïk) is also the former designation for the Lezghin language, and appears as such in the 1926 Soviet census. (R. Wixman)

KŪRIN KH̲ĀNATE [see lezgh̲in].

ḲŪRIYA, Ḳawriya, the Arabic name for the modern town of Coria in Spain, *municipio* of the province of Cáceres on the banks of the Alagón River. It was the Caurium of the Romans, who built its walls, as was noted by al-Ḥimyarī ("strong walls of ancient construction"). Al-Idrīsī states that Coria belonged to the *iḳlīm* of al-Ḳaṣr, and was then "an attractive, well-built and spacious town, whose surrounding countryside was fertile and highly productive of fruit". Al-Iṣṭak̲hrī's itinerary (43-7) places it at 12 days' journey from Cordova.

When the Muslims withdrew to the line of Coria, after the famines of the post-136/753 period (*Akh̲bār madj̲mūʿa*, 62/67), the town was thus left in the frontier zone, and must have been one of the main centres of the Berber settlement of the north-west of the peninsula. There were frequent rebellions there. In 170/786 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I attacked there the rebel Abu 'l-Aswad Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Fihrī (*ibid.*, 116/106). Muḥammad b. Tādjīt al-Maṣmūdī rebelled there during the amīrate of Muḥammad I, and in alliance with Ibn Marwān al-Djillīḳī made Coria one of his main centres (Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamhara*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, 466; Ibn Kh̲aldūn, *ʿIbar*, tr. de Slane, iv, 289). It is in this region and around this same period that the Christian sources place the revolt of Zeith/Zeiti (*Cron. Alfonso III*, Valencia 1961, 62-3). The town became much fought over; it was taken by Ordoño I in 860, but recaptured by the Muslims in 862. Alfonso III besieged it without success in 868, but ended by taking it some years later. Yaḥyā al-Tudj̲ībī, sent by al-Ḥakam II, attacked the King of Navarre and the Count of Castile near Coria (Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 248). Al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*] passed by Coria on his route into the Christian territories during his campaign of 387/997. The town was taken by Alfonso VI (472/1079), and he fled there after the defeat of al-Zallāḳa [*q.v.*]. Al-Mutawakkil b. al-Afṭas mourned the loss of Coria in a letter to Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn (*al-Ḥulal al-mawsh̲iyya*, ed. Allouche, 23). It was occupied by the Almoravids in 513/1119-20, but definitively taken by Alfonso VII in 1142.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muḳtabis*, ed. M. ʿA. Makkī, Beirut 1973, 642-4, ns. 594-6; F. Hernández Jiménez, *La kūra de Mérida en el siglo X*, in *Al-Andalus*, xxv (1960), 313-71; idem, *Los caminos de Córdoba hacia el NO*, in *ibid.*, xxxii (1967), 37-123, 277-358; M. Terron Albarrán, *El solar de los Aftásidas ...*, Badajoz 1971, 396-8, 561-3; *El fuero de Coria*, ed. J. Maldonado, Madrid 1949 (see *Indice Histórico Español*, not. no. 94-545 on the "Fueros de Cáceres"); A. de Torres y Tapia, *Crónica de la Orden de Alcántara*, Madrid 1973. (M. J. Viguera)

ḲURḲŪB, a town in Kh̲ūzistān, on the road from Wāsiṭ to Sūs (Susa). The statments regarding distances given by the Arab geographers were collected and arranged in P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter nach den arab. Geographen*, 1921, iv, 396 ff.; cf. also 431. The town was noted for its carpets; there was also a state *ṭirāz* [*q.v.*] manufacture there. A material called *sūsandj̲ird* was made there, cf. de Goeje's glossary in *BGA* iv, s.v. Al-Iṣṭak̲hrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal say that the *sūsandj̲ird* of Fasā [*q.v.*] was better than that of Ḳurḳūb; the latter was a mixture of silk and cotton, while in the former wool was used; cf. on the textiles of Ḳurḳūb, R. B. Serjeant, *Islamic textiles, material for a history up to the Mongol con-*

THE ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF ISLAM (New Edition), vol.5, 1979 Leiden, pp.

ticular. It may be assumed that Yazdī belonged to that group of religious scholars who stimulated and promoted Shāh Shudjāʿ's "clericalism", and so in the end made things hard for Ḥāfiẓ. This keeping of the "prince of poets" under wraps may thus be seen as a first indication that Ḥāfiẓ's poetry was not considered by his contemporaries as being allegorical or mystical, as has been customarily thought later and up to the present time (see Hartmann, *Orth. Polemik*, 287 ff.).

Yazdī's main work is his stylistically inflated *Mawāhib-i ilāhī* ("Divine gifts"), also known under the title *Tārīkh-i muẓaffarī* or *Humāyūn-nāma*, the only contemporary account of the Muẓaffarids. Rypka says of it that, among the most famous ornately written historical works in Persian, it is second only to Waṣṣāf's history of the Īl-Khānids (*Iranische Literaturgeschichte*, 302, enlarged Eng. tr. *History of Iranian literature*, 318 n. 7, 443). Yazdī thus imitated the style of Waṣṣāf (see the comparison of the two in Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, i, 685). In 757/1356-7 Yazdī read in Iṣfahān the first chapters of his chronicle to Sultan Mubāriz al-Dīn and his son Shāh Shudjāʿ. Mubāriz al-Dīn having died in 765/1364, shortly before the *Mawāhib-i ilāhī* was concluded with the year 767/1363-4, the chronicle was dedicated to Shāh Shudjāʿ. Two generations later, Maḥmūd-i Kutubī (d. 823/1402-3) completed the work, inside Ḳazwīnī's *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, up to the downfall of the Muẓaffarids, brought about by Tīmūr [*q.v.*] in 795/1392-3, and simplified the style. Only about half of the work has been edited (vol. i, ed. Saʿīd Nafīsī, Tehran 1326/1947-8).

Other works by Yazdī are listed in Djaʿfarī, *Tārīkh-i Yazd*, 78 (cf. Afshār, *Yādkārhā-i Yazd*, i, 205-7).

Not much is known about Yazdī's final years. In 789/1378, the year of his death, he had a sumptuous mosque and a mausoleum built for himself and his family at the periphery of the town of Yazd, where teaching sessions were held after his death. The constructions were repaired in 1081/1670-1, and their present state can be assessed as satisfactory.

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MUʿĪN AL-FUḲARĀʾ [see AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD, in Suppl.].

MUʿĪN AL-MISKĪN, whose full name was Muʿīn al-Dīn Muḥammad Amīn b. Ḥādjdjī Muḥammad al-Farāhī al-Harawī and whose *takhalluṣ* was Muʿīnī (d. 907/1501-2), a celebrated traditionist. He studied *ḥadīth* for 31 years, and throughout this period preached every Friday in the great mosque of Harāt. He was for one year *ḳāḍī* of Harāt, but gave up the post by his own request. In 866/1461-2, at the request of a friend, he began to write a little book on the life of the Prophet Muḥammad. Out of this little book, there grew in time the great biographical work, exceedingly popular in the East, called *Maʿāridj al-nubuwwa fī madāridj al-futuwwa*, which was not finished till 891/1486 and contains a very full account of the life of the Prophet consisting of a *muḳaddima*, four books and a *khātima*; it has been frequently printed. Besides this gigantic work, Muʿīnī also wrote a commentary on the Ḳurʾān entitled *Baḥr al-durar* and a collection of forty *ḥadīths*, *Rawḍat al-wāʿiẓīn*. His study of the history of the prophets produced a larger history of Moses entitled *Muʿdjizāt-i Mūsawī* (also called *Taʾrīkh-i Mūsawī* or *Ḳiṣṣa-yi Mūsawī*), which was completed in 904/1498-9, and the story of Yūsuf and Zulaykhā, *Aḥsan al-ḳiṣaṣ*.

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(E. BERTHELS)

AL-MUʿIZZ B. BĀDĪS, Abū Tamīm Sharaf al-Dawla (407-54/1016-62), fourth ruler of the Zīrid dynasty who governed Ifrīḳiya [*q.v.*] from 362/972 to 543/1148. His reign was not, as H.R. Idris thought, that of an apogee. If there was an apogee, it would have to be placed early on, before the plague and the terrible famine of 395/1004-5 which severely reduced the population. From this date, and throughout the reign of al-Muʿizz, calamities succeeded one another in a sustained rhythm, revealing the deficiencies of a disorganised and rundown economy. The years 409/1018-19, 423/1022-3, 425/1033-4, 432/1040-1, and 447/1055-6 were all marked by disaster (H.R. Idris, *Zīrīdes*, i, 149, 161, 227, 274 and 293).

Al-Muʿizz, whose qualities were confused and embellished at leisure by Sunnī historiography which made him *a posteriori* a "Sunnī" prisoner of the Shīʿīs from his earliest infancy, remains in the history of Ifrīḳiya the artisan of the restoration of Mālikī orthodoxy, itself linked to the "catastrophe" of the Hilālī invasion. His father, Bādīs [*q.v.*], died suddenly on the eve of the final assault which would deliver to him the Ḳalʿa [*q.v.*] founded in 398/1007-8 by his uncle Ḥammād. His sudden death (30 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 406/10 May 1016) marked the definitive partition of the Zīrid kingdom to the benefit of the Ḥammādid branch [*q.v.*] (405-547/1015-1152).

The young prince—he was less than nine years old on his father's death—was then at al-Mahdiyya [*q.v.*], a delicate situation which was not mastered without difficulty and subterfuge (Idris, *Zīrīdes*, i, 128-30). His enthronement, on 21 or 23 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 406/31 May or 2 June 1016, passed off without being contested. He had, we are told, a swarthy complexion,

Dikkate alındı.
RK.

اسماعيل العربي

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı
İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi
Kütüphanesi

عواصم بني زيري

Zirîler.

ملوك

اشير ـ القلعة ـ بجاية ـ غرناطة ـ المهدية

(وفي اخر الكتاب بيبليوغرافيا شاملة عن دول بني زيري)

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Kütüphanesi
Demirbaş No: 1 21404
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دار "الرائد العربي"
بيروت ـ لبنان
1404/1984

and it is here, incidently, where I should have wished most for an opportunity to exchange views with you. Yet, I cannot help the impression that you are setting me up somewhat too black. While endeavoring to avoid, or at least tone down, possible negativism in the emotional reaction, you bring out such contrasting colours as you seem to perceive so starkly as to leave, in this reader at least, a notion that the author is not a critic of certain phases or attitudes of contemporary Islam as much as an adversary. And this, sir, I am not.

« No reaction to your paper would be complete without an expression of admiration for your command of English . . . ».

ARABICA ; T. XI (1964)

NOT: Makale e PARA => posetindedir

Para - Ziriler - murabitlar

INFLUENCE DES DOCTEURS MALÉKITES SUR LE MONNAYAGE ZĪRIDE DE TYPE SUNNITE ET SUR CELUI DES ALMORAVIDES

PAR

AIMÉE LAUNOIS

LORSQUE les Zīrides, en 363/973, sont devenus gouverneurs de l'Ifrīqiya pour le compte des Fāṭimides, ils ont adopté leur monnayage, dit par les numismates de type chiite, avec mention de l'imām régnant au Caire et profession de foi chiite: « Mahomet est l'envoyé d'Allah, ʿAlī est son ami ».

Après s'être affranchis de leurs maîtres, les Zīrides ont fait frapper, à partir de 441/1049, un nouveau type monétaire, dit sunnite, avec un verset du Coran qui n'avait figuré, jusqu'ici, sur aucune autre monnaie, le verset III-79 (Flügel) = III-84 (le Caire):

من يبتغ غير الاسلام ديناً فلن يُقبل منه وهو فى الاخرة من الخاسرين

traduit par Kazimirski: « Quiconque désire un autre culte que la résignation à la volonté de Dieu (*islām*), ce culte ne sera point reçu de lui et il sera, dans l'autre monde, du nombre des malheureux » (Planche I, n° 1).

Bien que les Zīrides aient alors reconnu la souveraineté du calife de Bagdad, leur nouvelle monnaie reste totalement anonyme.

Se déclarant à nouveau vassaux des Fāṭimides, après le désastre de l'invasion hilālienne, les Zīrides reviennent au type monétaire chiite. Le verset III-79 cesse de figurer sur leur monnayage à partir de 449/1057-8. Dès 450/1058-9, les Almoravides, qui règnent depuis peu au Maghreb occidental, l'adoptent sur le leur, frappé au nom du « prince des croyants » (*amīr-al-muʾminīn*), le calife de Bagdad (Planche I, n° 2), puis, à partir de 501/1106, également au nom du « prince des musulmans » (*amīr al-muslimīn*), le chef almoravide [1] (Planche II, n° 3).

Comme presque toutes les monnaies musulmanes, celles qui nous

1. H. W. HAZARD, *The numismatic history of the medieval North Africa*, dans *Numismatic Studies*, n° 8, New York 1952.

بنو زيري

وعلاقتهم السياسية بالقوى الإسلامية في حوض البحر المتوسط

(٣٦٢ - ٥٤٣ هـ)

دكتور
عفيفي محمود ابراهيم
كلية آداب بنها

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١٩٨٩

الناشر
مكتبة الأنجلو المصرية
١٦٥ شارع محمد فريد القاهرة

175138

HISTORY OF ISLAM

(Classical Period 571–1258 C.E.)

Volume I

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The Zirids and the Hammadids 972-1152 C.E.

Buluggin b Ziri

The Zirids were Berbers inhabiting what is now Algeria. They professed the Shia faith. When the Fatimids rose to power, the Zirids became their vassals. When the Fatimids took over Egypt, and established their capital at Cairo, Buluggin b Ziri was made the Fatimid Governor. His rule extended to Tripolitania, Tunisia and Eastern Algeria. He built a new capital at Ashir on a strategic site on the southern slopes of Mt. Tittari. Buluggin died in 984 C.E., after a rule of twelve years.

Mansur

Buluggin was succeeded by his son Mansur. Under Mansur the Zirids became virtually independent, and their allegiance to the Fatimids became nominal. The Fatimids incited the Kutama tribes to rebel against the Zirids. There were revolts in 985 C.E. and 989 C.E. which were suppressed by Mansur. Mansur ruled for twelve years and died in 996 C.E.

Nasirud Daula Badis

Mansur was succeeded by his son Nasirud Daula Badis. During his reign, a brother of Mansur, Hammad b Buluggin revolted. As a result of the revolt, the Zirid State came to be split up into two principalities, the Zirid State proper with the capital at Ashir, and the Hammadid state with the capital at Qalat Bani Hammad in Algeria,

The Zirids

In the Zirid State, Nasirud Daula Badis died in 1016 C.E. and was succeeded by Al-Muizz, In 1047 C.E., Al-Muizz repudiated the suzerainty of the Fatimids, and transferred his allegiance to the Abbasids. The Fatimids were no longer strong enough to suppress

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1. *A Histovy of the Maghrib* : Jamil B. Nasr.
2. *Short History of the Saracens* : Ameer Ali.
3. *History of the Arabs* : Philips K. Hitti.

أمية من نواحيه .

ثم لما كانت سنة ثلاث وسبعين وثلاثمائة وقدم الحسن بن كنون الادريسى من مصر الى المغرب يطلب ملك سلفه انضم اليه يدو بن يعلى بن محمد بن صالح اليفرنى فى قومه وشايعه على مراده وسرح المنصور بن أبى عامر صاحب الاندلس اليه ابن عمه أبا الحكم الملقب بعسكلاجة وانضم اليه آل خزر المغراويون وهم : محمد بن الخير الاصغر وخزرون بن فلفل بن خزر ومقاتل وزيرى ابنا عطية بن عبد الله بن خزر ، وانضم اليهم سائر مغراوة وظاهروا أبا الحكم عسكلاجة على شأنه فى حصار الحسن ابن كنون حتى طلب الامان لنفسه حسبما استوفينا خبره آنفا . ثم تقدم عسكلاجة الى فاس فدخلها واستولى على عدوة الاندلس سنة خمس وسبعين وثلاثمائة وخطب بها لبنى أمية وبقى محمد بن عامر المكناسى عامل الشيعة بعدوة القرويين الى سنة ست وسبعين وثلاثمائة فاتى أبو بياش فدخل عدوة القرويين بالسيف وقبض على محمد بن عامر المكناسى فقتله وخطب بها لبنى أمية أيضا . هكذا فى القرطاس .

وقال ابن خلدون : ان المنصور بن أبى عامر عقد على المغرب بعد انصراف عسكلاجة عنه للوزير حسن بن أحمد بن عبد الودود السلمى وأطلق يده فى الاموال والرجال ، وأرسله اليه سنة ست وسبعين وثلاثمائة وأوصاه بالاحسان الى مغراوة ولاسيما مقاتل وزيرى ابنا عطية لحسن انحيازهم الى المروانيين وصدق طاعتهم لهم . وأغراه بيدو بن يعلى اليفرنى لتمريضه فى الطاعة وقيامه مع الحسن بن كنون ، فنفذ الوزير حسن بن أحمد ابن عبد الودود لعمله ونزل بفاس وضبط المغرب أحسن ضبط واجتمعت عليه مغراوة .

ثم هلك مقاتل بن عطية سنة ثمان وسبعين وورث رياسته على بادية قومه أخوه زيرى بن عطية وحسنت صحبته للوزير حسن بن أحمد بن عبد الودود ومعاملته له .

ثم ان المنصور بن أبى عامر استدعى زيرى بن عطية للوفادة عليه بقرطبة

الشيخ العباس احمد خالد الناصرى ،
كتاب الاستقصى لأخبار دول المغرب الاقصى ،
مج ، ١ ، ص ، 209-221 ، ١٩٥٤ الدار البيضاء

-Zirites.

وفاس ، وكان ذلك سنة احدى وثمانين وثلاثمائة . هذا ملخص ما عند ابن خلدون فى هذا الخبر ، ثم حكى بعده ما يخالفه مما نذكره مبسوطا عن قريب وتوقف فى أيهما الصواب والله أعلم .

الخبر عن دولة زيرى بن عطية المغراوى بفاس والمغرب

هو زيرى بن عطية بن عبد الله بن خزر المغراوى وعبد الله المذكور هو أحد الاخوة الاربعة من بنى خزر . قال فى القرطاس : ملك على زناتة سنة ثمان وستين وثلاثمائة ، فقام فى المغرب بدعوة هشام المؤيد بالله وحاجبه المنصور بن أبى عامر ، وذلك بعد انقراض دولة الادارسة منه وبنى أبى العافية المكناسيين فغلب زيرى أولا على جميع بوادى المغرب ثم ملك مدينتى فاس بعد عسكلاجة وأبى بياش : دخلها سنة سبع وسبعين وثلاثمائة فاستوطنها وصيرها دار ملكه واستقام له أمر المغرب فعلا قدره وقوى سلطانه وارتفع شأنه وهو فى ذلك متمسك بدعوة بنى مروان أصحاب الاندلس . والله غالب على أمره .

of Damascus and of its region"), to the fact the he and his disciples settled permanently outside the city walls, taking up residence in a monastery *(ribāṭ)* adjoining the chapel of Khālid b. al-Walīd (d. 21/642), the Muslim general who conquered Damascus in 14/635. His relocation to this famous historical site took on a symbolic significance expressing the *shaykh*'s dedication to the two aspects of *jihād*, the military and the spiritual. Shaykh Arslān indicated thereby his intention to participate actively in the defence of Damascus, which was besieged by Crusaders in 543/1148. He also placed himself in the political lineage of Nūr al-Dīn (d. 570/1174), a prince of the Turkmen dynasty of the Zangids, which dominated the Muslim East from 521/1127 to 619/1222, and was the first herald of the *jihād* against the Crusaders. Nūr al-Dīn venerated the *shaykh* and had himself buried with a piece of a saw that had belonged to Arslān.

When Arslān died, he was buried in his own *ribāṭ*, which became a much frequented sanctuary and continues to be to this day. Over the centuries, numerous *'ulamā'* and Ṣūfīs expressed the wish to be buried next to him.

According to the sources, Shaykh Arslān's impact was profound and enduring. He is one of the few Syrian Ṣūfīs mentioned in *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* ("The great generations of saints") of al-Sha'rānī (d. 973/1565), who claims that Arslān assumed the responsibility for the spiritual guidance of all "aspirants" *(murīdūn)* from Syria. Arslān did not establish an initiation path *(ṭarīqa)* in the true sense of the term, but should rather be regarded as the initiator of a school of Syrian spirituality, which was transmitted through the *khirqa* (mantle) and which focused on the Ṣūfī approach to the concept of *tawḥīd* ("divine oneness"). He is in fact the author of a *Risāla fī l-tawḥīd* ("Epistle on oneness"), written in a highly elliptical and ambiguous style and containing a series of variations on the Ṣūfī topic of the extinction of human individuality in God *(fanā')*. This incisive text elicited no fewer than twelve commentaries.

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ERIC GEOFFROY

Ashīr

Ashīr, the fourth/tenth-century capital of the Berber Zīrid dynasty, is strategically located high in the Ṭiṭerī (Titteri) mountains 100 kilometres south of Algiers, where it commanded the route across the Maghrib from Ifrīqiya (the eastern Maghrib) to Morocco and Spain, as well as the way to the sea down the valley of the Chélif (Shalaf) River. It consisted of two palatial citadels on the separate sites called Yashīr and Bénia (Banya). The first was founded in 324/936 by Zīrī b. Manād, the Talkāta ally of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Qā'im (r. 322–34/934–45), to secure the central Maghrib against the Zanāta allies of Córdoba; a substantial

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زيدون» وقد طبع غير مرة، ونقتطف من أول تلك الرسالة قول ابن زيدون:

«أما بعد، أيها المصاب بعقله، المورَّط بجهله، البيّنُ سقَطُه، الفاحش غلَطُه، العاثر في ذيل اغتراره، الأعمى عن شمس نهاره، الساقطُ سقوط الذباب على الشراب، المتهافت تهافت الفَراش إلى الشهاب، فإن العُجْب أكذبُ، ومعرفةَ المرء نفسَه أصْوبُ. وإنك راسلتني مستهدياً من صلتي ما خلتْ منه أيدي أمثالك.. ».

الرسالة الجديّة: كتبها ابن زيدون في سجنه إلى أبي الحزم بن جهور، يستعطفه بها، ويبرئ نفسه من التهمة التي كالَها له أعداؤه. وقد أثار هذا الحبس في نفسه عاطفة فنية جديدة رقّقت من خياله الشعري وأثارت آلامه.

ولهذه الرسالة شهرة كبيرة أيضاً في الأدب العربي. وقد شرحها العلامة الصفدي (٧٦٤هـ) في كتاب سماه «تمام المتون في شرح رسالة ابن زيدون». ونقتطف من مطلعها قوله مخاطباً ابن جهور:

«يا مولاي وسيدي الذي ودادي له، واعتمادي عليه، واعتدادي به، وامتدادي منه، ومن أبقاه الله تعالى ماضيَ حدّ العزم، واريَ زند الأمل، ثابت عهد النعمة. إن سلبتَني - أعزّك الله - لباس نعمائك، وعطّلتَني من حلْي إيناسك.. وغضضت عني طرف حمايتك، بعد أن نظر الأعمى إلى تأميلي لك، وسمع الأصم ثنائي عليك.. فلا غرو، قد يغصّ بالماء شاربه، ويقتل الدواءُ المستشفيَ به، ويؤتى الحذرُ من مأمنه».

وقد اشتهر ابن زيدون بهاتين الرسالتين لجودة أسلوبهما النادر المثال، ولاحتوائهما على كثير من الأسماء التاريخية، والأمثال العربية، والأبيات المختارة السائرة. وهاتان الرسالتان صورة لثقافة ابن زيدون وفكره، وهو لا يجري فيهما على سنن واحد في الأسلوب والطريقة، ونراه يكلف بالسجع والصنعة في رسالته الهزلية، في حين يرسل نفسه على سجيتها في رسالته الجدية ولا يحرص على السجع حرصه عليه في الرسالة الأولى.

وإلى جانب هاتين الرسالتين الطويلتين، رسائل أخرى لم تبلغ شهرتهما أوردها ابن بسام في كتابه «الذخيرة في محاسن أهل الجزيرة» أو مختارات منها، وعددها خمس رسائل متفاوتة في طولها، وهي: الرسالة البكرية: كتبها ابن زيدون إلى أستاذه وصديقه أبي بكر بن مُسَلَّم النحوي، عاتباً وآملاً وشارحاً موقفه، وأتبعها بقصيدة مؤثرة، والرسالة المظفرية: كتبها إلى المظفر سيف الدولة أبي بكر بن الأفطس، أمير بطليوس، مستشفعاً متوددّاً، والرسالة العامرية: كتبها من قرطبة إلى صديقه أبي عامر بن مسلمة بإشبيلية، والرسالة العبّادية: كتبها إلى المعتضد بن عباد (الأب)، والرسالة العبّادية (رسالة ثانية): كتبها إلى المعتضد بن عباد بعد أن غادره إلى قرطبة، وقطعة نثرية بعنوان « ليلة نعيم » وردت في كتاب الذخيرة أيضاً، وصف فيها ابن زيدون ليلة طواها مع ولادة.

وهذه الرسائل والنصوص النثرية كلها ضمّها ديوان ابن زيدون مجموعةً إلى قصائد الديوان الذي سبق ذكره والذي جاء بعنوان: «ديوان ابن زيدون ورسائله».

ولا بد من الإشارة إلى أن المقّري ذكر في « نفح الطيب » أن لابن زيدون كتاباً مفرداً جامعاً في تاريخ خلفاء بني أمية بالأندلس، سماه «التبيين على منزع التعيين في خلفاء المشرق للمسعودي» وقد ضاع كتاب المسعودي كما ضاع كتاب ابن زيدون ولم يبق منه إلا مقطوعتان حفظهما لنا نفح الطيب، وأوردها علي عبد العظيم في «ديوان ابن زيدون ورسائله» نقلاً عن «النفح». وقوله «على منزع» يعني «على منهج».

محمود فاخوري

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■ الزيدية ← الشيعة (أهل -)

■ الزيريون

(٣٦٢ - ٥٤٣هـ /٩٧٣ - ١١٤٨م)

أسرة حكمت إفريقية (تونس) وقسماً من المغرب، ينتسبون إلى قبيلة صنهاجة البربرية، إلا أنهم يرفعون نسبهم إلى قبائل حمير القحطانيين وكانوا يقطنون الأطراف الشمالية للمغرب الأوسط (الجزائر اليوم).

الموسوعة العربية, المجلد العاشر, دمشق 2004. İSAM 138734

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Monophysitism; Odoacer; Schisms, Eastern-Western Church; Syrian Christianity.]

ZINDĪQ. See **Manichaeans.**

ZIRIDS, the principal dynasty of Ifrīqiya from the departure of the Fatimids in 972 to the capture of Mahdia by the Normans in 1148. The eponymous founder, Zīrī ibn Manād, chief of the Talkāta Berbers of the mountains southwest of Algiers, from 935 onward ruled the western borders of Fatimid Ifrīqiya from his citadel of Ashīr on behalf of the Fatimid caliph. He played an important part in the defeat of the rebel Abū Yazīd between 946 and 947, and after the Fatimid conquest of Egypt in 969 became the favorite to become the Fatimid viceroy in the Maghrib. But in 971 he was killed by his chief rival, Jaᶜfar ibn ᶜAlī ibn Ḥamdūn, governor of Msila, and the Fatimid caliph Muᶜizz chose Zīrī's son Buluggīn instead. In 1972, with the title Sayf al-Dawla Abū 'l-Futūḥ Yūsuf, Buluggīn became Fatimid overlord of Ifrīqiya, including, in 979, Tripoli. But most of his time was spent on campaign against the Zanāta Berber allies of the Spanish Umayyads in the west, while the administration was left to a governor, ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Kātib, at the capital, Qayrawān. At Buluggīn's death in 984 he was succeeded by his son al-Manṣūr, but an attempt was made by the Fatimid caliph ᶜAzīz to change the arrangement by promoting ᶜAbd Allah al-Kātib to be the senior Fatimid officer in North Africa. ᶜAbd Allah, however, was slain by al-Manṣūr in 987, the fait accompli was accepted by Cairo, and the Zirids emerged as hereditary monarchs of Ifrīqiya in the name of the Fatimids, permanently resident in the palace of Ṣabra at Qayrawān.

As a dynasty, the Zirids were promptly beset by quarrels over the succession, whether it was to be by primogeniture or pass to a brother or an uncle. The family was large, and at the death of Manṣūr in 996, the candidates were numerous. In the struggle to succeed, the slave troops of the sultan preserved the throne for Manṣūr's son Bādīs, a boy of eleven, while the great-uncles of the young prince rebelled, and were driven from the central Maghrib only by his uncle Ḥammād. Ḥammād in consequence was entrusted, like his ancestor Zīrī, with the government of the western regions of the Ifrīqiyan empire from 1005 onward. In 1008 Ḥammād moved from the westerly citadel of Ashīr to a new capital, which he had founded near Msīla. Called the Qalᶜa, or Castle, of the Banū Ḥammād, this became the seat of a second dynasty, the Hammadids, following Ḥammād's rebellion against Bādīs in 1015 and subsequent reconciliation with his son and successor al-Muᶜizz in 1017. The Zirids themselves then ruled principally in the region of Tunisia.

To the east, relations with Cairo remained cordial down to the reign of al-Muᶜizz, despite a brief attempt by the caliph Ḥākim between 1002 and 1003 to appoint a governor to Tripoli as well as Barca in Cyrenaica. But Barca was threatened by Arab Bedouin, and Tripoli by Zanāta Berbers who had fled from the tribal warfare of the western Maghrib. In 1012 the Arab Banū Qurra seized and held Barca, and in 1022 the Zanāta took Tripoli permanently from the Zirids. Al-Muᶜizz meanwhile, who came to the throne aged eight in 1016, grew up under the influence of Malikite teachers and scholars of Qayrawān, at a time when the Ismaili Fatimid connection of the dynasty was becoming increasingly unpopular; in 1017 Ismailis were massacred in all the main cities. In 1036 an important estrangement occurred when al-Muᶜizz tried to take over Muslim Sicily, but the Fatimids concluded a treaty with Byzantium in 1038 recognizing the Greek claim to the island. At that time, Berber tribal raiders from the south had begun to threaten Qayrawān, and the warrior Arab tribes of the Banū Hilāl were arriving from the east in Tripolitania. Political, religious, and tribal unrest had an economic background: the shift of trade away from Ifrīqiya following the departure of the Fatimids in Egypt. In 1048 al-Muᶜizz tried to regain the initiative by renouncing his allegiance to Cairo, and transferring it to the Abbasids in Baghdad.

His purpose was to win popularity at Qayrawān, and to create a militant anti-Fatimid alliance with Tripoli and Burca under his leadership. The scheme failed in 1052, mainly because al-Muᶜizz quarreled with the Zughba and Riyāḥ, Hilālī Arab tribes whom he had enlisted against the Berbers of southern Ifrīqiya. His army was routed by them at the Battle of Ḥaydarān south of Qayrawān. His authority thereupon collapsed. Encouraged by the Fatimids, who sent an envoy to Gabès between 1053 and 1054, most of the main cities abandoned him, and in 1057 he himself abandoned Qayrawān for Mahdia, where he returned to Fatimid allegiance.

JOSEPH R. STRAYER, DICTIONARY of the MIDDLE AGES, Vol. XII, PP. 744-745, 1989 NEW YORK

THE ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF ISLAM (New Edition), VOL.XI (Fasc. 187-188), 2002 LEIDEN, pp. 465-66

Persian *djawz* "nut") is used for "spouse" and "pair," in the Maghrib the form is without metathesis but often has assimilation of the voiced post-alveolar fricative and the voiced alveolar fricative, which may be regressive: *djūdj* and variants (esp. in the west: Morocco), or progressive (*zūz* and variants (esp. in the east: Tunisia, Libya). In numerous dialects, especially the urban ones of Algeria and Morocco, and for a long time back (as attested in mediaeval Maghribī, Andalusī and Sicilian Arabic, and also in Maltese), this form serves as a cardinal numeral "two". But in none of these has it completely eliminated the old **ithnayn*, the only word used when enumerating the cardinal numbers ("one, two, three . . .") and also the word appearing almost always in the composed numeral forms (a form like *jūj u khamsīn* "52" is rare, if not indeed exceptional). **Zawdj* "two" (sometimes in the diminutive, *zwayyidj*) is attested, either alone or at the side of **ithnayn* in dialects which have kept alive usage of the dual (and where its use often therefore serves to reinforce the dual), and alone in those which have only a "pseudo-dual"; it seems that there is a linkage between the disappearance of the dual and the replacement of **ithnayn* by **zawdj*.

The syntagm associating the noun of the object counted with the cardinal number has two constructions (which may be mutually exclusive or co-exist, according to different dialects): (a) *zawdj* + pl. noun, and (b) *zawdj* + particle (*d, dyāl*, etc.) + def. article + pl. noun (each of these constructions has a variant where the noun is in the sing., for certain types of collectives, or for certain units of measure, of money, etc.). In Maltese, there is a third construction in which the cardinal number assumes a special form when standing in the construct state (*zewdjt-*). In all the dialects concerned, the sense of "pair" remains in general for **zawdj*; it is sometimes distinguished from that of "two" by a special form in *-a* or by the diminutive *zwīdja*, but the plural remains in that case that of **zawdj*. The choice between collective or pl. in the noun of the object counted, or the use of the dual or pl. of **zawdj*, in some cases allows one to get round the ambiguities of "two", "pair", "element of a pair". Thus at La Chebba, Tunisia, one finds *zūz klāṣt* or *zūzēn klāṣt* "a pair of socks". Finally, one should note that some dialects (mainly Algerian, it seems) have made an ordinal number out of **zawdj*, sc. *jāwej* (La Saoura), *zāwadj* "second".

Bibliography: For the forms, usages and constructions of **zawdj* "two", this article has used the well-documented monograph of K. Mörth, *Die Kardinalzahlwörter von eins bis zehn in den neuarabischen Dialekten*, Vienna 1997, 25, 33-5, 138-49, 212-13 and map 6, and 302 sections *h* and *i*. For older attestations, see J. Blau, *The emergence and linguistic background of Judaeo-Arabic*, [2]Jerusalem 1981, 117; F. Corriente, *A grammatical sketch of the Spanish Arabic dialect bundle*, Madrid 1977, 88. (J. LENTIN)

3. Usage in the dialects of the Muslim East [see Suppl.].

ZĀWĪ B. ZĪRĪ b. Manād al-Ṣanhādjī, the Berber founder of an independent taifa (*ṭā'ifa* [see MULŪK AL-ṬAWĀ'IF. 2]) or principality in Granada at the time of the dismemberment of the Umayyad caliphate of Cordova and its first ruler (403-10/1013-19).

The Zīrids, who belonged to the Talkāta, the most important tribe of the Ṣanhādja [*q.v.*], had settled in the area between Ifrīḳiya and the central Maghrib. Zāwī and his followers, including the two sons of his brother Māksan, were among the prominent Berbers in North Africa who were invited by the ʿĀmirid *ḥādjib* of Cordova, ʿAbd al-Malik al-Muẓaffar [*q.v.*], to join him in his perennial campaigns against the Christians of northern Spain. Al-Muẓaffar's father al-Manṣūr, however, had his own misgivings about Zāwī, who was reputed to be cunning, shrewd and troublesome.

After the fall of the ʿĀmirids and the outbreak of civil strife in al-Andalus, Zāwī is said to have contemplated returning to North Africa but changed his mind when the people of Elvira sought his protection. In fact, the Zīrids played a decisive role in the course of events, and it was largely thanks to Zāwī that the Umayyad Sulaymān al-Mustaʿīn was proclaimed caliph (Rabīʿ I 400/November 1008). If Zāwī had really intended to leave al-Andalus, one may well ask why he had stayed behind for eight years and taken such an active part (Ibn Ḥayyān describes Zāwī as "the spark that kindled the civil war after the ʿĀmirid dynasty") in events which secured for his people the rich province of Elvira.

It was the Berbers who had forced Sulaymān to divide between them the southern districts of al-Andalus and, consequently, the province of Elvira fell to Zāwī and his kinsmen. It is most unlikely that Zāwī's arrival in Elvira was, as claimed by the last Zīrid *amīr* of Granada (*Tibyān*, 59, tr. 45), in response to an invitation from the Elvirans, who had recently suffered so much at his hands. The Elvirans probably had no say in the matter. It is more likely that, prior to Sulaymān's re-entry into Cordova (403/1013), Zāwī had already established himself in Elvira and Sulaymān had to accept that as a *fait accompli*.

Aware of the bitter hostility of the Andalusians to the Berbers, Zāwī suggested that the people of Elvira move to the nearby and more defensible mountain fortress of Granada. Soon after, the Andalusians, led by the newly-proclaimed Umayyad caliph al-Murtaḍā, launched an assault but were routed just outside Granada, almost six years after Zāwī had settled there. The Zīrids' victory was swift and decisive, thanks mainly to the defection from al-Murtaḍā's ranks of the ʿĀmirid Khayrān of Almeria and of al-Mundhir b. Yaḥyā of Saragossa.

Shortly after his victory, however, Zāwī surprisingly decided to return to Ifrīḳiya, prompted no doubt by his keen awareness of the Andalusians' hostility and their numerical superiority. Moreover, he aspired to the throne of Ḳayrawān, whose occupant at the time was an eight-year-old Zīrid, al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs [*q.v.*], a great grandson of Zāwī's brother Buluggīn. Ibn Ḥayyān also mentions Zāwī's obsessive fear that the Zanāta Berbers, traditional foes of the Ṣanhādja, might join forces with the Andalusians against the Zīrids, hence Zāwī's description of the Zanāta as "the real enemies" (Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, i/1, 402; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Aʿmāl*, 131).

Zāwī, who was born and brought up in North Africa, must have felt isolated and insecure throughout his 18-year sojourn in al-Andalus, and it is not surprising that his thoughts should turn to his native land. Furthermore, the situation in North Africa had completely changed since his arrival in al-Andalus in 392/1002; the Fāṭimid caliphs had moved from Ifrīḳiya to Egypt; the Zanāta ruler of Fās, Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya, could no longer count on Umayyad support; and the internecine struggle, raging since 409/1014 between the Zīrids of Ifrīḳiya [*q.v.*] and their kinsmen the Ḥammādids of al-Ḳalʿa [*q.v.*], had exhausted both sides.

Zāwī left Almuñecar (al-Munakkab) for Ifrīḳiya some

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sources. But there is much disagreement about the place of Manichaeism in the history of religion. Some scholars still regard Manichaeism as an essentially Iranian phenomenon, an off-shoot of Zoroastrianism, but the prevalent view is that its roots lie mainly in Western traditions, in Christianity or Gnosticism, and that, although Mānī was aware of Zoroastrianism (and of Buddhism), the influence of Iranian and Indian doctrines on his teaching was at best superficial.

As a dualist religion, which posited two co-eternal opposing principles of good (light) and evil (darkness), Manichaeism stands in a very stark contrast to Islam, with its implacable monotheism. Muslim theologians were quite right to insist on this difference. At the same time, the two faiths do have some points of contact. Both teach that God has instructed mankind through a series of prophets, all of whom brought essentially the same message at different times. Some Manichaean sources see Mānī as the successor of prophets from the Judaic tradition like Adam, Seth, Enosh, Shem and Enoch, others mention only the Buddha, Zoroaster and Jesus as his predecessors, yet others combine the two series. Mānī, like Muḥammad, is the "seal of the prophets" (discussed, with controversial conclusions, by Colpe and Stroumsa) and the Paraclete predicted by Jesus. The Buddha, Zoroaster and Jesus taught the pure religion, but did not commit their teachings to writing; the books that their followers now read were written after the deaths of the prophets and corrupted their teachings, but Mānī wrote down his own teachings and produced a definitive written account of the true religion (for a similar view in Islam, see TAḤRĪF). Finally, both Manichaeism and Islam deny that Jesus actually died on the cross. But it is doubtful whether any of this indicates a direct influence of Manichaeism on Islam. It is more likely that both share a common substratum in Jewish Christianity.

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(F.C. DE BLOIS)

ZINDJIRLI, Modern Tkish. Zincirli, a village of southeastern Turkey, lying in the Karasu valley between the Gâvur Dağları (Amanus) and the Kurd Dağı/Djabal al-Akrād, near the small town of Islahiye. It now comes within the western part of the *il* or province of Gaziantep.

A tell there, excavated by Berlin archaeologists 1888-1902, revealed the capital *Y'dy*; the earlier vocalisation as Yaudi is now regarded as uncertain, but it is to be identified with the place known as Sam'al in the records of the Assyrian king Tiglath Pileser III. A stele of a later Assyrian king Esarhaddon (680-669 B.C.) has been found. There has been considerable interest in the official Aramaic inscriptions found at or near the site, particularly the colossal statue of the god Hadad erected by Panammu I, who styles himself *mlk y'dy* "king of Y'dy", and those erected as a result of building activity on the site by Bar-rakkab *mlk sm'l* "king of Sam'al", one in honour of his father Panammu II and another in which he swears allegiance to Tiglath Pileser, who allowed him to succeed to the throne after his father.

No trace of the name Sam'al seems to have survived into the Islamic period, and the origin of the recent Turkish name, literally "enchained, placed in a chain or series", remains obscure, unless it is a corruption of the name of the fortress Zandjtara mentioned by al-Nuwayrī (see Honigmann, in *EI*[1] s.v.).

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(M.E.J. RICHARDSON)

ZĪRIDS, the name of two mediaeval Berber dynasties of the Muslim West.

MELANGES LOUIS MASSIGNON, c. II, p. 327-359, 1957
(DAMAS)

CONTRIBUTION A L'HISTOIRE DE LA VIE RELIGIEUSE EN IFRĪQIYA ZĪRĪDE (Xème-XIème Siècles)

PAR

HADY ROGER IDRIS

AVANT-PROPOS

Nous avons groupé sous ce titre quelques biographies consacrées à des juristes ifrīqiyens ayant vécu sous les Zīrīdes avant l'invasion hilālienne. Bien que la plupart d'entre eux, comparés à Ibn Abī Zayd, al-Qābisī, Abū Bakr b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, Abū 'Imrān al-Fāsī etc..., soient d'importance mineure, ils ont, eux aussi, contribué, pour une part non négligeable au triomphe de l'orthodoxie mālikite.

Les Ṣanhāğa zīrīdes, vassaux des Fāṭimides du Caire et première dynastie berbère de l'Ifrīqiya musulmane, ont eu à résoudre un redoutable problème politico-religieux.

Un grand nombre d'adeptes du ḥanafisme, si puissant sous les Aġlabides, s'étant plus ou moins ralliés aux Fāṭimides, et beaucoup d'entre eux ayant même embrassé le šī'isme, le mālikisme demeura le seul adversaire sérieux de l'hétérodoxie ismā'īlienne. Rappelons qu'après avoir jugulé la formidable insurrection ḫāriğite d'Abū Yazīd, que les docteurs mālikites de Kairouan avaient soutenue, les Fāṭimides modérèrent la virulence de leur propagande doctrinale et tentèrent de gagner au moins la neutralité des mālikites qui n'en continuèrent pas moins à les abhorrer.

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Sur le retour des Zîrîdes à l'obédience fâṭimide

D'une manière générale, on peut admettre, avec la tradition de commune renommée, que le triomphe définitif de l'orthodoxie mâlikite en Ifrîqiya est avant tout l'œuvre de l'Imâm Saḥnûn et du prince zîrîde al-Mu'izz b. Bâdîs. C'est en effet au célèbre juriste kairouanais qui vécut sous les Aghlabides au III[e] siècle H./IX[e] siècle, et à ses disciples, qu'il faut attribuer la diffusion de ce rite en Berbérie Orientale, surtout dans le peuple et la bourgeoisie citadine, tandis que, au milieu du V[e] siècle H./XI[e] siècle, le 4[e] souverain de la dynastie ṣanhâjienne, vassale des Fâṭimides, consacrait officiellement l'orthodoxie de son peuple par la répudiation de la suzeraineté chî'ite et la reconnaissance du califat abbâsside, renouant ainsi avec la tradition des Aghlabides, vassaux de Bagdad. Cet acte politique qui répondait aux aspirations de la masse impatiente de secouer le joug des Chî'ites abhorrés, marque un tournant décisif de l'histoire du Maghrib. Les sources historiques dont nous disposions jusqu'à cette décade nous présentaient cette rupture comme définitive tandis que l'examen des monnaies zîrîdes nous obligeait à admettre la possibilité d'une réconciliation entre les souverains de Mahdia et du Caire. Troublant dilemme : les pièces attestaient un fait capital que les chroniqueurs unanimes passaient sous silence ; d'où la nécessité, pour l'historien de choisir entre le témoignage de l'historiographie et celui de la numismatique ou de hasarder telle ou telle hypothèse pour expliquer ce désaccord, voire le concilier. Les sciences auxiliaires de l'histoire, particulièrement importantes pour l'historien de l'Islâm médiéval, qui, ne disposant