

farmed the customs of Kung, Bandar 'Abbās and Bandar Rig, for an annual sum of 20,000 *tūmāns*.

Būshīr in the mid-12th/18th century offers an example of an Armenian *shāhbandar*—as opposed to a *ghulām* who had been made to convert to Islam. This person, named Kh<sup>w</sup>adjā Mellelsk, was a subordinate of the *shāhbandar* of Bandar 'Abbās. In 1748 the town's governor, Shaykh Nāsīr, usurped the position. This may have set a precedent, for in the 19th century the head of customs in Būshīr appears to have been the port's *khān* or *kalanīar* [q.v.] or mayor, rather than a *shāhbandar*. Beginning in ca. 1850, when the port's trade began to flourish, customs were collected by a private functionary called the *hammālbāshī*. In Bandar 'Abbās the term *shāhbandar* long remained in use, but here, too, it was the *hammālbāshī* who in the 19th century collected customs fees. In the smaller ports, tribal chiefs or government officials called *dābiqs* were usually the ones to manage the port's customs. Having become obsolete for the port towns of Persia, the term *shāhbandar* was now used for the official who represented the interests of the Turkish merchants operating within Persia.

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(R. MATTHEE)

## SHĀ'IR.

1. B. From the 'Abbāsīd period to the *Nahḍa*.

Poetic communication is part of a larger system of social communication governed by a particular set of rules and carried out by participants who are more or less aware of the value and meaning of these rules. The role of the poet is only one of several roles which are mutually co-formative. Any discussion of one of these social roles must perforce take into account the other roles. S.J. Schmidt (1992) described four action roles which are used below to inform the discussion of *shā'ir*.

(a) *Production*. In the period between 750 and 1850, poetry was composed by a very different range of people from all walks of society in the Arab speaking world. Among the producers of poetry we find caliphs and craftsmen, secretaries and slaves, religious scholars and rogues, members of noble Arab tribes or people of non-Arab descent, rich and poor, famous and infamous. Of the three main panegyrist of the 3rd/9th century, Abū Tammām (d. ca. 231/845 [q.v.]) was of Christian descent (and embarrassed by this fact), and had to earn his living as a weaver's assistant and a water carrier in his early years; Ibn Rūmī (d. 283/896 [q.v.]) was of Christian (Byzantine) descent as well (and proud of it), whereas al-Buḥārī (d. 284/897 [q.v.]) was of pure Arab stock and grew up in a tribal milieu.

There was no uniform group of poets, nor was being a poet considered a specific profession with an established and definitive course of study or a canon of specific knowledge to be learned. Instead, everybody who had learned to compose poetry that met with common approval was called *shā'ir*. Professional poets during the 'Abbāsīd period were primarily court poets who were financially dependent on the favour of a patron. In later periods, poets most typically came from the ranks of the 'ulamā'. During the whole of the period in question, however, it was taken for granted that every educated person had the ability to take part in poetic communication, at least in the role of a receptive listener/reader. Therefore, poetry composed by professional poets forms only one segment of the poetry composed, esteemed and transmitted. Even those poets who can be considered professional poets often played more than the role of producer of poetry and engaged in processing literature as anthologists, critics, or philologists. Given this multi-layered situation, the role of poets and poetry in Arabic-Islamic society can be appreciated properly only if the whole of the system of poetic communication is taken into account. This is even more important given that poetic communication played an incomparably much higher role in pre-modern Arabic societies than in modern societies.

(b) *Mediation*. The oral recitation of a poem by its producer has always been considered the basic means by which poetry was made accessible to others. Professional singers were not only important but often even famous transmitters of poetry from the latter

Umayyad period onwards, not only in courtly arenas but also in other well-to-do households. Written transmission in the form of letters or books also played an increasingly important role. The output of individual poets was often collected in the form of a *diwān*, frequently by those other than the original poets themselves. For example, it was Abū Bakr al-Ṣūfī (d. ca. 335/947 [q.v.]) who collected the *diwāns* of Abū Nuwās, Abū Tammām, Ibn al-Rūmī and others. Of enormous importance for the transmission of poetry were anthologies [see MUKHTĀRĀT] and other works of *adab*. Both linguistic and historiographical works as well as collections of biographies contain a great deal of poetry. Religious texts of an edifying nature and Ṣūfī works are hardly to be found without poetry. After the rise of the *madrasa* [q.v.], the formal parameters of poetry (metre, rhyme) and peculiarities of literary language [see AL-MA'ĀNĪ WA 'L-BAYĀN] would become part of the propaedeutic discipline of *adab* (in this case meaning the whole of linguistic disciplines). Poetry itself, however, was not a regular subject in the curriculum. Only the most famous works, such as the *Diwān* of al-Mutanabbī and the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Harīrī, were taught within an academic framework. Story-tellers and preachers [see KĀSS] included poems in their speeches and thus contributed to their own popularity among the masses. As a whole, the process by which poetry was imparted has not yet been studied adequately.

(c) *Reception*. Poetry was an everyday commodity. A poet could "réciter une *qaṣīda* à son entourage, à ses amis, à des confères. Qu'il aille dans les souks de la ville, parcourt ses rues, fréquente les cabarets de ses faubourgs et leurs jardins, descende son fleuve, ses canaux ou se poste sur l'un des ponts... ou sous les arcades de mosquées, dans le demeure d'un bourgeois ou d'un prince, partout... il peut déclamer sans étonner, parler d'amour sans surprendre, pleurer de douleur sans choquer" (Bencheikh, 38). Poetry was an effective system of communication in which a substantial part of the population took part and by which the emotional and affective requirements of the people were met. People listened to poetry for its social, emotional, and intellectual effect [see ṬARAB; TA'ADJUB], and it was considered the poet's task to convey information and to stir emotions, curiosity and interest rather than to express his own feelings. Modern modes of reception, influenced by the cult of the poet as a genius who is expected to be more in touch with deeper feelings and thoughts than other people, and the individualistic notion of poetry as a means to express one's very own and specific emotions, have often led to misconceptions about pre-modern Arabic poetry. Whereas modern and individualistic conceptions of poetry have fostered an acceleration of literary change, they have also led to an increasing social marginalisation of poetic communication. By contrast, although the pre-modern understanding of poetry as a social activity resulted in a greater stability of literary forms and content, it nonetheless allowed poetry to remain effective and meaningful for a wide range of people over the whole period considered here and thus allowed a greater sector of the population to participate in elaborate artistic activities.

(d) *Processing*. The Arabic pre-Islamic literary and cultural heritage forms, next to Islam itself, one of the two foundations of Arabic-Islamic culture. The collection of and commentary on pre- and early Islamic poetry therefore was one of the primary activities in the first centuries of Islamic scholarship. The disci-

plines of grammar and lexicography owed their development more to the need to comment upon ancient Arabic poetry than upon the normative texts of Islam. This creation of a consciousness of poetry was one of the prerequisites for the rise of the scientific study of contemporary poetry and of literary criticism by the 3rd/9th century. These disciplines cannot be dealt with here (see the overview by Ouyang), but it should be remarked that, during the 'Abbāsīd period, literary history and criticism was a discourse clearly separated from the production of poetry itself, notwithstanding the exertion of mutual influence. Among the major poets, only Ibn al-Mu'tazz and Ibn Rashīk were famed theorists as well. The Mamlūk period, in which the merger of a secular and religious discourse had already been perfected, witnessed the complete synthesis of poetic production, on the one hand, and literary theory and rhetorics on the other in the form of the *baḍ'īyya* commentaries by Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. probably 749/1348 [q.v.]) and Ibn Ḥijjdja al-Ḥamawī (d. 837/1434 [q.v.]), among others.

Other important forms by which literature was processed are various forms of intertextuality such as the *mu'arafa* or the *takhmīs* [q.v.], in which a poet transforms a given poem into a new work of literature following special rules. These techniques should be understood within the framework of similar forms of appropriation-cum-transformation of the scholarly, cultural and literary heritage of Islamic culture, such as the commentary (*sharḥ* [q.v.]) or the abbreviation (*mukhtaṣar* [q.v.]).

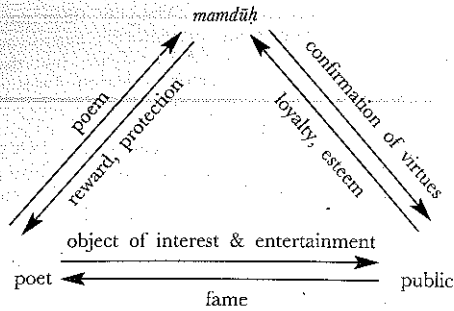
Four important social environments provided a framework for educated poetic communication between the Umayyad and the modern period.

#### i. *The Court*

Throughout the entirety of the 'Abbāsīd period, the courts of the caliph(s), provincial rulers, governors and the court-like households of viziers, generals, and other high officials served as centres of literary activity of preeminent importance. Two kinds of literary activities should be distinguished here: first, the recitation of panegyric poems as part of the official representation of the ruler; and second, poetry as part of court entertainment.

Panegyric poems [see MADĪH] formed the most important political discourse throughout a great deal of Islamic history. In panegyric poems, the subject personage was described as an embodiment of royal virtue, above all in terms of military prowess and generosity. The recollection of these virtues simultaneously confirmed and reinforced them, for society as well as for the ruler himself, and by confirming the ruler's ideal fulfillment of these normative values, the poems contributed to his legitimisation. Further, they served to spread the news of important events (such as battles won), and helped to memorialise them and to locate them and their protagonists within a broader historical context.

To understand the mechanism of the panegyric poem, it is important to bear in mind that the patron, to whom the poem is addressed (the *mamdūh*), is not identical with the intended public of the poem. Of course, panegyric poems could fulfil their political and social role only if a general interest in them was granted. Therefore, the dichotomy of the poet and the *mamdūh*, which appears in the texts themselves, should be expanded to a triangle with the "public" as third participant. Each of the three participants in this form of communication acted in a mutually informative give and take. This triadic interplay can be generally schematized as follows:



Given the first-rank importance of the panegyric-political discourse as a means of representation and legitimisation, even rulers who had no feeling for poetry could hardly afford not to patronise poets. On the other hand, many rulers and princes pursued an intense interest in poetry, had expert knowledge at their disposal, and often composed poetry themselves. Just to mention a few, the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (d. 193/809; his sister the princess ʿUlayya bt. al-Mahdī (d. 210/825); the prince Ibn al-Muʿtazz (d. 296/908), one of the greatest men of letters of the ʿAbbāsīd period; the caliph al-Rāḍī bi ʿllāh (d. 392/940); the Ḥamdānīd Sayf al-Dawla (d. 356/967); and the Ayyūbīd Abu ʿl-Fidaʾ (d. 732/1331) [q.v.] and other members of this dynasty. In such cases, where the *mandūh* assumed both the role of the patron as well as the role of the public, poets had to accommodate their poems not only to general panegyric standards but also to the personal taste of the patron. To mention two examples: al-Buḥārī replaced the traditional *nasīb* [q.v.] with all its intertextual strands with the more modern genre of *ghazal* [q.v.] in order to meet the taste of al-Mutawakkil, who had less literary training than his predecessors. Ibn Nubāta al-Misrī (d. 750/1349 [q.v.]) faced the opposite problem after the death of Abu ʿl-Fidaʾ and tried to win the favour of his pious and ascetic successor by replacing the *nasīb* of his panegyric odes with ascetic poetry.

Panegyric poets hoped for an immediate reward for any given poem, which often reached rather exorbitant sums of money. Considering the fact that generosity was one of the main virtues praised in the panegyric odes and that the poet offered himself as a first object for the demonstration of this generosity, the exchange of poem for reward assumed the character of a ritual exchange. If successful, poets could even hope for a permanent patronage of the ruler, thus being spared having to wander from patron to patron. Al-Mutanabbī, the pre-eminent panegyric poet of the times, spent several years in search of a permanent patron, eulogising Bedouin chiefs and second-rank provincial dignitaries until he found the favour of Sayf al-Dawla, at whose court he spent nine untroubled years, only to start the search anew after an intrigue by his fellow-poets forced him to flee Sayf al-Dawla's court. In addition to material gains, success at a court could also provide for a broader fame of a poet due to the public nature of his task as a panegyrist. In any case, gaining the favour of patrons through panegyric poetry was nearly the only way to make a living as a professional poet during the ʿAbbāsīd period. Poets who did not have an administrative or scholarly position as a starting-point therefore had to earn their living as a copyist or craftsman, or with similar jobs until they gained enough fame

to be able to live as a full-time poet. Competition for a position as court poet must have been rather rigorous. Therefore, it is small wonder that the relations between the poets enjoying the favour of a certain patron is often characterised by envy, polemics and intrigues. The relations between al-Mutanabbī, Abū Firās and the Kḥālīdī brothers offer a good example. Dependent as poets were on the favour of their patron, they were not completely powerless in turn. If they felt that they were treated unjustly, they had the possibility of taking revenge by composing satires (*hiǧāʾ* [q.v.]), and the satires of a famous poet could prove to be a sharp weapon indeed. Again, al-Mutanabbī—an extraordinary self-confident poet—provides us with examples in his invectives against the Kḥshīd ruler Kāfir [q.v.]. Many poets, however, experienced feelings of humiliation when forced to “beg” for monetary reward for their poems, as is repeatedly told in their biographies.

The circumstances under which courtly panegyric poetry was performed have been only little studied so far. Obviously, panegyric poems were often performed as part of public ceremonies, during a *maǧlis* or a banquet. The poems that were recited may have been pre-selected by court officials (al-Kifīrī, *Inbāh*, iv, 149). How these poems became known by a broader public has not yet been explored in detail. The poets themselves, philologists, compilers of anthologies and literary critics may have participated as mediators in this process. In the end, however, this process must have been rather effective, since in most books on literary criticism, panegyric poetry is given privileged interest, and anthologies and chronicles overflow with quotations of eulogies. Since without the participation of the recipients, the process of panegyric communication must have been ineffective as a whole, the study of this part must be considered a major desideratum.

In addition to the ritual and public performance of panegyric poetry, courtly life offered a great many other opportunities for poetry making. Hunting excursions provided an opportunity for the recitation of hunting poetry (*ḥardiyya* [q.v.]); banquets and musical gatherings gave rise to the presentation of wine poetry [see *ḫamriyya*], love poetry and other genres. On these occasions, the ruler was accompanied by his *nudamāʾ* “boon-companions” (sing. *naḍīm* [q.v.]); a group of talented people from various fields. Even the office of the *naḍīm* was institutionalised at the ʿAbbāsīd court. Poetry played a prominent role in the gatherings of the ruler and his *nudamāʾ*, and was practiced not only by professional poets but also by *nudamāʾ* with other professions. And poetry itself, both ancient and contemporary, was often the subject of conversation in the *maǧlis*. It must be stressed that the kind of poetry recited and sung in these courtly environments was not fundamentally different from that practised outside the court in urban milieu. Therefore, a common term like “courtly love” characterising the relations between lover and beloved in a current type of love poetry (*ghazal*, *nasīb*) is misleading, since love poetry sung at caliphal banquets in no way differed from the poetry that was popular in other social environments. Instead, it was rather the ideals, ethical models, and literary tastes of the *udabāʾ* and *kuttāb* which dominated at the courts [see ZARE]. *Nudamāʾ* circles also existed in the households of viziers and high-ranking *kuttāb*, and the same people practised their poetic skill in circles of philologists and *udabāʾ* as well as in their role as *naḍīm* at the court.

In the period after the fall of the ʿAbbāsīds and

Ayyūbids, the importance of the court for Arab literary culture decreased considerably. Though panegyric poems in the Arabic language were still composed about Mamlūk and Ottoman sultans (and poets duly rewarded for them), the Mamlūk and Ottoman courts no longer offered the resources for a vivid literary culture in Arabic language. One of the main reasons for this development is, of course, the fact that rulers of these dynasties often had only limited (if any) command of the Arabic language. But it should also be borne in mind that, whereas in the 'Abbāsīd period political authorities were part of the culture of the civilian non-religious élite of the *kuttāb* and were eager to see their legitimisation expressed in the medium of poetry common to both, the post-'Abbāsīd period witnessed the merger of a religious and non-religious élite, which now formed a counterpart to the military élite which no longer shared this culture. Rather than poetry, Mamlūks instead patronised architecture to an hitherto unprecedented extent.

#### ii. The *kuttāb*

At least in the 3rd and 4th/9th and 10th centuries, the class of the secretaries (*kuttāb*, sing. *kātib* [q.v.]), which formed a rather homogenous group with a distinct group consciousness, had no lesser influence on the shaping of Islamic culture than the group of religious scholars. This is especially true in the field of literature. The *kuttāb* were the bearers and main exponents of the culture of *adab* [q.v.], which meant not only producing a certain type of literature but also adhering to an ideal of education, knowledge, manners and conduct, which became manifest in the literature called *adab*. Of course, not every *adīb* was a *kātib*, but the *kuttāb* serve as its most typical embodiment.

For the *kuttāb*, poetry had a multitude of functions. Some of them, to mention a few, are as following:

(a) Perfection in artistic prose and poetry was a prerequisite for other responsibilities. These included drafting and writing official letters and administrative correspondence in which they showed their mastery of linguistic correctness and stylistic sophistication.

(b) *Kuttāb* were expected to be able to compose poetry. In this context, it seems plausible that the first dictionary that was arranged according to rhyme consonants and rhyme schemes, the *Kitāb al-Taḥfya* by al-Bandanīdī (d. 284/897; Sezgin, *GAS*, viii, 170-1) was in all probability addressed to the *kuttāb* who needed to find rhyme words for their poetic compositions.

(c) Poetry formed part of the encyclopaedic knowledge *kuttāb* were supposed to have.

(d) Genres like love and wine poetry, besides being entertaining and emotionally affective at an individual level, were especially suitable for not only expressing the refined *Weltanschauung* of this group [see ZARĪF] but also for displaying their literary taste.

(e) Literature of the *adab* type in prose and poetry was part of the *kuttāb*'s life-style and its practice served to strengthen their group identity.

Some of the *kātib* poets typical of the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries were: al-'Uṭbī (d. 228/852-3), Ibn al-Zayyāt (d. 233/847), the *ghazal* poet Khālid b. Yazīd al-Kātib (d. ca. 262/876), al-Nāshī' al-Akbar (d. 293/906), Ibn Bassām (d. 303-4/914-15), Abū Ishāq al-Ṣābī (d. 384/994), Ibn 'Abbād (d. 385/995) [q.v.], and Ibrāhīm al-Ṣūlī (d. 243/857). The influence of the *kuttāb*, however, went far beyond their activity as poets: more importantly, they shaped the culture of *adab*, which proved equally dominant in courtly milieu as well as in the urban middle class in general. A sharp distinction between the court and the *kuttāb* cannot be drawn in any event, since *kuttāb* were

themselves part of the courts. Many of them participated in the composition of panegyric poetry and fulfilled the duty of *naḏīm*. Many officials had risen to positions in which they acted as patrons for poets themselves.

#### iii. The 'ulamā'

Islamic normative texts (the Qur'ān, esp. XXVI, 224-7; *Hadīth*, see Bonebakker) display an ambiguous stance towards poetry which resulted in different interpretations, ranging from outright prohibition of many of its forms to a mild disapproval of the more entertaining and morally dubious genres like wine poetry and satire. Thus, in the first centuries, 'ulamā' rarely felt encouraged to take part in a form of communication that was dominated by the secular élite. Yet religious scholars required knowledge of pre- and early Islamic poetry in order to be able to comment upon Qur'ān and *Hadīth*, and some of them composed at least poetry of the *zuhdiyya* [q.v.] genre, as the collection of poetry ascribed to al-Shāfi'ī (d. 204/820 [q.v.]) demonstrates. Due to its emotional effectiveness, poetry of the *zuhdiyya* genre, as well as love poetry was used in sermons. However, scholars were rarely proficient poets, and in his collection of the biographies of linguistic scholars, al-Ḳifī repeatedly speaks with derision of grammarians and other scholars who "composed verses of the kind of the poetry of grammarians (*nuḥāt*)/scholars ('ulamā')" (al-Ḳifī, *Inbāh*, iii, 219, 263, 267, 288, 343, iv, 165). Nevertheless, from the latter 'Abbāsīd period onwards, there is an increase in the number of 'ulamā' who were composing poetry in different genres. A few *kāḏīs* and *muhaddithūn* are already mentioned in al-Tha'ālibī's [q.v.] anthology titled *Yatīmat al-dahr*, which contains poetry from the second half of the 4th/10th century. By the time of 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī's [q.v.] anthology, the *Khariḍat al-ḡaṣr*, which covers poets from the 6th/12th century, the number of 'ulamā' composing poetry and the quality of their poems had obviously increased considerably. Here, in this period of transition, we can witness the gradual merger between the *adab*-oriented culture of the *kuttāb* and the *sunna*-oriented culture of the 'ulamā' (Bauer, *Raffinement*; Homerin, *Preaching poetry*). From the Salḡūk period onwards, the *kuttāb* gradually ceased to be a distinct social group with their own cultural values. Instead, the duties of the *kātib* came to be fulfilled by people who had received the training of a religious scholar. The result, as it becomes very obvious during the Mamlūk period, was a rather homogenous group of 'ulamā' who had become the bearers of Islamic religious as well as secular culture. Remarkably, this development did not prove detrimental to literary culture. Instead, the process of "ulamā'isation of *adab*" was counterbalanced by a process of "adabisation of the 'ulamā'", who in the meantime had made the *adab* discourse of the *kuttāb* their own. Though the political relevance of poetry decreased, its relevance for the civil élite increased, so that one can speak of a process of privatisation of poetry. Poetry became a pre-eminent medium of communication between 'ulamā', and this medium included panegyric poetry, which now became addressed from one 'alīm to the other rather than to rulers and military leaders. For the 'ulamā', it would become more and more important to be able to take part in this form of poetic communication. Consequently, the poetry of the Mamlūk period grew more personal and more interested in private matters. The merger of the secular and religious élite into a new group which shared to a considerable extent the values and ideas of the old religious élite, but which also had appro-

riated the literary culture of the old secular élite, led to an unprecedented rise of religious poetry. Since also the boundaries between high and popular culture became blurred, the percentage of the population taking part in a rather homogeneous literary culture became larger than ever. The Mamlūk period, therefore, may have been the period which displayed the broadest literary culture in Arab history.

The Ottoman period has not been studied well enough to allow a more detailed assessment. At least, it is beyond doubt that the 'ulamā' still played the most important role in poetry. Arabic poetry at this time may have witnessed a decrease in its local importance, but at the same time could expand its geographical range due to the increasingly global and cosmopolitan character of the 'ulamā'. Texts displaying a very similar literary taste were composed in Sub-Saharan Africa as well as in the Indian subcontinent. Locally, Šūfī circles seem to have developed into one of the main centres of the production of poetry.

#### iv. Urban milieux

A study of the involvement of different social environments of the urban middle classes in the poetic discourse has not yet been carried out. However, it is clear from countless hints in the sources that poetry in the standard language and the established genres was esteemed and even produced among craftsmen, merchants, and in similar milieux. The site of Abū Nuwās's (d. ca. 196/813 [q.v.]) wine poems is not only the courtly banquet but also the tavern. Another and rather different urban milieu was that of the *zurqafā'*, in which the poems of al-'Abbās b. al-Aḥnaf [q.v.] are set. Several little-known poets mentioned in Ibn al-Mu'tazz's *Ṭabaqāt al-shu'arā'* bear names pointing to crafts, and even professional poets like Abū Tammām had to earn their living by manual work before they were famous enough to live from their poetry. In any case, social boundaries were not as strict as in Europe, and people of low descent and non-privileged social positions were not in principle excluded from taking part in high culture.

In the 4th/10th century we find a baker (al-Khabbāz al-Baladī, see Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 625-6), a fruit-seller (al-Wa'wā' [q.v.]), and a darning (al-Sarī al-Raffā' [q.v.]) among the well-known poets of the age. Another poet, al-Khubza'aruzzi [q.v.], was a baker of rice bread in Basra and became famous as a *ghazal* poet. Young men from all over the town used to visit his shop in the hope of becoming the object of one of his love poems. By quoting poems by al-Aḥnaf al-'Ukbarī, al-Tha'libī (*Yatīma*, ii, 122-4) allows a glimpse of the poetry of the vagabonds [see SĀSĀN, BANŪ]. These poets owe their lasting fame to the fact that representatives of high culture took an interest in their productions, but they may also be taken as evidence of the kind of interest in poetry that cut across different levels of society.

Sources are much more copious for the Mamlūk period, during which a convergence between high and popular culture is attested. The most representative figures of popular poetry (in standard Arabic, as well as in dialect), appealing to 'ulamā' and people of the street alike, were Ibrāhīm al-Mī'mār for the 7th/13th and Ibn Sūdān for the 8th/14th century. These and quite a few of other similar, often illiterate figures represent a "missing link" between modern forms of popular literature and time-honoured forms, themes, and motives, and thus point to the fact that Arabic literary culture was not the exclusive prerequisite of a small élitarian group, but was, at least in its fun-

damental parameters, ideas and way of achieving emotional effects, shared by a broad sector of the population.

During the Mamlūk and Ottoman periods, religious poetry was extremely popular in all urban environments. Šūfī poetry, prayers [see WIRD] and poems in praise of the prophet [see MAWLIDIYYA] were composed and recited among adherents of the Šūfī orders [see ṬARIKA and TAŠAWWUF], which were deeply rooted in the middle classes.

During all periods, different forms of folk poetry co-existed alongside poetry which was eventually written down. In many environments, both written and oral forms of poetry influenced each other, and sometimes it is not easy to draw a clear boundary between them. Other forms of poetry transmitted only orally existed without being noticed by the educated. So, for example, Bedouin poets continued to compose poetry in a style reminiscent of pre-Islamic poetry throughout the centuries. This can be deduced by the existence of the so-called *nabaḥī* poetry [q.v.] which has been recorded from the 19th century onwards and is still practised in the Arabian peninsula even today. For further information about the complex of folk poetry, see SHĀ'IR. 1. E. The folk poet in Arab society, at Vol. IX, 233b.

*Bibliography:* Only a small selection of relevant sources and studies can be noted here. In principle, all *diwāns*, anthologies, and biographical dictionaries are fruitful sources of relevant information. See also the *Bibl.* of the article SHĀ'IR. 1(a), and Abu 'l-Faradž al-Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*<sup>2</sup>; Ibn al-Mu'tazz, *Ṭabaqāt al-shu'arā' al-muḥdathīn*, Cairo 1956; al-Imād al-Iṣlahānī, *Khawāṭir al-kasrī* (different eds.); (Ibn) al-Kifī, *Inbāh al-nawāḥ*, 4 vols., Cairo 1955-73; Abū Bakr al-Sūlī, *Akhbār Abi 'l-Tammām*, Cairo 1937; idem, *Akhbār al-Buḥturī*, Damascus 1948; idem, *Akhbār al-Rādī wa 'l-Mullakī*, ed. J.H. Dunne, Cairo 1935; Šafādī, *al-Wāfi*; Tha'libī, *Yatīma*, Cairo 1375-7/1956-8; A. Arazī, *Amour divin et amour profane dans l'Islam médiéval. A travers le Diwān de Khālid al-Katīb*, Paris 1990; T. Baucr, *Raffinement und Frömmigkeit. Säkulare Poesie islamischer Religionsgelehrter der späten Abbasidenzeit*, in *Asiatische Studien*, v (1996), 275-95; idem, *Liebe und Liebesdichtung in der arabischen Welt des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts*, Wiesbaden 1998; idem, *Ibrāhīm al-Mī'mār. Ein dichtender Handwerker aus Ägyptens Mamlukenzeit*, in *ZDMG*, clii (2002), 63-93; J. Bencheikh, *Poétique arabe: essai sur les voies d'une création*, Paris 1975; idem, *Les secrétaires poètes et animateurs de cénacles aux I<sup>e</sup> et III<sup>e</sup> siècles de l'Égypte*, in *JA*, cxlii (1975), 265-315; idem, *Le cénacle poétique du calife al-Mutawakkil*, in *BEO*, xxix (1977), 33-52; S.A. Bonebakker, *Religious prejudice against poetry in early Islam*, in *Medievalia et humanistica*, n.s. vii (1976), 77-99; G.J. van Gelder, *The bad and the ugly. Attitudes towards invective poetry (Hijā') in Classical Arabic literature*, Leiden 1988; B. Grændler, *Ibn al-Rīmī's ethics of patronage*, in *Harvard Middle Eastern and Islamic Review*, iii (1996), 104-60; G.E. von Grunebaum, *Aspects of Arabic urban literature mostly in ninth and tenth centuries*, in *Islamic Studies (Islamabad)*, viii (1969), 281-300; A. Hamori, *On the art of medieval Arabic literature*, New York 1974; Th.E. Homerin, *Preaching poetry*, in *Arabica*, xxxviii (1991), 87-101; 'Abd al-Hasanayn al-Khidr, *al-Shu'arā' al-Ayyūbiyyūn*, 2 vols., Damascus 1993-6; H. Kilpatrick, *Making the great Book of Songs*, London 2003; E. Neubauer, *Musiker am Hof der frühen Abbasiden*, Frankfurt 1965; W. Ouyang, *Literary criticism in medieval Arabic-Islamic culture. The making of a tradition*, Edinburgh 1997; E.K. Rowson and

S.A. Bonebakker, *A computerized listing of biographical data from the Ya'imat al-Dahr by al-Tha'libi*, Mahibu 1980; S.J. Schmidt, *Conventions and literary systems*, in M. Hjort (ed.), *Rules and conventions*, Baltimore 1992, 215-49; A. Vrolijk, *Bringing a laugh to a scowling face*, Leiden 1998; E. Wagner, *Abū Nuwās*, Wiesbaden 1965.

(T. BAUER)

**SHAKHAB**, (BATTLE OF) [see MARDI AL-SUFFAR].

**SHĀLĪSH**, also written **DJĀLĪSH**, a term referring to either the vanguard of an army or a flag raised to signal the announcement of a campaign. The word is of Turkish origin, derived from *Çalış*, meaning "battle" or "conflict" (see G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente in Neupersischen*, Wiesbaden 1963-75, iii, 32). It appears in Persian during the late Saldjūk era (Rāwandī, *Rāhat al-sūdūr*, ed. M. Iqbāl, GMS, NS, 2, London 1921, 347), with the meaning of "battle"; in Arabic, it is found in works of the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk times (see below). It is unclear whether it entered Arabic via the Persian or was adopted in the former language directly from Turkish military men.

1. In the sense of advance troops of a rather general nature, the term is found in the description of the battle of Ḥittīn [q.v.] in 584/1187, where we find *djālīshīyya* (Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, *Nawādir al-sultāniyya*, Cairo n.d., 61 = tr. D.S. Richards, *The rare and excellent history of Saladin*, Aldershot 2001, 73; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Beirut 1987, xi, 146). In the early Mamlūk period, it is used on the one hand as a synonym for *ṭalī'a*, advanced scouts or vanguard, as at the battle of 'Ayn Djālūt [q.v.] in 658/1260 (cf. Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar*, viii, ed. U. Haarmann, Freiburg-Cairo 1971, 49, with al-Makrīzī, *Sulūk*, Cairo 1934-73, i, 430). On the other hand, in the battle of Ḥimṣ [q.v.] in 680/1281, *djālīsh* is used in the sense of *mukaddama*, i.e. the large forward division of the Mamlūk army (Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubda*, ed. Richards, Beirut 1998, 197). The term was not only applied to the Mamlūk army; in 699/1299, the *djālīsh* of the Il-Khān Ghāzān [q.v.] passed by Halab on the way south (al-Makrīzī, *Sulūk*, i, 885); the exact intention, i.e. whether it was a small reconnaissance unit or a large advance division, is unclear from the context.

2. In the sense of a flag raised above the *ṭabkhāna* [q.v.], see D. Ayalon, art. IABR, iii, above, Vol. III, at 184. Ibn Khaldūn (*Mukaddama*, ed. Muṣṭafā Muḥammad, Cairo n.d. = tr. Rosenthal, ii, 52), writes that in the Mamlūk state (*dawlat al-turk*), a large flag (*rāya*) surmounted by a big tuft of hair (probably of a horse) was called a *shālīsh*, and that it was a sign of the sultan. It would seem that the use of the word for the flag used to declare preparations for a campaign was secondary to the meaning given above, sc. the advance force or vanguard. The sense of flag was derived perhaps from the advance force which may have carried it.

*Bibliography:* Besides the sources and studies given above, see E. Quatremère, *Histoire des sultans mamlouks de l'Égypte*, Paris 1837-45, i/1, 225-7 (with numerous examples from the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk sources giving both contemporary meanings); Dozy, *Supplément*, i, 168.

(R. AMITAI)

**SHAMIR** (also al-Shamir, commonly Shimr) B. DHI 'L-DJAWSHAN Abu 'l-Sābiḡha, often portrayed as one of the killers of al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī [q.v.]. Shamir's father, Shurahbīl (or Aws) b. Qurṭ (various forms of the name are given), was a Companion of the Prophet who settled in al-Kūfa.

Shamir fought at Siffin [q.v.] on 'Alī's side, receiving a sword wound to his face (al-Mīnkārī, *Wak'at*

*Siffin*, ed. 'A. Hārūn, Cairo 1401/1981, 268; al-Ṭabarī, i, 3305). Subsequently he changed sides and became a supporter of the Umayyads. In 51/671 he testified against Ḥudjir b. 'Adī [q.v.] (*ibid.*, ii, 133); nine years later, 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād [q.v.] recruited him and other tribal notables to quell the revolt of Muslim b. 'Aqīl [q.v.]. When al-Ḥusayn was intercepted at Karbalā', he appealed in vain to Shamir and others to let him go to the caliph Yazīd (*ibid.*, ii, 285). Shamir prevailed upon Ibn Ziyād to adopt an uncompromising attitude towards al-Ḥusayn; Ibn Ziyād thereupon gave him a letter ordering 'Umar b. Sa'd to kill al-Ḥusayn should he refuse to submit to Ibn Ziyād's authority, and warning 'Umar that if he failed to obey this order he would be replaced as commander by Shamir (*ibid.*, ii, 315-6). 'Umar reluctantly obeyed and put Shamir in charge of the foot-soldiers (al-Balādhurī, iii, 391; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 317). On 9 Muḥarram 61/9 October 680, as 'Umar was making final preparations to do battle with al-Ḥusayn, Shamir offered a safe-conduct to three (or four) sons of 'Alī by Umm al-Banīn bt. Hizām, who belonged to Shamir's tribe, the Banū Kilāb; the sons rejected the offer, insisting that al-Ḥusayn, too, should be granted safe-conduct (al-Balādhurī, iii, 391; Ibn A'tham, iii, 105; cf. al-Ṭabarī, ii, 316-7).

The next morning—the Day of 'Ashūrā'—'Umar put Shamir in command of the army's left wing (*ibid.*, ii, 326). Shamir intended to burn down al-Ḥusayn's tent with the women and children inside, but was shamed into withdrawing (*ibid.*, ii, 346-7) and acceded to al-Ḥusayn's request to spare them (al-Balādhurī, iii, 407; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 362). Shamir's role in the death of al-Ḥusayn is disputed in the sources. While some accounts merely refer to his participation in the battle (c.g. Ibn 'Asākir, xxiii, 186), he is more usually said to have instigated the final assault, while yet other reports explicitly mention him as having killed al-Ḥusayn (al-Wāqidī, in al-Balādhurī, iii, 418; al-Isfahānī, 119; Ibn Hazm, *Djāmarhat ansāb al-'arab*, ed. 'A. Hārūn, Cairo 1382/1962, 287), as having decapitated his corpse (al-Ṣafādī, xii, 425, xvi, 180), or both (al-Madjlīsī, xiv, 56; cf. al-Ṭabrisī, 250). This conflicts with reports that it was Sinān b. Anas al-Nakha'ī who killed al-Ḥusayn and decapitated his body (Abū Mikhnaf, in al-Ṭabarī, ii, 366), or that Sinān killed him and Khawālī b. Yazīd al-Aṣḡahī cut off his head (al-Balādhurī, iii, 418; cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, i, 393). In the *uṣṣiyya* [q.v.] passion plays, Shamir is habitually presented as al-Ḥusayn's killer (Chelkowski, 15, 106, 110, 146-7, 159, 165; Ayoub, 127) and as more evil even than Sinān (Virolleaud, 94-5; Chelkowski, 160).

After the battle, Shamir was about to kill al-Ḥusayn's son 'Alī [see ZAYN AL-'ABIDĪN], but was prevented from doing so (Ibn Sa'd, i, 480). Shamir led the Hawāzin, who formed one of the contingents that brought the heads of the fallen warriors to Ibn Ziyād (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 386; Ibn Ṭawūs, 85); later he accompanied the survivors to Damascus (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 375). An address is preserved in which he recounts to Yazīd the events of Karbalā' (al-Dīnawarī, 260-1, cited in D.M. Donaldson, *The Shi'ite religion*, London 1933, 102-3; this same address, however, is also ascribed to Zahr b. Ḳays al-Dju'fi: see al-Ṭabarī, ii, 374-5). Back in al-Kūfa, Shamir is said to have repented of his actions, explaining that he had been duty-bound to obey Ibn Ziyād (al-Djāhabī, *Mīzān al-'itidāl*, ed. 'A. Mu'awwad and 'A. 'Abd al-Mawdūd, Beirut 1416/1995, iii, 385; cf. Ibn Sa'd, i, 499; Ibn 'Asākir, xxiii, 189).

In 66/686 Shamir was among the Kūfan *ashraf* who rose against al-Mukhtār [q.v.]. After they had