

Şahne

# SALÂHADDİN DEVRİNDE EYYÜBİLER DEVLETİ

(Hicrî 569 - 589 / Milâdî 1174 - 1198)

(Doğentlik Tezi)

Dr. RAMAZAN ŞEŞEN

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi Kütüphanesi	
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EDEBİYAT FAKÜLTESİ BASİMEVİ  
İSTANBUL — 1983

dan öldürülmüştü<sup>83</sup>. Mısır'da ise Yahudilerin reisi meşhur Mûsâ b. Maymûn'du. Şeriflerin ve seyyidlerin reisine *Nakîb el-Eşraf* denirdi. Halk arasında itibarlı kişilerdendi. Mutasavvıfların reisine ise *Şeyh el-Şuyûh* denirdi. Meslek reisleri arasında *Reis el-Etibbâ* bilhassa çok mühimdi. Bunların hepsi sultan tarafından bir menşûrla tâyin dilirlerdi<sup>84</sup>.

7) **Şihne**: Bu devirde şehirlerde polis ve jandarmann görevlerini şihne teşkilâtı yapardı. Bu teşkilâtın başkanı emirler arasından tâyin edilir, «el-şihne» ünvanını taşırdı. Vazifesi şehirdeki inzi-bât ve disiplini sağlamaktı. Daha yukarıda Salâhaddîn ve ağabeyisi Tûrânşâh'ın Dimâşk şihnesi olduklarına temas edildi. Nûreddîn son zamanlarında mukûsu kaldırdıktan, içki ve fuhşu yasakladıktan sonra şihneleri azledip onların görevini de Kâzi'l-Kuzât (Başkadı)'a devretmişti<sup>85</sup>. Fâtımîler devrinde Mısır'da *Divân el-Şurta* adında bir divân vardı. Bunun başkanına «*reis el-şurta*» denirdi<sup>86</sup>. Salâhaddîn Fâtımî hilâfetini kaldırdıktan sonra bu Divân'ın devam ettiğine dâir herhangi bir ize rastlanmıyor. Elisséeff'in ifâdesine göre, Nûreddîn devrinde Şam'da şurta (polis) teşkilâtı şihnelere bağlıydı<sup>87</sup>. Salâhaddîn devrinde Kâhire'de bu görevi de Karakûş'un yaptığı anlaşılıyor<sup>88</sup>. Dimâşk'ta ise devamlı olarak bu görevi Bedrûddîn Mevdûd yürütmüştür. Onun nâibi ise Mübârized-

83 *Sana'l-B.*, I, 165.84 Salâhaddîn'in son zamanlarında 585 yılında Dimâşk nakîb el-esrâfîliğine Cemâleddîn b. Ebî'l-Mahâsin getirilmişti (*el-Ravz.*, II, 150). Musul nakîb el-esrâfîliğinde Ziyâüddîn Ebû Tâhir Zeyd b. Muhammed el-Huseynî bulunmuştu (*el-Barç* V, 19). Mısır nakîb el-esrâfîliğine ise el-Cevvânî el-Nassâba yapmıştır (bk. son bölüm, tarihçiler kısmı). Bu konuda ayrıca bk. Tyan, II, 329-341. Salâhaddîn devrindeki Şeyh el-Şuyûh ve Reis el-Etibbâ'dan daha aşağıda bahsedilecektir. Şam Şeyh el-Şuyûh'u 'Imâdeddîn Ebu'l-Fath M. b. 'Alî b. HammNye'ye ve Haleb başhatîbine verilen menşûrlar için bk. *Sana'l-B.*, I, 135; *el-Barç*, V, 100b-101a; *ATİB*, s. 321.85 *Sana'l-B.*, I, 146.86 *Nuzum el-hukm bi-Mısır*, s. 137-141. Şihne teşkilâtı hakkında bk. *Nûr ad-Din*, s. 833; E. Tyan, *Hist. Org. Judiciaire*, s. 573-616; Wiet, *CIA, Egypte*, II, MİPAO, LII, 1930, s. 51-62; Cahen, *Arabica*, VI, 233; W. Bernhauer, *Mémoire sur les institutions de police chez les Arabes, Les Persans et les Turcs*, *JA*, 5e série, XV, 1860, s. 461-509, XVI, 11-190. Bu eserin Arapça tercümesi *Macallat Ravzat el-Madâris*, sayı XV (1298/1872)'de neşredilmiştir.87 *Nûr ad-Din*, s. 834. Şurta için bk. K.V. Zettertsen, *İ A XI*, 585, Tyan, II, 352-453.88 *Sana'l-B.*, 204b.

zir oldu. Abak devrinin veziri Üner ise Atabegliğin en şöhretli veziri idi. Vezirler gördükleri vazifelere karşı devlet gelininin % 10 nu alırlardı. Vezaret divanı yine bu vezirlerin başkanlığı altında çalışırdı<sup>430</sup>. Selçuklularda gördüğümüz ve bütün malî işlerinden mesul olan Divan-ı istifa yerine Dimâşk Atabegliği'nde, biraz daha alt seviyede Divan-ı Resâ'il'i görmekteyiz. Atabegliğin değişik bölgeleri arasındaki idarî münasebetleri şer'î ve örfî vergileri, bölge mahsulünün durumu ve fiatlarını kontrol vazifelerini yüklenmiş olan bu divanın tüccar, seyyah ve Süfî kılığına girmiş casusları da bulunmakta böylece, bu divana bağlı teftiş müessesesi içinde kontroller yapılmakta idi<sup>431</sup>.

Dimâşk Atabegliği'nde Divanü'r-Resâ'il Reisliği ('Amîd) mülki idareden mesul yüksek bir memurluktu. **Zeyl Tarih Dimâşk**'ın yazarı İbnü'l-Kalânisi Divanü'r-Resâ'il Reisliğine iki defa getirilmiştir. Bundan başka Divan-ı arzü'l-Ceyş'i görmekteyiz. Ordunun kayıtlarını tutan, maaş ve levazımın tedariki ile uğraşan bu divandan, ordu teşkilâtı içinde bahsedilecektir.

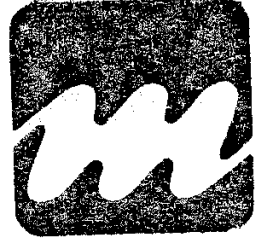
#### ç. Şahne

Selçuklu askerî ve idarî teşkilâtı içinde yer alan bu müessese Dimâşk Atabegliği'nde de görülmektedir. Irak Selçuklu Sultanı Mahmûd zamanında Abbasi halifeliği'nin merkezi Bağdad içinde kışlası da bulunan bir Şahne komutasında Selçuklu birlikleri vardı. Ak-Songur Porsikî, 'İmade'd-Dîn Zengi, Barankuş Zekevî gibi Selçuklu emirleri bu şehirde şahnelik vazifesini yürütmüşlerdir<sup>432</sup>. Anlaşıldığına göre askerî bir birliğe sahip olan şahne, şehrin savunmasından, yolların emniyetinden, mahkeme kararlarının infazından, şehir hapishanesinin idaresi gibi işlerden sorumlu bulunmaktaydı. Sadece Bağdad gibi halifelik merkezindeki bir şahnenin bunlardan ayrı, kontrol ve istihbarat vazifeleri de vardı.

430. İbnü'l-Kalânisi, 227.

431. N. Elisseeff, III, 783; bkz. İ. Kafesoğlu, «Selçuklular», IA, XI, 398-399; C.L. Klausner, *The Selçuk Vezirate, A Study of Civil Administration 1055-1194*, 38 vd.

432. Bunlar hakkında geniş malumat için bkz. M.A. Köymen, *Büyük Selçuklu İmparatorluğu Tarihi*, II, (Umumi İndeks Kısmı), 523; A.K.Ş. Lampton, «The Administration of Sançar's Empire as Illustrated in the Atabat al-Kataba», BSOAS, XX, (1957), 380-382.



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1568

Şahne

## DİMAŞK ATABEGLİĞİ (TOG-TEGİNLİLER)

Doç. Dr. Coşkun ALPTEKİN

DİA için  
Tevdi  
Muhsin

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi	
Kayıt	7704
Tasnif No. :	956.9 ALP.D

ve yönetici olan Aynî Bey *Dârülfünun Edebiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası'nın* yayımlanmasını sağlamıştır. *Dârülfünun Tarihi* (1927) ve *Tasavvuf Tarihi* (1922) kitaplarının yazarıdır.

#### 6 Aralık

Gündağ Kayaoğlu'nun doğumu. Gelibolu (ö. 8 Mayıs 2003, İstanbul). Anadolu'da ve tüm Osmanlı coğrafyasında bakırcılık ve bakır kap formları üzerinde en ayrıntılı çalışmaları yapan araştırmacı, halk kültürü araştırmaları yanında yayıncılığı ve düzenlediği kitap müzayedeleri ile tanınmıştır. Türk halk bilimiyle ilgili kitaplar için bibliyografya denemesi (1991) adlı kitabı derlemiştir, 1984 yılı İhsan Hınçer Türk folkloruna hizmet ödülü kendisine verilmiştir.

#### 12 Aralık

Selim Nüzhet Gerçek'in ölümü. İstanbul (d. 1891 Rumelihisarı, İstanbul). Gazeteci ve yayımcı olan Gerçek'in Türk tiyatrosu üzerine çok sayıda makale ve kitabı yayımlanmıştır. *Türk Matbuat Tarihi* (1928, 1939) kaynak eser sayılabilecek kitaplarındandır.

#### 13 Aralık

İstanbul Flarmoni Derneği'nin ilk konseri, Saray Sineması'nda Cemal Reşit Rey yönetiminde sahnelenir.

#### 29 Aralık

Atıla Erdoğan'ın doğumu (ö. 1997).

#### 31 Aralık

Ankara'da Emekli Subay Ressamlar Derneği'nin kuruluşu.

İSAM DN-  
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- Şahne (181568)

## Büyük Selçuklular'da şahnelik müessesesi ve sahnelerin taht kavgalarındaki rolü

Abdülkerim Özaydın\*

Şahne (şihne) Arapça doldurmak, yüklemek, kovmak, uzaklaştırmak anlamına gelen ş-h-n (شحن) kökünden türetilmiş bir kelime olup sözlükte yük, azık, düşmanlık, at sürüsü gibi manalara gelir.<sup>1</sup> Terim olarak ise bir bölgenin, eyaletin veya bir şehrin emniyetini sağlayan emir (askerî valî, kumandan) demektir. XI. yüzyıldan önceki dönemlerde bu görev sâhibü's-şurta ve sâhibü'l-ma'üne unvanı verilen memurlar tarafından yerine getirilirdi.<sup>2</sup> İbn Hallikân (ö.681/1282) şahne kelimesinin önceleri ikamet ettikleri şehirlerin emniyet ve asayişini sağlayan ve gerektiğinde şehri düşmana karşı müdafaa eden savaşçı (muharip) topluluğu ifade etmek için kullanıldığını, ancak bu unvanın daha sonra söz konusu topluluğu sevk ve idare eden kumandanlara verildiğini kaydeder.<sup>3</sup>

Bazı kaynaklarda şahne yerine mukta', vali ve nâib-i sultan gibi tabirlerin de kullanıldığı görülmektedir. Mesela, Müntece-

1 el-Müncid, ş-h-n maddesi.

2 Hilâl b. Muhassin es-Sâbî, *Rûsûmü dâri'l-hilâfe*, nşr. Mihail Avvâd (Beyrut, 1406/1986), 9.

3 İbn Hallikân, *Vefeyâtü'l-a'yân*, nşr. Muhyiddin Abdü'l-Hamîd, c.1 (Kahire, 1367/1948), 219.

Haz. Hatice Bynuc ve dğr.

SURTA POEET

Ahdas

Sakne (Sihne)

Subasi

Du...  
7/10

# JOURNAL ASIATIQUE

OU

## RECUEIL DE MÉMOIRES

D'EXTRAITS ET DE NOTICES

RELATIFS A L'HISTOIRE, A LA PHILOSOPHIE, AUX LANGUES  
ET A LA LITTÉRATURE DES PEUPLES ORIENTAUX

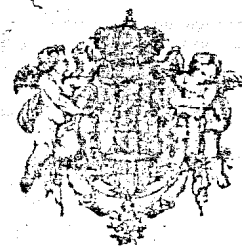
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PAR MM. BAZIN, BIANCHI, BOYLA, CAUSSIN DE PERCEVAL, CHERBONNEAU, DIECKSTEIN,  
C. LEYRÉRIAT, L. PULLEUX, DUCAT, DE LAURILLER,  
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ET PUBLIÉ PAR LA SOCIÉTÉ ASIATIQUE

CINQUIÈME SÉRIE

TOME XV



PARIS

IMPRIMÉ PAR AUTORISATION DU GOUVERNEMENT

A L'IMPRIMERIE IMPÉRIALE

M DCCC LX

400

AVRIL.-MAI 1860.

quoi qu'on dise, puisque l'on serait forcé de prolonger outre mesure un mot qui peut occuper une place plus restreinte et qu'une feuille de composition contiendrait moins de texte. Cet essai a déjà été tenté dans des imprimeries particulières, et il suffit de comparer avec les caractères arabes de l'imprimerie impériale ceux dont on fait usage dans le commerce pour saisir aisément la différence des deux résultats.

Si l'on adoptait le système proposé, les consonnes dépourvues de voyelles ou d'accentu orthographiques auraient, à cause du talus supérieur et du talus inférieur, une hauteur égale à celle des trois lignes parangonnées suivant l'ancien système, ce qui obligerait à interligner démesurément une composition française dans laquelle entreraient quelques mots arabes sans voyelles; et sous ce rapport, il n'est pas de doute que ce ne fût l'économie des moyens.

Ce qui n'est point de préférence à nous, mais ce qui est un corps d'écrit, en fait, par exemple, les voyelles et les accents sont fondus sans distinction de place, comme dans les textes arabes, ce langage se lit alors comme un langage écrit.

Mais la partie philologique du travail de M. Ferré, concernant la suppression des voyelles et accents inutile pour la lecture, me paraît être très remarquable sous le rapport de l'économie des feuillets de composition, qui vient d'ailleurs à l'imprimerie impériale, suivant la quantité plus ou moins considérable des voyelles ou des signes orthographiques ajoutés aux consonnes. C'est aux auteurs surtout qu'il importe de régler l'emploi des voyelles pour éviter de trop grandes interlignes, et je crois pouvoir affirmer, en terminant, que les exigences de la composition arabe ne permettent pas de substituer à l'ancien système, qui fait l'honneur de la typographie orientale, une méthode dont l'application serait au pas fait en arrière au lieu d'être un véritable progrès.

A. P. PLOIX

# JOURNAL ASIATIQUE.

JUIN 1860.

## MÉMOIRE

SUR LES INSTITUTIONS DE POLICE CHEZ LES ARABES

LES PERSANS ET LES TURCS,

PAR M. LE D<sup>U</sup> AVANTER, DE BRUNAUER,

ATTACHÉ À LA BIBLIOTHÈQUE IMPÉRIALE DE VIENNE.

### AVANT-PROPOS.

Dans mes recherches sur l'histoire des Arabes, des Persans et des Turcs, je me suis occupé particulièrement de leur vie intérieure et de leur administration politique au moyen âge. C'est ainsi que j'ai publié, sous le titre de *Diwan ul-mal*, le *Diwan ul-mal*, dans le tome XI du Journal de la Société orientale d'Allemagne, pages 111-152, la traduction d'un petit, mais intéressant travail de Hadji Khadfa, sur les finances de l'Empire Ottoman au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Depuis ce temps, j'ai recueilli les textes les plus importants sur l'état des finances de l'Empire Ottoman, l'un composé par Khadfa ou

<sup>1</sup> Le mémoire qu'on va lire, et qui présente de l'importance, traite d'un sujet pour lequel il faut surtout recourir aux sources orientales. Parmi les ouvrages que l'auteur a mis à contribution, il en est quelques-uns qui ne se trouvent pas à Paris; de plus, l'auteur, qui est Allemand, n'a pas une très grande habitude du français. Quelques changements ont été faits à la rédaction primitive; mais le fond est resté comme d'habitude, et si, en certains endroits, l'expression n'est point parfaitement claire, il suffira d'un peu d'attention pour s'y reconnaître. — RANSON.

Surto Rose

# JOURNAL ASIATIQUE

OU

## RECUEIL DE MÉMOIRES

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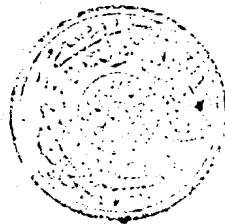
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PAR MM. DAZIN, BIANCHI, BOTTA, CAUSSIN DE PERCEVAL, CHERBONNEAU, D'ARCESTEIN,  
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CINQUIÈME SÉRIE

TOME XVI



IMPRIMÉ PAR AUTORISATION DU GOUVERNEMENT

A L'IMPRIMERIE IMPÉRIALE

M DCCC LX

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- Sihne (Sahne)  
- Subasi  
- Surto

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24 SUBAT 1997

A-Dreyelm

114

AOÛT-SEPTEMBRE 1860.

touareg reproduite par M. Hanoteau. en est une altération amenée par les rapports incessants avec les populations arabes. Quant au mot *semous*, employé par M. Hanoteau pour exprimer le nombre cinq, au lieu de *fous*, dont M. Letourneux a fait usage, serait-ce aussi une altération de l'arabe *khams*?

### MÉMOIRE

SUR LES INSTITUTIONS DE POLICE CHEZ LES ARABES,

LES PERSANS ET LES TURCS,

PAR M. LE D<sup>r</sup> WALTER BEHRNAUER,

ATTACHÉ À LA BIBLIOTHÈQUE IMPÉRIALE DE VIENNE.

(SUITE.)

Dès les premiers temps de l'empire Ottoman, nous trouvons le soubaschi (صوباشي) ou lieutenant de police, et nous voyons par une notice donnée par le célèbre voyageur Evliya Efendi, traduite en anglais par M. de Hammer (Londres, 1846, vol. I, part. II, p. 105), que le patron des officiers de cette charge est Anas ben Malik, à qui le Prophète avait confié le soin et la surintendance de la ville de Médine. Selman le Persan reçut l'investiture de cette charge du khalife Ali, et tous les soubaschis tirent de lui leur généalogie. Les gens du soubaschi n'ont pas un patron particulier entre les compagnons

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du Prophète, puisqu'ils n'étaient pas encore organisés de son temps. Leur origine dérive de Mohammed Ekrad, le sultan d'Égypte, sous lequel la maison de l'imam Shâfeï fut saccagée, et tous les ouvrages composés sur les quatre sectes orthodoxes furent perdus. (Conf. Evliya Efendi, l. c. p. 108.)

Le commandant du guet est le عسس باشي (le prévôt de la ville pendant la nuit), et sa charge a été organisée sous le règne de Muhammed II, le conquérant de Constantinople; il leva sur chaque boutique de commerçant un droit nommé عسسية. La dixième partie des amendes que les ivrognes et les coureurs nocturnes payent au soubaschi appartient à l'asasbaschi. L'asasbaschi est subordonné, ainsi que le soubaschi (lieutenant de police pendant le jour) et le muhsir aga, agent de police des janissaires<sup>1</sup>, au kiajabeg, qui est le chef de la surintendance de la ville. Ces trois attributions, dans le temps des khalifes, étaient réunies dans la personne du sahib aschorta, dont les fonctions dans l'empire Ottoman, sont remplies par le schaousch baschi; celui-ci a le droit de demander les soubaschis, les asasbaschis et les muhsiraghas, afin qu'ils l'aident dans les arrestations, les bannissements, les confiscations et les exécutions par le glaive, excepté pour les mili-

<sup>1</sup> Relation sur l'Égypte, par Vansleb, en 1664 (Orig. allemand), t. III, de la Collection des voyages, publiée par M. le docteur Paulus, Léna, 1794, p. 52. (Conf. Nœldeke, extraits de l'ouvrage de Nesri, dans le Journal de la société orientale de l'Allemagne, t. XIII, p. 209.)

SULTAN POSF

Dafinim →

Ahdas

~~Sulte~~

Şihne (Şahne)

Subaşı

MOUVEMENTS POPULAIRES ET AUTONOMISME  
URBAIN DANS L'ASIE MUSULMANE  
DU MOYEN AGE, I

PAR

CLAUDE CAHEN

24 SUBAT 1992

~~MADE YAMIN ANIKTA~~~~MADE YAMIN ANIKTA~~

DANS une communication au XXIV<sup>e</sup> Congrès des Orientalistes (1958) que publie, traduite en allemand, la revue d'histoire comparée *Saeculum* (IX-1, 1958), j'ai essayé de caractériser certaines des tâches qui, dans le cadre de l'histoire générale de la société musulmane médiévale, incombent plus particulièrement à l'historien des villes musulmanes. Il m'apparaissait que, dans l'ensemble, l'étude des villes musulmanes avait été abordée plus du point de vue du géographe que de celui de l'historien, plus de celui de l'urbaniste que de celui du chercheur adonné à l'histoire sociale telle que l'entendent les « occidentalistes ». Elle l'avait été, me semblait-il, par les orientalistes un peu trop en vase clos: on la faisait commencer à l'apparition de l'Islam, on attribuait donc une importance prédominante aux villes fondées par les Arabes, et l'on posait a priori qu'il existait de prime abord une spécificité nette des villes qu'on appelait musulmanes. Ce point de vue, méthodologiquement, me paraissait faux ou en tous cas très unilatéral; je faisais remarquer que, pour l'histoire des villes comme pour l'histoire sociale du monde musulman en général, il fallait tenir compte principalement du fait que les populations, même devenues peu à peu musulmanes, qui le constituaient, descendaient dans leur grande majorité des peuples de haute culture qui avaient fait la civilisation antique, que le plus grand nombre des villes « musulmanes » était tout de même préislamique, que même les villes fondées sous l'Islam avaient subi, par l'afflux des autochtones en particulier, l'influence des traditions urbaines préislamiques, et qu'il fallait par conséquent s'efforcer de situer les débuts de l'histoire urbaine musulmane en continuité avec l'histoire urbaine préislamique. Celle-ci, à son tour, il fallait prendre garde de ne pas

## شحنة

وردت هذه اللفظة في بعض الكتابات الأثرية بصيغة «ابن الشحنة» مما يدل على أنها اسم أسرة .

غير أنه من المرجح أن هذه الأسرة تنسب إلى جدّها الأعلى الذي كان يشغل وظيفة شحنة .

وقد استخدم لفظ الشحنة للدلالة على موظف في الدول الإسلامية في المصور الوسطى. والشحنة لفظة عربية من شحن بمعنى ملأ . وقد استخدمت لفظة الشحنة في أول الأمر للدلالة على الرابطة من الخيل في البلد لضبط أهله<sup>(١)</sup>. ثم استخدمت للدلالة على وظيفة<sup>(٢)</sup>، وربما قيل للشحنة صاحب الشحنة، وربما سميت الوظيفة نفسها خطأ شحنة.

وكان الشحنة بمثابة مندوب للحاكم الأعلى يعين في المدن التابعة له أو التي يفتحها، أي أنه كان بمثابة حاكم عسكري يمثل صاحب الحكومة المركزية سواء أكان خليفة أم سلطاناً أم غير ذلك، وكانت مهمته بطبيعة الحال مراقبة القوى الأخرى المعارضة ومنعها من التضخم أو الظهور، وكان يسيطر على الإدارة والسكّاتبات، ويقوم بالدفاع عن المدينة، ويحافظ على الأمن، ويتدخل في تحصيل الضرائب والمسكوس والأموال ليحصل على نصيب الحكومة المركزية منها، وكان يرأس شرطة المدينة، كما كان تحت يده عدد من الجنود يتبعون العسكر العام لا الجنود المحلي . وربما صار الشحنة والى المدينة وأميرها .

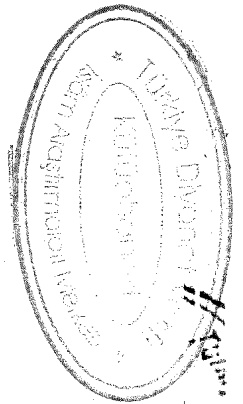
(١) جاء في رسوم دار الخلافة للصابي ص ٩ أنه في أيام المنتدر بالله كانت شحنة البلد يرسم نازوك صاحب المعونة أربعة عشر ألف فارس ورجال .  
(٢) انظر القرزى : سلوك ص ١ ص ٤٠ (حاشية) .

كان من لوازمه أن يضبط كل شيء هو شاهد فيه، وأن يكون له تعليق بخدمته . وأن يكتب الحساب الموافق لتعليقه<sup>(١)</sup>. وظل الشاهد هذه الدلالة في عصر المماليك . وقد اعتبره القلقشندي خامس الوظائف الديوانية في عصر المماليك، وذكر أنه كان من كتاب الأموال ونحوها، وكانت مهمته أن يشهد بمتعلقات الديوان نفيًا وإثباتًا، وكان لا يلزمه عمل الحساب<sup>(٢)</sup>.

وقد وجد شهود بهذه الدلالة في كثير من الإدارات والأعمال كان كل منهم يؤدي عملاً من هذا النمط في المكان الذي يعمل به : فعرف الشاهد في البيارستان<sup>(٣)</sup>، وشهود دواوين المال<sup>(٤)</sup>، وشاهد الطراز<sup>(٥)</sup>، وشاهد الأسوار<sup>(٦)</sup>، وشاهد الجبال<sup>(٧)</sup>، وشاهد الخزانة<sup>(٨)</sup>، وشاهد دار الضرب<sup>(٩)</sup>، وشاهد ديوان الجيش<sup>(١٠)</sup>، وشاهد المالك<sup>(١١)</sup>، وشاهد النفقات<sup>(١٢)</sup>.

وقد أشار القرزى إلى شاهد خزانة السكتب وذكر أن مهمته حفظ ما في خزانة السكتب من السكتب، وضبط ما يؤخذ منها للاستفادة بها بحيث لا تخرج السكتب من المدرسة<sup>(١٣)</sup>.

- (١) ابن سمان : قوائين الدواوين ص ٩ (طبعة أخرى) ص ٣٠٤، ٤٥٦ .  
(٢) القلقشندي : صبح الأعشى ص ٥٠ ص ٤٦٦، ضوء ص ٣٤٨ .  
(٣) القرزى : سلوك ص ١٠٠٠ من نهاية الأرب ص ٢٩٠ .  
(٤) القلقشندي : صبح الأعشى ص ٩ ص ٢٥٧ - ٢٥٩ .  
(٥) ابن سمان : المرجع السابق ص ٣٣٠ - ٣٣١ .  
(٦) القلقشندي : صبح الأعشى ص ١٢ ص ٤٠١ .  
(٧) القرزى : السلوك ص ٢ ص ٣٩٣ .  
(٨) القلقشندي : صبح الأعشى ص ١١ ص ٣٥٤ - ٣٥٥ ؛ ص ١٢ ص ٤٠٠ - ٤٠١ .  
(٩) القرزى : السلوك ص ٢ ص ٢٤٣ .  
(١٠) القلقشندي : صبح الأعشى ص ١٢ ص ٤٧٨ - ٤٧٩ .  
(١١) المرجع نفسه ص ٤ ص ٣١ ص ١٢ ص ٤٧٥ - ٤٧٦ .  
(١٢) المرجع نفسه ص ٤ ص ٣١ ؛ Demombynes, Syrie, p. 72 .  
(١٣) القرزى : خطط ( مطبعة النيل ) ص ٢ ص ٣١١ .  
(١٤) دكتور عبد اللطيف إبراهيم : المكتبة المملوكية ص ١٩ .



22 OCAK 1996

## CALIPHATE AND KINGSHIP IN MEDIÆVAL PERSIA

By A. H. SIDDIQI

(Continued from the last volume)

THE DEATH of Nizâm al-Mulk, shortly followed by that of Sultan Malik Shâh, in 485/1092, gave the signal for a long struggle for the succession to the Sultanate between the sons of the Sultan. These wars offered an unexpected opportunity to the Caliph to assert his independence; but it seems that his temporal power during the Nizâm period was so weakened that he was incapable of taking advantage of these long and bloody wars. The Caliph's position can be realized from the fact that he had to delegate the temporal power even to minors.<sup>1</sup> A strange and ridiculous position had arisen in Muslim politics. A minor could not be elected as Caliph, though the Caliph, during this period, was not the actual ruler of the Islamic State; while the Sultans, who were supposed to have delegated powers from the Caliphate to manage temporal affairs, might be little more than babes.<sup>2</sup> As a matter of fact both Barkyaruq and Muḥammad, who succeeded Maḥmûd on account of his sudden and premature death, were minors, though not of very tender age; but there was no way of preventing their succession to the Sultanate as their power mainly depended on the right of the sword. Whosoever came out successful from the war of succession had his name mentioned in the *khuṭbah* at Baghdâd and also on the coinage, with, of course, the permission of the Caliph, which was quite formal and nominal.<sup>3</sup> The prayers for the Sultan at Baghdâd had become almost as necessary as for the Caliph. People used to offer prayers for them automatically as soon as they heard the result of the war, and in case

1. Ibn al-Athîr X, 145. The Caliph Muqtadî, under the pressure of Turkan Khâtûn, had to grant the deed of investiture to her child of four years of age. In 498/1104, after the death of Barkyaruq his *shihnah* Amir Il-Ghâzî had the Caliph mention Barkyaruq's five-year-old son's name in the *khuṭbah* at Baghdâd and also on the coinage (Ibn al-Athîr X, 262).

2. This state of affairs was neither in keeping with the doctrines of the Islamic jurists nor with the views of Nizâm al-Mulk. Imâm Ghazâli objected to the Caliph's granting the deed of investiture to the four-year-old son of Sultan Malik Shâh (Ibn al-Athîr, X, 145).

3. Ibn al-Athîr X, 155. In 487/1094, after his victory, Barkyaruq came to Baghdâd and asked the Caliph for the inclusion of his name in the *khuṭbah*, which was done. And the *khuṭbah* was read for Muḥammad at his request, when the latter defeated Barkyaruq (Ibn al-Athîr X, 195-96).



Sumer, no 1-2, 1964 Bagdad

SAHNE, p. 220

# نظام الحكم في العصر السجوي

بقلم الدكتور حسين أمين  
مدرس التاريخ الاسلامي - كلية التربية  
بجامعة بغداد

دخل طغرل بك مدينة نيسابور سنة ٤٢٩هـ /  
١٠٣٧م<sup>(١)</sup> وجلس على عرش مسعود بن محمود  
الغزنوي ولقب السلطان المعظم ركن الدنيا والدين  
أبو طالب<sup>(٢)</sup> وبعث طغرل عرش مسعود  
الغزنوي بدأت حياة السلطنة السلجوقية ، وأخذ  
السلطان يحاول كسب رضا الخليفة العباسي  
ليحصل منه على اعتراف بقيام الدولة السلجوقية  
كما يقر للسلطان بحق حكم المناطق التي استولى  
عليها .

وفي سنة ٤٤٧هـ / ١٠٥٥م ، دخل طغرل بك

(١) الراوندي راحة الصدور وآية السرور:  
ص ١٥٨ ، ابن الاثير : الكامل ج ٩ ص ١٥٨ ،  
البنداري : دولة آل سلجوق ص ٧

(٢) الحسيني : اخبار الدولة السلجوقية

ص ٩

السلجوقية فرع من قبائل الغز انسابوا حوالي  
سنة ٣٤٥هـ / ٩٥٦م من سهول التركستان ،  
وسكنوا اول امرهم في بلاد ما وراء النهر واعتقوا  
الدين الاسلامي بعامل مجاورتهم للسامانيين ،  
وكان زعيمهم الكبير سلجوق بن دقاق يقودهم  
من نصر الى نصر ومن بعده تولى قيادة السلجوقية  
ولده اسرايل ، الذي كانت له مع الغزنويين  
وقائع ، احتال في آخرها السلطان محمود  
الغزنوي وقبض عليه وسجنه حتى مات ، فتولى  
أمر السلجوقية ابنا ميكائيل بن سلجوق ، چغري  
بك وأبو طالب طغرل بك محمد ، وظل هذان  
الزعيمان يجاهدان في كسب انتصارات جديدة  
وأراضي واسعة وبرز طغرل بك وعلا نجمه حتى  
تمكن من القضاء على نشوء الغزنويين ودخل مدينة  
نيسابور منتصرا .

(*Durrat al-tādjī*), *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā*, *Bahrām-nāma* and *ʿIqd-i gawhar*, a piece dealing with astronomy. Some of his writings which remained incomplete were a *Tadhkirat al-shuʿarāʾ* and a *Murād-nāma*, the last-named being an account of the events and affairs during the reign of ʿAlī Murād Khān Zand, who ruled Iṣfahān 1193-9/1779-85. In 1206/1791-2 Shihāb, according to his own statement, compiled a *diwān* of his verse, at the instance of his patron. His total output has been estimated at 20,000 verses (*Nigāristān-i Dārā*, 213), but the copies of his collected poems found in Persia are said to contain between 3,000 and 10,000 verses only (*Tārīkh-i tadhkirahā-yi Fārsī*, 303).

Shihāb was a prominent poet of the period of literary "return" (*bāzgaṣhtī*), which marked the end of the influence of the Indian style (*sabk-i Hindī* [q.v.]) in Persian poetry, and the revival of earlier indigenous models. His speciality was the *kaṣīda*, in which he imitated the examples of early masters like Anwarī and Khākānī. The main figures in whose praise he composed his poems were Karīm Khān and ʿAlī Murād Khān Zand; Shāh-zāda Mahmūd Durrānī, who was his chief patron; and Faṭḥ ʿAlī Shāh Kādījār.

Another distinguishing feature of Shihāb's literary activity was his satirical verse, directed against fellow-poets, certain tribes and clans, as well as against such places as Shīrāz, Yazd, Tehran, Sīstān and Kāshān. In the *ghazal*, his individuality of style found expression in the choice of rhymes which differed from those employed by such established *ghazal* writers as Saʿdī and Ḥāfiẓ.

*Bibliography*: Rieu, *Catalogue* (Supplement), nos. 352, 353; *Fihrist-i kutub-i khatṭī-yi Kūtābkhāna-yi Madj-lis-i Shīrāz-yi Millī*, Tehran 1318-21/1939-42, iii, 322-3, 704-6; ʿAbd al-Razzāk Dunbalī "Maftūn", *Nigāristān-i Dārā*, ed. Khayyāmpūr, Tabrīz 1342/1963, i; Riḍā-kulī Khān Hidāyat, *Maḍjmaʾ al-fuṣṣahāʾ*, ed. Mazāhīr Muṣaffā, Tehran 1340/1961, ii/2; idem, *Riḍā al-ʿarīfīn*, Tehran 1344/1965; Sayyid Aḥmad Diwān Begī, *Hadīkat al-shuʿarāʾ*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Nawāʾī, Tehran 1365/1986, ii; Muḥammad ʿAlī Muʿallim Habībābādī, *Makārim al-āthār*, Iṣfahān 1362/1983, i-ii; Muḥammad ʿAlī Tabrīzī (Mudarris), *Rayḥānat al-adab*, Tabrīz (?) 1328/1949, ii; Ismāʿīl Pāshā al-Baghādādī *Hadiyyat al-ʿarīfīn*, Istanbul 1951; J. Rypka et alii, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968; Aḥmad Gulčīn Maʿānī, *Tārīkh-i tadhkirahā-yi Fārsī*, Tehran 1363/1984, i; ʿAbd al-Rafīʿ Ḥaḳīkat (Rafīʿ), *Farhang-i shāʿirān-i zabān-i Pārsī*, Tehran 1368/1989; ʿAlī Buzurg-niyā (Sadr al-Tudjājār Khurāsānī), in *Armaghān*, vi/9; Muḥammad Taḳī Bahār (Malik al-Shuʿarāʾ), in *ibid.*, xiii/1-3; Muḥīṭ Ṭabāṭabāʾī, in *ibid.*, xiii/4-6; Muḥammad Qāhrāmān, in *Ayanda*, ix/6.

(MUNIBUR RAHMAN)

**SHIHNA** (A.), an administrative-military term in the mediaeval eastern Islamic world.

From the end of the 3rd/9th century, the term, which in a general sense meant a body of armed men, sufficing for the guarding and control of a town or district on the part of the sultan, is occasionally found in the specific sense of the *shurta* [q.v.] (Tyan, *L'organisation judiciaire en pays d'Islam*, Paris 1938-43, ii, 366, n. 5). As the designation for a military governor of a town or province, the term *shihna* belongs primarily to the period of the Great Saldjūks, though Abu ʿl-Faḍl Bayḥakī (writing in 450-1/1058-9) uses the term in the sense of the commander of a body of armed men in charge of a town or district on behalf of the sultan (*Tārīkh-i Bayḥakī*, ed. ʿAlī Akbar Fayyād, Mashhad 1350/1971, 22, 23, 24) and his

office as *shihnagī* (*ibid.*, 9, 10, 25, 26, cf. also Doerfer, iii, 320-1). The term is found throughout the Il-Khānate and survives into the period of the Turkoman dynasties of the Kara Ḳoyunlu and the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu [q.v.]. Thereafter, it disappears except in a debased sense in some provincial districts, being superseded by the term *dārūgha* [q.v.]. The *shihna* belonged to the military classes and officials of the ʿurf jurisdiction. The authority which he held was, like that of other officials, essentially delegated authority.

Nizām al-Mulk [q.v.] appears to have regarded the terms *muḳtaʿ*, *wālī* and *shihna* as broadly synonymous (*Siyāsat-nāma*, ed. Schefer, 28). There are cases of the same individual being referred to variously as *shihna*, *wālī* and *muḳtaʿ*. The *amīr* ʿAbbās (d. 541/1146-7) is called *shihna* of Ray by Ibn al-Djāwzī (*Muntazam*, x, 102) and *wālī* of Ray by Awliyāʾ Allāh Ḥamulī (*Tārīkh-i Rūyān*, ed. M. Sotoodeh, Tehran 1348/1969, 126). ʿImād al-Dawla wa ʿl-Dīn Ḳumādī (d. 548/1153-4), who succeeded his father ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Abū Bakr Ḳumādī and his grandfather ʿImād al-Dīn Ḳumādī in the governorate (*ayālat*) and office of *shihna* of Balkh (*Muntaḍjab al-Dīn Badīʿ al-Kātib al-Djuwaynī*, *Atabat al-kataba*, ed. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran 1329/1951, 76, 77), is called *muḳtaʿ* of Balkh by Ibn al-Aṭhīr (xi, 116), whereas Rāwandī states that he was *wālī* of Balkh and then made *shihna* of the Ghuzz (*Rāhat al-sudūr*, ed. Muḥammad Iḳbāl, Leiden-London 1921, 177-8; see also Lambton, *The administration of Sanjar's empire as illustrated in the ʿAtabat al-kataba*, in *BSOAS*, xx [1957], 380-3, repr. in eadem, *Theory and practice in medieval Persian government*, Variorum, London 1980, and eadem, ch. "The internal structure of the Saljuq empire", in *Camb. hist. Iran*, v, 244-5, repr. in *Theory and practice in medieval Persian government*).

Generally speaking, the *shihna* was the military governor of the town, or the town and district, to which he was appointed. His functions were the preservation of public order, security on the roads and the suppression of bandits and robbers (cf. the document in the *ʿAtabat al-kataba*, 61, for Sayf al-Dīn Yurunḳuṣh as *shihna* of Djuwayn, a document in the *Mukhtārāt min al-rasāʾil*, ed. ʿIrādī Afshār, 1355/1976-7, 264, and a draft diploma for the office of *shihna* in the *Dastūr-i dabīrī* of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Khālīq al-Mayhanī, ed. Adnan Erzi, Ankara 1962, 113-14; and see H. Horst, *Die Staatsverwaltung der Grosselgügen und Horazmšāhs*, Wiesbaden 1964, 93-6). He presided over a *diwān* to which, presumably, cases concerning public order were referred, and he apparently had at his disposal a body of men to enable him to apprehend evil-doers and to execute such orders as might issue from his *diwān*. He may also in some cases have executed the decrees of the *kaḍī*'s office. He did not have power to appoint officials other than those in his own *diwān* (which differentiated him from a *wālī* or governor). He was paid by dues (*rusūm*, *marṣūm*) collected from the local population and levied according to custom (the rate is not stated in the sources).

As well as *shihnās* of towns, there were also *shihnās* of tribal groups. In the case of Balkh, the two offices were held by the same person, but this was not always so (cf. the document in the *ʿAtabat al-kataba*, 80-3, for the appointment of Inanč Bilge Ulugh Djāndār as *shihna* of the Turkomans of Gurgān, and an undated document in the *Mukhtārāt min al-rasāʾil*, 263-4, for the appointment of the *shihna* of the Atash (?) Turks of ʿIrāk and Kurdistān).

The *shihna* of Baghdād in the Saldjūk period held a special position, in that he was not only the military governor of the town, but also the representative,

by use of ships (i.e. naval trading)'. Jacobi leaves the passage unexplained, but in the 'Glossar' to the text merely records as follows: *nāitta* = *jnāti*? 129.1.

Agrawala also cites the compound *pura-nāitta* from Svayambhū's *Pañmacarī* (xxx.7.1 in Bhayani's ed. Singhi Jain Series) where the marginal gloss renders it as = *nagara-vyavahāra*.

Agrawala further records the use of the word *nāita* in an Awadhi text of the early sixteenth century (*Padamāvata* by Malik Muhammad Jayasi, 537.6 in Mata Prasad Gupta's edition). In this context the meaning of 'sea merchant' or 'maritime trader' is apparent, as the passage under reference contains a maxim taken from the language of piracy.

4. The Konkaṇī form *Nāito* evidently goes back to a prototype from which Apabhramśa *nāittaga* is derived, i.e. *\*nāitta-ka-*. On the other hand the learned appellation *Navāiyat* should correspond to *\*nāvāyatta-* 'dependent on ships', i.e. 'a seafarer'. Both these related forms lead to the reconstructed *\*nāvāyattaka-* : *\*navāyattaka-*. Presumably the Arab merchants must have come to the Konkan coast by sea in the course of their maritime trade before settling down there. Consequently the rendering of the *Bombay Gazetteer* as 'new-comers' from an Iranian form will have to be superseded by the evidence found in Apabhramśa literature so far recorded by Agrawala. The Sanskrit rendering of the commentary as *\*navāittaka* merely touches the fringe of the problem.

## THE ADMINISTRATION OF SANJAR'S EMPIRE AS ILLUSTRATED IN THE 'ATABAT AL-KATABA

By ANN K. S. LAMPTON

THE study of Muslim institutions in Persia is made difficult by a lack of documents, nor is this lack due wholly to the destruction of those that once existed. Many of the legal contracts and procedures, especially those relating to customary as opposed to *shar'ī* law, were unwritten. Moreover so far as local matters were concerned the process of recording was a laborious one in Persia as elsewhere; and it must have seemed unnecessary to record what every village elder knew. Another difficulty which faces us in the study of Muslim institutions in Persia is the fact that the sources often use terms imprecisely. Some are used in both a general and a technical sense. The same term may be used to denote a number of different institutions and the meaning of any term may vary according to both time and place. Examples of this imprecision which have particular relevance to the period under discussion are *iqṭā'*, *nā'ib*, *shihna*, and *ra'īs*. An added complication is the fact that plurality of office was common and that when an individual held more than one office the sources do not always clearly distinguish between the attributes and functions pertaining to each.

We have, however, in the '*Atabat al-kataba* compiled by Mu'ayyid ud-Dawla Muntajab ud-Dīn Badī' Atābeg al-Juwaynī an unusually rich collection of documents for the reign of Sanjar (511-52/1117-57). The Persian text, with an introduction by Mirzā Muḥammad Qazwīnī, has been edited by 'Abbās Iqbāl.<sup>1</sup> A number of the documents which it contains are included also in a collection known as the *Munsha'āt-i 'ahd-i Saljūqī wa Khwārazmshāhīyān wa awā'il-i 'ahd-i Mughal*.<sup>2</sup> The contents of these two collections have been described by Mehmed Köymen in *Selçuklu devri kaynaklarına dâir araştırmalar*, I.<sup>3</sup> The compiler of the '*Atabat al-kataba*, Muntajab ud-Dīn, came to Marv in A.H. 516 with the intention of learning the art of a secretary (*dabīr*); he eventually became head of the *dīvān ul-inshā'* of Sanjar. 'Awfī mentions his eloquence as a writer.<sup>4</sup> The compilation of the '*Atabat al-kataba* was apparently undertaken by him on the order of Abū'l-Faṭḥ Nāṣir ud-Dīn Ṭāhir b. Fakhr al-Mulk b. Nizām al-Mulk, who became *wazīr* to Sanjar in A.H. 528 and held office for some 20 years. Mirzā Muḥammad Qazwīnī places the date of compilation

<sup>1</sup> Tehran, 1950.

<sup>2</sup> See V. Rosou, *Les manuscrits persans de l'Institut des Langues Orientales*, Petrograd, 1886, No. 26, pp. 146-59.

<sup>3</sup> Ankara, 1951. A detailed account of the reign of Sanjar will be found in *Büyük Selçuklu imparatorluğu tarihi*, II, Ankara, 1954, by the same author.

<sup>4</sup> *Lubābu'l-albāb of Muḥammad 'Awfī*, ed. E. G. Brown and Mirzā Muḥammad Qazwīnī, London, Leyden, 1906, I, 78-80.

BSOAS, c. XX, s. 367-388

1957 (London)

ayant le pouvoir de révoquer les magistrats incapables ou indignes, et l'appréciation de leur conduite et de leur capacité dépendant essentiellement de la qualité de leurs jugements, il est amené à examiner ces jugements, pour en tirer, le cas échéant, la conséquence principale, la révocation du juge ; mais, par le fait même, les jugements qui seraient apparus comme rendus injustement seront annulés. Cette action d'office peut être entreprise de la seule initiative de l'autorité supérieure tout comme elle peut être provoquée par une plainte de l'intéressé. Mais celui-ci ne sera pas partie à la procédure comme dans une instance judiciaire.

Le contrôle sous forme de recours consiste dans l'action par laquelle la partie non satisfaite d'un jugement demande qu'il y soit statué à nouveau. Il constitue une des applications prévues de la procédure des *mazālim* (cf. Tyan, *op. cit.*, p. 433 et s.). Suivant une procédure analogue, dans le madhab malékite, le prince, saisi du recours, statue après avoir pris conseil d'un groupe de juristes. D'après l'opinion de quelques auteurs, cependant, le recours ne serait pas recevable s'il s'agit du jugement d'un magistrat connu pour sa science et son intégrité (Ibn Farḥūn, *op. cit.*, I, p. 62 et s.).

En tout cas, il ne semble pas que le recours donne lieu à de nouveaux débats : le prince et ses conseillers statuent, comme on dirait aujourd'hui, « sur pièces », au seul vu du jugement attaqué <sup>(1)</sup>.

Émile TYAN  
(Beyrouth)

(1) *Principales sources utilisées* : Dāmād effendi : *Mağma' al-anhur*, Constantinople, 1328/1910. — Ibn 'Abidīn : *Radd al-muhtār*, Constantinople, Imprimerie Uṭmānyya, 1326/1908. — Ibn Farḥūn : *Tabṣirat al-hakkām*, Le Caire, Imprimerie Bahyya, 1302/1884. — Ibn Kāḍī Samawana : *Ġāmi' al-fuṣūlayn*, Le Caire, Imprimerie Bulak 1300/1882. — Ibn Nuḡaym : *Al-baḥr al-rā'iḳ*, Le Caire, Imprimerie Dar al-kutub al-'arabyya (sans date). — Sarakhsī : *Mabsūṭ*, Le Caire, Imprimerie Sa'da (sans date). — Uzaḡandī : *Al-fatāwī al-hindiyya*, Le Caire, Imprimerie Bulak, 1282/1855, 1311/1893.

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## JUSTICE IN THE MEDIEVAL PERSIAN THEORY OF KINGSHIP

The unquestioning acceptance by the Muslim community and Muslim thinkers of certain underlying metaphysical assumptions militated against, if it did not prevent, the evolution of a systematic and practical political doctrine; and profoundly affected their writing in many spheres. The historian tended to view history as important so far as it "proved" Islam and acted as a warning to those who rejected or failed to fulfil its demands; the biographer regarded as significant those aspects of character and life which helped to build up the Muslim community; and the political theorist tended to consider important what preserved and explained the beliefs and actions prescribed by the revealed law, and what combatted error and prevented heresy. The fact, moreover, that the life of the Muslim community was based on certain unquestioned assumptions leads, so far at least as Persian political writings are concerned, to a certain difficulty of interpretation. On the one hand, the orthodox often did not feel it necessary to state what was known and accepted by all; on the other hand, the influence of the 'ulamā discouraged the open expression of unorthodox opinions; and the insecurity deriving from the arbitrary and irresponsible nature of political power made downright condemnation of existing practices and theories unwise. Consequently the expositions of both orthodox and unorthodox do not always state the full case.

The works which discuss political theory fall into four main categories: juristic works, administrative handbooks, mirrors

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## QUIS CUSTODIET CUSTODES

### SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE PERSIAN THEORY OF GOVERNMENT

#### I

Theoretically the problem of *quis custodiet custodes* did not arise in Islam. Muslim thinkers in early and medieval times, with rare exceptions, disregard the question of power <sup>(1)</sup>. Various grades of power were recognised, but in each case the power was delegated. The most perfect and complete power was the power of God with regard to creation in its entirety. Secondly there was the power of the prophet, Muḥammad, which derived from the first power; thirdly there was the power of the caliphs and imams which derived from that of Muḥammad, and fourthly the power of governors, *qāḍīs* and other officials which derived from that of the caliphs and imams <sup>(2)</sup>. The caliph as the deputy and successor of Muḥammad held full spiritual and temporal powers. To quote Ibn Khaldūn « the caliph or imam, the representative of God, the supreme legislator, is the temporal and spiritual head of the Muslim world and he concentrates in his person all the power needed for the direction of this world. All officials ... act in virtue of a power delegated to them by the caliph or imam ... and others by indirect

(1) Cf. L. Binder, *al-Ghazali and Islamic Government in The Muslim World*, July 1955, p. 230.

(2) Cf. Muḥammad Sangalaji, *Ā'ini Dādrasī dar Islām* (Tehran, A. H. solar 1329), pp. 6-7.