

1364; Ibn Ḥaḍjar, *al-Durar al-kāmina fi a'yan al-mi'a al-thāmina*, Ḥaydarābād Deccan, 1348-50; Ibn al-ʿImād al-Ḥanballī, *Shadharāt*; Ibn Iyās, *Ta'rikh Miṣr* . . ., Būlak 1311; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa 'l-nihāya fi 'l-ta'rikh*, Cairo 1348-58; al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*; Ibn Kādī Shuhba, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfi'iyya*, A.U.B. MS 920.02: 1131; Ibn Taghribirdī; al-Laknawī, *al-Fawā'id al-bahīyya fi tarāḍim al-Ḥanaḍīyya*, Cairo 1324; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khīṭat*, Cairo 1324-6; al-Maḳrīzī, *al-Sulūk li ma'rīṭat duwal al-mulūk*, Cairo 1934-58; Ḳalkaṣhandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā*, Cairo 1913-9; al-Suyūṭī, *Husn al-muḥāḍara fi akhbār Miṣr wa 'l-Ḳāhira*, Cairo 1321; Gaston Wiet, *Les biographies du Manḥal Saḍī*, Cairo 1932; D. S. Rice, *A miniature in an autograph of Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Fadlallāh al-ʿUmarī*, in *BSOAS*, xiii (1951), 856-67; R. Hartmann, *Die politische Geographie des Mamlukenreiches*, in *ZDMG*, lxx (1916), 1 ff.

(K. S. SALIBI)

FAḌL ALLĀH [see *RASHĪD al-DĪN*].

FAḌL ALLĀH DJAMĀLĪ [see *DJAMĀLĪ*].

FAḌL ALLĀH ḤURŪFĪ, the founder of the sect, or more properly, the religion of the Ḥurūfiyya [q.v.].

The information given about Faḍl Allāh in the histories closest to his period in no way conforms to the information about him given by those who belonged to his sect and were contemporary with him and those who were inspired by his teachings. While the sources are agreed that he lived in the 8th/14th century, the reports that his name was *Djalāl al-Dīn*, that he was put to death in 804/1401-2, and especially the statement of later sources like the *Riyāḍ al-ʿarīfīn* of Riḍā Kulīkhān Hidāyat (d. 1288/1872) that he was a native of Meṣḥed are totally erroneous. A study of the life of Faḍl Allāh should thus be based on the books of those personally connected with him.

One of the most important of these is the *Istiwā-nāma* of Amīr *Ghiyāth al-Dīn* Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Astarābādī, one of the disciples (*khāliḍe* [q.v.]) of Faḍl Allāh, according to which Faḍl Allāh was born in 740/1339-40, began to spread his doctrines in 788/1386, and was put to death in 796/1394 (Istanbul, Millet Library, MS Ali Emiri farsça 269, f. 1a). These dates are confirmed in one of the Ḥurūfī books. Both these sources, in addition, call Mirān Shāh, the man who ordered Faḍl Allāh's execution, "Dadīdjāl", record his name as "Mārān Shāh", and give the date of his death as 803/1400 (same library, MS 1052, f. 7a). Abu 'l-Ḥasan, the foremost disciple of Faḍl Allāh and the one who turned his *Djāwidān* into verse in 802/1400, states that Faḍl Allāh was put to death in 796/1393-4 and that Mirān Shāh was slain seven years later, that is, in 803/1400-1 (Ṣādiḳ Kiyā, *Wiḡha-nāme-i Gurgānī*, Tehran 1330, 26. In this source the date of the death of Mirān Shāh is given as 810/1407-8; cf. the genealogy in *Khalīl Edhem, Dūwel-i Islāmīyye*, Istanbul 1345/1927, 429). The *Khāb-nāma* of Sayyid Iṣḥāḳ (frequently mentioned in the *Istiwā-nāma* as one of the intimates of Faḍl Allāh) states that in 772/1370-1 Faḍl Allāh entered into a period of retirement (*ʿile*) in Iṣfahān, being then thirty-two years of age (MS Ali Emiri, Farsça 1042, 25a-b). According to this reckoning the date of his birth is 740/1339-40. Sayyid Sharīf, a contemporary of Faḍl Allāh (as one understands from the eulogies in his *Diwān*, cf. Istanbul University Library, MS Farsça 152, 16a-18b) mentions in his *Risāla-i ma'ādiyya* that Faḍl Allāh was a Sayyid and also records his genealogy, according to which there is a line of twenty persons

between Faḍl Allāh and 'Alī (Ist. Univ. Lib., MS Farsça 1043, 51a). The fact that the ninth ancestor in one list, the eight in the other, is Muḥammad al-Yamānī deserves attention in view of the fact that the Yemen is known to have been one of the most important centres of the Bāṭinis from the latter part of the 3rd/9th century onwards (Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Daylamī, *Ḳawā'id 'aḳā'id al-Muḥammad*, ed. R. Strothmann: *Die Geheimlehre der Bāṭinien: Dogmatik des Hauses Muhammad*, Bibliotheca Islamica II, Istanbul 1938, Introduction vi-ix, 24-5, 95, 96).

One also finds scattered throughout both the *Istiwā-nāma* and the *Khāb-nāma* information relating to the life of Faḍl Allāh and the places which he visited. According to the *Istiwā-nāma* (82b), being at one point—the date is not known—in Iṣfahān, he rejected the notion that the human soul becomes non-existent after death and the assertions of the Ḥurūfīs who denied the existence of the after-life. In the *Khāb-nāma* also (10b) he is said to have rejected such a claim in Iṣfahān. Again according to this latter book Faḍl Allāh embraced Ṣūfism at the age of eighteen. He was inspired with the ability to interpret dreams in 756/1355 (19a), in which year he was in a place named Tokḍji in Iṣfahān; later he went to Tabrīz, where the *Djalālī*rid Sultan Uways b. Ḥasan (d. 776/1374-5), Wazīr Zakariyyā, and Ṣāhib Ṣadr *Shaykh Khwāḍja* accepted his teachings (19a-b). In Tabrīz he married a girl from Astarābād on the recommendation of his disciple Kamāl al-Dīn Hāshimī. He wrote a book on *fiḳh* for 'Izz al-Dīn Shāh *Shudjā'* (d. 786/1384) (24a). He was again in Iṣfahān in 772/1370-1, at the age of thirty-two, and there went into retreat (35a-b). He also spent some time in Dāmghān (38b) and Bākūye (47a). While in *Shamākhī* interpreting a dream of Ḳāḍī Bāyazīd, he foretold his own martyrdom (49b). When he left the house of this *ḳāḍī* and was returning to his cell (*hūḍire*), he was arrested on the strength of a decree from Astarābād and taken to the fortress of Alīndījak (50a). He was imprisoned on the order of Mirān Shāh (55a). Among those believing in him were important men; he even sent a dervish cap (*dervish kūlāht*), conveying his blessing, to Sultan Uways (55b-56a). His followers are known as *Darwishān-i ḥalāl-khor ve rāst-gūy* (48a). A *bayt* in the *Tawḥīd-nāma* of 'Alī al-A'īā, called by the Ḥurūfīs "*Khāliḍat Allāh*" and "*Waṣī Allāh*", states that Faḍl Allāh was born in Astarābād (Ist. Univ. Lib., MS Farsça 1158, 5b).

There exist three chronograms giving the date of the death of Faḍl Allāh-i Ḥurūfī. In one of these his name is recorded as *Shihāb al-Dīn* Faḍl Allāh and his death as having occurred on a Friday in *Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da* 796/October-November 1394, when he was fifty-six years of age (Millet Library, MS Ali Emiri, Farsça 1043, at the beginning). The second chronogram is in a 16th cent. *maḍjīmū'a* belonging to the book-dealer Raif Yelkenci. Though the chronogrammatic *miṣrā'* is known to all Ḥurūfīs and to all those connected in any way with the Ḥurūfīs (see, for example, Aḥmad Rif'at, *Mir'āt al-maḳāṣid fi daṣ' al-maṣā'id*, Istanbul 1293, lithograph, 133, where there is also the genealogy of Faḍl Allāh, taken from a *risāla*), I have seen the whole of the chronogram only in this *maḍjīmū'a*. The author of this chronogram is unknown, as is that of the first chronogram. In the first *bayt* Timur is mocked, in the fourth *bayt* the name of Mirān Shāh is mentioned, and in the fifth *bayt* it is stated that Faḍl Allāh was put to death on "Thursday, the eve of Friday" the sixth of *Dhu*.

'l-Ḳa'da. In the first poem, which contains seven *bayts*, it is also stated that he died in *Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da*, but on a Friday. It is clear, however, from the specific method of recording the date in the second chronogram, that he was put to death after the afternoon prayer on Thursday, since, according to the custom of the holy law, Friday begins after that time. The year is stated in the sixth and last *bayt* in the form *dhāl u šād u wāw*, that is, 796 (according to the conversion-tables, the first day of *Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da* 796 corresponds to Friday, 28 August 1394. But the new moon of the month must have been confirmed the day before by observation, in which case the sixth day of *Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da* would coincide with Thursday, 3 September 1394). The third chronogram is in a *maǧimū'a* containing the poems of Faḍl Allāh, along with those of *Sharīf* and 'Alī al-A'ḷā. In the fourth of the seven *bayts* in this chronogram it is stated that Faḍl Allāh was fifty-six (*Bist u ḥār u sī u du*) when he was put to death. The place of his martyrdom is specified in the last *bayt* as "Alindġia" while the date is conveyed by the phrase *Shahīd-i 'ishk-i ū* (Millet Library, MS Kenan Bey, Farsça 186, f. 194b). In a *risāla* of Mir Fāḍilī is found the note: "The honoured resting-place of that most excellent Prophet (*Ṣāhib bayān*) is at a town called Alindġia, by Astarābād on the far side of Tabriz. 'Alī al-A'ḷā is also buried there, and there is yet another grave. The covering of (Faḍl Allāh's) tomb is black, that of 'Alī al-A'ḷā's green, and of the other's red" (MS Ali Emiri, Farsça 1039, f. 92b). In his *risāla* entitled *Ṣalāt-nāma Shaykh Muḥammad*, who is known by the name *Ishkurt Dede* and who is known to have met some of the disciples of Faḍl Allāh, writes while discussing the rules governing the *ḥadīdī* that during the days of the *Tashrīḥ* sixty-three stones are thrown, twenty-one each day, at the Tower of Mirān *Shāh*, opposite the Alindġiak fortress, which is also called Sandġariyye, and that the *Tawāf* procession occurs in a place called "*Maḳtāl-gāh*"; during the course of this discussion he states that Faḍl Allāh was put to death in Alindġiak and that his grave is there (Millet Library, MS Kenan Bey, Farsça 1043, 35b-36a).

To regard certain numbers as sacred and to assign various meanings to certain letters are ancient, magical practices; examples occur in both the Old and the New Testaments. Similarly various meanings have been assigned from time to time to the letters occurring at the beginning of twenty-nine *sūras* of the *Qur'ān*. In both the *Diwān* of Ḥusayn b. Manṣūr al-Ḥallāḍī (d. 309/922) (see L. Massignon, *Le Diwān d'al-Hallaj*, JA (1931), 63, 83, 94) and his *Kitāb al-Tawāsīn* (ed. L. Massignon, Paris 1913, 13-4, 29, 31, 56-60, 63, 65-67) there are frequent references to letters and numbers and to the correspondence of letters to numbers. His statements relative to points, lines, and letters are transmitted in the *Akḥbār al-Ḥallāḍī* (ed. L. Massignon, Paris 1936, 16, 25-6, 59-60, 71, 95-6); and one finds that he even discusses the equator (*khatt-i istiwā'*) (*ibid.*, 53), which is one of the basic elements in the system of Faḍl Allāh. The Bāṭinī belief in these matters is well-known (see for example Nāṣir-i *Khushraw*, *Khān al-Ikḥwān*, ed. Yahyā al-Khashshāb, Cairo 1359/1940, 66-7; and also his *Wādīh-i Dīn*, Berlin 1343, 76-7). Even in the *Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya* of Ibn 'Arabī (d. 635/1240) great importance is given to letters, and particular emphasis is laid upon this idea (*Bülāk* 1272, i, 56-92; section 2, 92-101; ch. 5, 112-30; ii, ch. 79, 135-7. For the sections which explain the Bāṭinī ideas in connection with the *Khātm al-awliyā'* together with

the complete Bāṭinī system, see iv, ch. 557, 215).

Faḍl Allāh was certainly acquainted with the Bāṭinī methods. The *ṭarīqa* which he joined while young was one which had adopted the Bāṭinī beliefs. He occupied himself with the meanings given to letters and with numerical relationships. Perhaps he also studied Ibn 'Arabī. Conclusions drawn from the Old and New-Testaments in appropriate places in the *Djāwidān* make it clear that he had read these books (Ali Emiri, MS Kenan Bey 920, 144b). From his *Diwān* it is evident that he knew Arabic, Persian, and his native language, the Gurgān dialect, that he was well-versed in Persian literature, and that he was capable of composing poetry in the classical style.

That an '*Ilm al-ḥurūf*' was among those branches of knowledge known as '*Ulūm gharība*' or '*Ulūm khāfiya*' and that it was used for the most part for divination of the occult is well-known (see, for example, *Manāḳib al-'arifin*, begun in 718/1318; ed. Tahsin Yazici, Ankara 1959, 421). Faḍl Allāh thus took over, among other features of Bāṭinī *ta'wīl*, in particular the importance given to letters, and, wherever necessary, the relationships of letters and numbers. He adopted the method of referring all religious commands to the twenty-eight letters of the Arabic alphabet and the thirty-two of the Persian. To the '*Ilm al-ḥurūf*', which was old and not completely systematized, he gave a form truly original for his period; and, by proclaiming himself Messiah, *Mahdī*, and Manifestation (*maẓhar*) of God, he founded the Ḥurūfī religion. His disciples and those who came later adapted the obligations of ablution, prayer, and the pilgrimage completely to this religion. Although it is reported that Faḍl Allāh rejected the claims of those who denied the existence of the after-life and the continued existence of the soul, it is known that Ḥurūfīs in a number of places like Isfahān, Tabriz, and Geylān considered life to be merely material and denied the continued existence of the soul. In view of this, it seems likely that the rejection of such claims by him and some of his disciples was no more than an instance of *taḳiyya* [q.v.], a concealment of their true views, so as not to put off new converts to the religion.

His disciples (*khālifa*). Sayyid *Sharīf*, in his *Risāla-i ma'ādiyya* (properly entitled *Bayān al-wāḳi'*) lists the disciples of Faḍl Allāh, with the note "whom I remember", as follows: Amīr Sayyid 'Alī, Ḥusayn Kiyā b. *Thāqīb*, Maḍġid al-Dīn, Maḥmūd, Kamāl al-Dīn *Hāshimī*, *Kh'ādġia* *Hāfiẓ Ḥasan*, *Shaykh* 'Alī *Maghẓāyish*, *Bāyazīd*, *Tawakkul b. Dārā*, *Abu 'l-Ḥasan*, Sayyid *Ishāk*, Sayyid *Nasīmī*, *Ḥasan b. Ḥaydar*, *Ḥusayn Ghāzī*, *Sulaymān*.

Later he records that all of them, four hundred in number, were Sayyids, that they were in Faḍl Allāh's company day and night, and that they went with him wherever he went (51b-52a). 'Sayyid 'Alī' is the 'Alī al-A'ḷā who, in the *Istiwā-nāma*, is called *Khālifat Allāh* and *Waṣī Allāh*, and who is known to have been Faḍl Allāh's favourite disciple (2a, 11a, 29b, 37a). The names of Maḍġid al-Dīn, *Ishāk*, and *Nasīmī* occur in the same book (29a, 37a). One meets in the same *risāla* such names as *Darwīsh Bahā'* al-Dīn, *Darwīsh 'Alī*, *Muḥammad Nāyini*, 'Isā *Bitlisi*, *Muḥammad Tīr-ger*, *Tāġī al-Dīn*, *Sayyid Muẓaffar*, and *Ḥusām al-Dīn Yazġdjurdī* (12a-b, 37a, 40a-b, 43a-b, 80a). Of these, the names of 'Alī al-A'ḷā, *Nasīmī*, and *Ishāk* are found in the *Ṣalāt-nāma* of *Ishkurt Dede*, as are those of the author of the *Ma'ādiyya*, Sayyid *Sharīf*, and *Djāwidī*. Besides these, the name of Mir Fāḍilī is mentioned, and he

is reported to have been the disciple (*khālifa*) of 'Alī al-Aḳā. It is also reported that Amīr Ghīyāth al-Dīn was the son of 'Alī al-Aḳā's sister, and that, in addition to the *Istiwā-nāma*, he was the author of a *risāla* named *Turāb-nāma* (5a). Dīāwidī, in a *risāla* which he wrote in Shawwāl 1000/July-August 1592, reveals that his personal name was 'Alī (Millet Library, MS Farisi 437). In view of the date in which he wrote his *risāla*, this person must have been connected with one of the disciples of Faḏl Allāh. In the *Muḥarram-nāma* of Sayyid Iṣḥāk one finds the following names: Sayyid Tādj al-Dīn Kehnā-yī Bayhākī, one of the intimates of Faḏl Allāh and known to the Hurūfīs as *Ṣāḥib Ta'wīl* (see C. Huart, *Textes persans relatifs à la secte des Houroufīs*, Leiden and London 1909, Gibb Memorial Series, 42); Mawlānā Kamāl al-Dīn Hāshimī; 'Alī Dāmghānī, who, it is reported, had formerly been one of the intimates of Sultan Uways and had been Wālī of Khurāsān; and Pīr Ḥasan Dāmghānī (*ibid.*, 43). Both in this book and in the *Naḥm-nāma*, which is attributed to Faḏl Allāh, other names are mentioned in a section devoted to statesmen; but it is impossible to determine definitely the degree of their relationships with Faḏl Allāh (*Wāḡha-nāma-i Gurgānī*, 36; examples from the text and translations into Persian, 236-46). Mīr Faḏlīl writes in a *risāla* the names of the disciples 'Alī al-Aḳā, Sayyid Abu 'l-Ḥasan, Kamāl al-Dīn Hāshimī Rūmī (*i.e.*, from Anatolia) and Kamāl al-Dīn Hāshimī Iṣfahānī, and says that they are "the four friends of the felicitous one" ("*Ṣāḥib Devletīn cār yārīdār*"), thus testifying to a belief that Faḏl Allāh had "four friends" corresponding to the "four friends" of the Prophet Muḥammad (Millet Library, MS Farsça 990, last folio).

The names of the sons, daughters, and grandchildren of Faḏl Allāh are written in a different hand on the last folio of the *Risāla-i ma'ādiyya* (6rb). Among these is the name of Amīr Nūr Allāh, who was arrested and put to the question along with the author of the *Istiwā-nāma*, Ghīyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad, after the attempt on the life of Shāh Ruḳh. Among his sons there is one Salām Allāh, who is not to be confused with his elder sister who was appointed by Faḏl Allāh in the last will and testament which he wrote before his arrest as the trustee and guardian for all his children. (Abdūlbāki Gölpinarlı, *Faḏl-Allāh-ı Hurūfī'nin Waṣīyya-Nāma'sı veya Waṣāyā'sı*, in *Şarkīyat mecmuası*, ii (1958), 54-62. There is a copy of this will also in Millet Library, MS Farsça 1009, 1b-9a, as well as an incomplete copy in the same section of the library, MS 933, 104a-b).

Works. Faḏl Allāh's most famous work is the *Dīāwidān-nāma*. From the *Khāb-nāma* one learns that this work became famous after Faḏl Allāh's death (43a). The *Istiwā-nāma* reveals that the *Dīāwidān-nāma* begins with the word "ibtidā'" repeated six times (29b). There is a copy beginning with this word and written in the Gurgān dialect in Millet Library, Farsça, MS Kenan Bey 920. The *Dīāwidān-nāma* written in normal Persian and common in both public and private libraries must be a new redaction, separated into sections, and arranged by Faḏl Allāh personally or by one of his disciples, made on the basis of this text. For a copy belonging to the period of Faḏl Allāh but without a colophon see MS Fatih (Süleymaniye) 3728; another copy, written by Darwīsh 'Alī Sarkhānī in *Ḍaw 'l-Ḥijjā* 845/1442, Millet Library, MS Kenan Bey 1000. MS Ist. Univ. Lib., Farsça 869 (written n 1049/1639) is in the hand of Darwīsh Murtaḏā

Baktāshī who translated the second version of the *Dīāwidān-Nāma* under the title *Durr-i yatīm*. Among the manuscripts which I gave to the Mevlānā Museum Library in Konya is one written by this same man in the previous year (a rather free and expanded translation). In the *Khāb-nāma* two other works by Faḏl Allāh are mentioned: the *Maḥabbat-nāma* and the *'Arsh-nāma*. 'Alī al-Aḳā also mentions these two works in his *Tawḥīd-nāma* (34b).

Faḏl Allāh also composed poetry, mostly in Persian but some in Arabic, under the *makhlaṣ* Na'īmī. His poems form a small *diwān*. In the *maḏjmu'a* which contains the chronogram relative to the death of Faḏl Allāh there are thirty-three *ghazals*, seven *ḥit'as*, nine *rubā'īs*, four *bayts*, and two *tarjī's*. In the *diwān* in Millet Library, MS Kenan Bey 989, there are seventy-two poems: thirty-six *ghazals*, two *ḥit'as*, twenty-four *rubā'īs*, eight *bayts*, and the two *tarjī's* in the *maḏjmu'a* previously mentioned.

Bibliography: in the article.

(ABDŪLBĀKİ GÖLPINARLI)

FAḌL-Ī ḤAKK AL-'UMARĪ, AL-ḤANAFĪ, AL-MĀTURĪDĪ, AL-ĪSHĪTĪ (not al-Ḥabaṣhī as misread by Brockelmann, S II, 458), AL-KHAYRĀBĀDĪ B. FAḌL-Ī IMĀM [q.v.] was born at Khayrābād [q.v.] in 1211/1796-7. Having studied first at home with his father, he later studied *ḥadīth* with Shāh 'Abd al-Kādir al-Dihlawī [q.v.] and at the age of thirteen completed his studies. He entered service as a *pīshkār* to the Commissioner of Delhi under the East India Company and later served with the Chiefs of Dihādīdīar, Alwar, Tonk and Rāmpur. He was a leading scholar of his day, well-versed in logic, philosophy, belles-lettres, *kalām*, *uṣūl al-fīkh* and poetics, and a great teacher and logician who attracted students from far and near. He was often seen teaching *al-Uṣūl al-mubīn* of al-Dāmād [q.v.], a rather involved text on logic, while engaged in playing chess. On the doctrine of *imtinā' al-naṣīr* he entered into a lengthy controversy with Muḥammad Ismā'īl Shāhid [q.v.] in refutation of whose teachings he composed a number of treatises. This controversy greatly agitated the people of Dihlī, and even the reigning monarch Bahādur Shāh Zafar and the egalitarian poet Ghālib were involved in it. The controversy later took an ugly turn, and he misused his official position by persuading the *kōtwāl* of Delhi, Mīrzā Khānī, a bigoted Shī'ī, to take preventive measures against Ismā'īl Shāhid, who was prohibited from delivering public sermons in the congregational mosque. He took a leading part in the military uprising of 1857, was charged with high treason, arrested, tried and sentenced to transportation for life. He died in exile in the Andamans (*Kālā Pānt*), where he was interred, in 1862.

Among his works are: (i) *al-Djīms al-ghāli fī shārah al-Djāwhar al-'ālī* (a treatise on theology); (ii) *al-Ḥadīyya al-sa'īdiyya fī 'l-ḥikma al-ḥabī'iyya*, a treatise on physics begun by Faḏl-ī Ḥakḳ but completed by his son 'Abd al-Ḥakḳ, Kānpur 1283/1866; (iii) *al-Rawḏ al-muḡīd fī taḥkīk ḥakīkat al-wuḡūd*; (iv) *al-Ḥāshīya 'alā Tilkhīs al-Shīfā'*; (v) *al-Ḥāshīya 'alā al-Uṣūl al-mubīn*, (q.v.) *al-Ḥāshīya 'alā Sharḥ Sullam al-'ulūm* by Kaḏī Mubārak Gōpāmawī (Delhi 1899); (vi) *Risāla fī 'l-tashkīk wa fī 'l-māhiyyāt*; (viii) *al-Risāla al-ḥadīdiyya* (or *al-Thawra al-Hindīyya*), a doleful and moving account of the untold sufferings that he underwent in the Andamans as a dangerous political prisoner; published with Urdu transl. and notes as *Bāghī Hindustān* (see Biblio-

①
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