

presence of ruins, or when he recalls with nostalgia and melancholy the days of his youth with the well-known theme of repentance.

Ibn Khafā'dja drew much of his inspiration from Eastern poets such as al-Sharīf al-Rāḍī, 'Abd al-Muḥsin al-Šūrī or Miḥyār al-Daylāmī, and probably also from al-Buhturī and al-Šanawbarī, although in the case of the last two he does not admit it (cf. H. Pérès, *Poésie andalouse*, 36). He in his turn influenced a series of Andalusian poets, beginning with his nephew Ibn al-Zakkāk, with whom, together with another poet, Ibn 'Ā'isha, he is said to have competed, upon an occasion described by al-Makkārī (*Analectes*, ii, 424). He has been described as the creator of a "School of Levante". García Gómez states that the *khafā'djī* style continued until the end of the kingdom of Granada.

Bibliography: In addition to references in Brockelmann, II, 272, S I, 480-1, see: Maḳḳārī, *Analectes*, index; Ibn Dīḥya, *Muḥrib*, Cairo ed. 1954, 111-7; Ibn Sa'īd, *Muḥrib*, ii, 367-71; R. Nykl, *Hispano-Arabic poetry*, 227-31; H. Pérès, *Poésie andalouse*, index; E. García Gómez, *Poemas arábigoandaluces*, Madrid 1943, 35. The best edition of the *Diwān* is that by Muṣṭafā Ghāzī, Alexandria 1960. (F. DE LA GRANJA)

IBN KHAFA'IF, ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH MUHAMMAD AL-ŠIRĀZĪ, also called al-Šaykh al-Kabīr or al-Šaykh al-Širāzī, famous mystic of Širāz, died 371/982 in his native town, it is said at a very great age (Yāqūt, s.v. Širāz). His works (26 titles preserved in the *Shadd al-Izār*, 42-3) are lost, with the exception of some sentences transmitted mainly by al-Sulamī, Abū Nu'aym and al-Kuṣṣayrī, from a biography written by his disciple, the Ḥallādjī "philosopher" Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Daylāmī and later re-written and translated into Persian by Ibn Djunayd, the author of the *Shadd al-Izār* (*Sirat-i Ibn Khafif*, ed. A. Schimmel, with two professions of faith). But this work is more reliable for information on the life of the master than on his teaching.

According to al-Hudjwiri (456/1063) however, Ibn Khafif was the founder of an independent school of mysticism (*Kashf*, GMS, xvii, 247; cf. *Tadhkirat al-awliya'*, ii, 135). He had a lasting influence on the Kāzerūnī movement (*Vita Kāzerūnī*, ed. F. Meyer, Istanbul 1943, 17), and he figures in the mystic genealogy of the Suhrawardiyya (Depont and Coppelani, *Confréries religieuses musulmanes*, 534). As a result, the name of Ibn Khafif found a place in the genealogical trees of the *futuwwa* (Gölpinarlı, in *İktisat fakültesi mecmuası*, xi, 34). Rūzbahān Baklī (d. 606/1209), who was the author after Ibn Khafif of a *Kitāb al-Ighāna* and who reproduces in his *Jasmin* (ed. Corbin, 9) a long extract from the *Aḥf* of al-Daylāmī, receives the *khirka* at the hands of a descendant of the Banū Sālība, who were formerly protégés of the Daylāmī dynasty and among whom the office of *khafifi* was handed on from father to son (*Shadd*, 299; *Širāz-nāma*, 113; cf. *ibid.*, 117; Massignon, *Passion*, i, 374). Finally, in the time of Ibn al-Djawzī (d. 597/1200), the *ribāṭ* founded by Ibn Khafif at Širāz was still flourishing (*Shadd*, 58). Ibn Khafif's teaching, together with the more or less occult influence of Ḥallādjism, thus penetrated deeply into the mystic life of Fārs until just before the Mongol invasion.

The question arises as to whether the historical personality of Ibn Khafif was such as to justify his filling such an important role. It is known for certain that he was Zāhiri in *fiqh*, an Aṣḥ'arī in *kalām*, and an anti-Sālimī in mystical theology

(L. Massignon, *Essai*, 315). More simply, the life and the thought of this illustrious Širāzī can be said in principle to divide themselves into two successive periods. The first is dominated by the practical problems of the mystic life (*Mu'āmalāt*) which preoccupied greatly the ascetics of Fārs, who often showed definite tendencies to Zāhirism and particularly to nascent *Malāmatiyya* or *futuwwa* (examples are Abū 'Amr al-Iṣṭakhri, 'Alī b. Sahl, Bundār b. al-Ḥusayn; al-Sulamī, *Tabaḳāt*, ed. Sharība, 467, Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Muzayyin, and especially Abū Dja'far al-Ḥadhdhā, who enjoyed great prestige among them: *Shadd*, 96). The second period, which came under the Djunaydī influence of the Baghdād school, is more speculative; it was during this period that the master finally settled in Širāz, that his written work appeared and that he played a political role at the court of the Daylāmī 'Aḥud al-Dawla (who was ruler of Širāz from 338/949), when his eminent position may have enabled him to offer protection to the Ḥallādjīs who were returning to their native country from 'Irāk, where they had been persecuted. It seems preferable to suppose his thought to have developed in harmony with these two broad phases of his life, leading him towards increasingly intellectualist theses (Djunaydī and semi-Ḥallādjī), than to attribute to him an eclecticism as vague as it was persistent. There are various indications to corroborate this hypothesis: Ibn Khafif used in turn two initiatory *isnāds*, the one purely Širāzī with the names of Dja'far al-Ḥadhdhā (*Sira*, 149, 178, 202) and of Abū 'Amr al-Iṣṭakhri (*Sira*, 33, 35, 87, 152), the other artificially linked to al-Djunayd (L. Massignon, *Essai*, 129, rejected by the Kāzerūnīs, *op. cit.*, 25); Ibn Khafif retracted at the reading of a dissertation of al-Djunayd (*Aḥf*, ed. Vadet, 3), he hesitated between the school of al-Djunayd and the teaching of his first Baghdādī master Ruwaym, a Zāhiri mystic of *Malāmatiyya* tendencies who had close links with Abū 'Amr al-Iṣṭakhri but was on rather bad terms with al-Djunayd (I. Goldziher, *Die Zāhiriten*, 179; al-Sulamī, *op. cit.*, 462; al-'Aḥfī, *Malāmatiyya*, 60; *Ta'rikh Baghdād*, viii, 431; cf. *Širāz-nāma*, 95-6).

The mystic theology of Ibn Khafif, worked out from actual experience but rapidly codified at a later stage in a circle of theoreticians, reconciles after a fashion the two basic aspects of his life. It seems to have been governed by the following propositions: (1) The necessity of poverty (*faqr*) and the pre-eminence of this poverty over wealth ("poverty" is an imitation of the Prophet, it is also "to rid oneself of one's attributes", *Tadhkirat al-awliya'*, 131; hence it is like a negative realization of *tawhīd*, "unification of the Divine names and attributes with verification in the heart", Abū Nu'aym, x, 386). (2) The "poor man" is not *ipso facto* a *sūfi*, any more than the *sūfi* is himself a *walī*. (3) The impression of the "moment" (*ghalaba*) is not enough to constitute ecstasy (*wadīd*), just as the latter is an insufficient basis for sanctity (*wilāya*). (4) Sanctity is much more a condition, and one not clearly defined, than a transitory and unstable "state" (*ḥāl*). Certainly, in the eyes of Ibn Khafif the "station" is preferable to the "state", in the same way that "sobriety" is of more worth than "drunkenness". It is difficult to say whether Ibn Khafif gave anywhere in his works a valid definition of this "sanctity" which he considered to be the true end of "poverty". It has been defined for him by his Ḥallādjī disciples or pseudo-disciples on the basis of their conceptions of *ishk* and *mahabba*. Ibn Khafif contented himself with an incomplete

synthesis. This fact helps to explain both the universal fame of the master of *Shirāz* and the almost total disappearance of his work.

The basic text remains the edition of the *Sīrat-i Ibn Khafif* by Dr A. Schimmel (Ankara 1955, with introd. and bibl.). This text, however, unfortunately does not supersede the notices by the two historians of *Shirāz*: Abu 'l-'Abbās Zarkūb (d. 734/1333; *Shirāz-nāma*, ed. Bahmān Karīmī) and Ibn Ḍjunayd al-*Shirāzī* (d. 791/1388, *Shadd al-Izār*). For Ibn Khafif's "hallādjism" there may be consulted L. Massignon, *Akhbār al-Hallādī*, Paris 1957, 38 and 81, also *Vie et œuvres de Rūsbihān Baklī*, in *Studia Orientalia Ioanni Pedersen* . . . , Paris 1953.

The life and doctrine of Ibn Khafif are part of a group of wider questions which have not yet been sufficiently answered. These are: (1) The opposition between the Ḍjunaydism of Baghdād and the practical mysticism of Persia and Khurāsān in the 3rd/9th century (the memory of Abū Yazid al-Biṣṭāmī, *Malāmatīyya*, the insistence on "poverty" and "sincerity", *futuwwa*; for a summary of their doctrine, see Abū Nu'aym, x, 387). (2) This opposition was not unconnected with the growing Ash'arism and Zāhirism: at the time of Ibn Khafif these were the two militant and opposing wings of Shāfi'ism, particularly that of 'Irāk, with which the school of al-Ḍjunayd finally became integrated. (3) It is only when these first two questions have been answered that Ibn Khafif's rather ambiguous attitude to Hallādjism will be better understood, and with it perhaps the internal evolution of this doctrine, at least in Fārs.

Bibliography: in the text. (J. C. VADET)

IBN KHAḤIF [see MUHAMMAD B. KHAḤIF].

IBN KHĀKĀN, name of several secretaries and viziers of the 'Abbāsīd period.

(1) YAḤYĀ B. KHĀKĀN, secretary of Khurāsānī origin, was in the service of al-Ḥasan b. Sahl [q.v.] under the caliphate of al-Ma'mūn and became, under al-Mutawakkil, secretary to the office for land-taxes, and then director of the *maẓālīm*-court, when his son 'Ubayd Allāh became vizier.

(2) 'UBAYD ALLĀH B. YAḤYĀ was the first member of the family to become a vizier. Patronized by the caliph al-Mutawakkil, who had appointed him as his private secretary, he succeeded in about 236/851 in gaining appointment to the office of vizier, which had for some years remained vacant, and in obtaining important powers, notably those permitting him to nominate the main government officials and thus to eliminate any possible rivals. He was tutor to one of the princes; at the end of al-Mutawakkil's reign he exercised a considerable influence and seems to have encouraged the caliph in his anti-'Alid policy. Having withdrawn from political life after the assassination of al-Mutawakkil, he was exiled to Barqa in 248/862, and did not return to Baghdād until 253/867. The accession of the caliph al-Mu'tamid led to his being appointed once again to the office of vizier, which he occupied from 256/870 until his death in 263/877.

(3) MUHAMMAD B. 'UBAYD ALLĀH, Abū 'Alī, known as al-Khākānī, became vizier in the reign of al-Muqtadir in Ḍhu 'l-Ḥiḍja 299/July 912 and remained in office until Muḥarram 301/August 913. He succeeded Ibn al-Furāt, whose officials he dismissed, and attempted to replenish the treasury by imposing severe fines on these discredited officials. He also took measures against the Shi'ī elements in the population of Baghdād and attempted to satisfy the claims of the Ḥanbalis, but his administration did not please the caliph's entourage. After his dismissal,

he was imprisoned once by 'Alī b. 'Īsā and a second time by Ibn al-Furāt, who had returned to power in 304/917; he died in 312/924-5.

(4) 'ABD ALLĀH B. MUHAMMAD, Abū 'l-Kāsim, son of the above, had been secretary during his father's vizierate and succeeded Ibn al-Furāt in Rabi' I 312/June 924, but encountered serious internal difficulties with which he was incapable of dealing, so that he was dismissed in Ramaḍān 313/November 925 on the insistence of the amīr Mu'nis; after having been imprisoned and paying a fine, he died in 314/926-7.

Bibliography: D. Sourdel, *Vizirai*, index; G. Lecomte, *Ibn Qutayba*, index; Abū Ya'la, *Tabakāt al-Ḥanābiya*, i, 204. (D. SOURDEL)

IBN KHĀLAWAYH, Abū 'ABD ALLĀH al-ḤUSAYN B. AḤMAD (but MUHAMMAD in *Shirawayh*'s History of Hamadhān, see Kiftī, *Inbāh*, i, 325, 12) B. ḤAMDĀN al-HAMADHĀNĪ, famous Arabic grammarian and *adīb*. He was born in Hamadhān [q.v.]. The exact year of his birth is not known but it must have been in the ninth decade of the 3rd century A.H., since he went in 314/926, while still young, to study in Baghdād, where he found eminent teachers. Among his teachers of the Kur'an was the head of the Kur'an readers of Baghdād, Ibn Muḍjahid (d. 324/936) and he studied grammar and lexicography not only with the representatives of the Kūfan school Ibn al-Anbārī [q.v.] and Abū 'Umar al-Zāhid al-Mu'tarriz Ḡhulām Tha'lab (d. 345/956), but also with the famous Baṣran Ibn Durayd [q.v.] and the latter's pupil al-Sirāfī [q.v.], and also with Niḡawayh, who was already a representative of the mixed school (*khalafa 'l-madhhabayn*, *Fihrist*, 81, bottom; in Brockelmann, S I, 184 listed under the Kūfans; d. 323/935). Consequently he was himself an eclectic. There is named as one of his teachers of *ḥadīth* Muḥammad b. Makhlad al-'Aṭṭār (*Ta'rikh Baghdād*, iii, 310 f.; Ḍhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-huffāz*, 11th fab., no. 40, where Aḥmad is incorrectly given instead of Makhlad; d. 331/942-3). Subki lists him among the Shāfi'is (*Tabakāt*, ii, 212 f.); according to Ibn Ḥajar, however, he was an Imāmī, who pretended to be a Sunni only in the presence of Sayf al-Dawla (*Lisān al-Mizān*, Ḥaydarābād 1330, ii, 267; cf. also Krenkow in a postscript to Ibn Khālawayh, *I'rāb thalāthim sūra*, 246). From Baghdād he went to Syria, and in Aleppo was admitted to the court of the Ḥamdānid Sayf al-Dawla [q.v.], who appointed him tutor to one of his sons. After Sayf al-Dawla's death he remained in the service of the Ḥamdānids. Kiftī (*Inbāh*, i, 326, lines 5 ff.) records from the *Kitāb al-Utrudjīya* by Muslim b. Muḥammad al-Lahḍjī that Ibn Khālawayh visited the Yemen, and Ibn al-Djazarī (*Tabakāt al-kurra*, i, 237, bottom) also mentions the precise place, Ḍhimār. He died in 370/980-1 in Aleppo.

Already during his lifetime Ibn Khālawayh was famous. His reputation as an expert in all branches of 'ilm and *adab* brought to him many pupils from far and near. The sources mention explicitly the 'Irākī *faqīh* and man of letters al-Mu'āfā b. Zakariyyā (d. 390/1000), the reader of the Kur'an Ibn Ḡhalbūn (a native of Aleppo, d. 389/999) and al-Ḥasan b. Sulaymān al-Anṭākī (d. 399/1008-9) as well as the traditionist Ibn 'Adī, known also as Ibn al-Kaṭṭān (Brockelmann, I, 167; d. 360/971). He is reputed also to have been a poet of ability, *Tha'alibi* (*Yatima*, Damascus 1304, i, 76 f.) and Yākūt (*Irshād*, iv, 6) providing a few brief specimens of his work. The disputations which he is reported to have had with al-Mutanabbī [q.v.] in the presence of Sayf