

(see L. Vecchia Vaglieri, *op. cit.* in bibliography); thus the groups describing themselves as Zaydis who joined Ibrāhīm in Baṣra demanded as a condition of their joining the campaign that, if Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm should die, the command should go to 'Isā, the son of the martyr Zayd b. Ḥusayn [q.v.]; they soon fell into disagreement with Ibrāhīm, and wished to put a leader of their own at the head of the rebels, renouncing this project only when they feared that al-Manṣūr would take advantage of this quarrel; they nevertheless reserved the right to re-open the matter after the victory. They next raised objections on a detail of ritual, on the tactics to adopt during the battle, and on the way in which provisions and money should be requisitioned. Nevertheless some Zaydis remained with the 'Alid until the end of the battle, and, when he was wounded, bravely defended his body.

Ibrāhīm appears to have been more intelligent than his brother Muḥammad, or so it would seem from the fact that when the founders of Mu'tazilism, Wāṣil b. 'Aṭā' and 'Amr b. Ubayd, came to Medina with a group of followers of their movement to meet the 'Alid claimant to the caliphate, 'Abd Allāh (with the agreement of his advisers) preferred that they should meet Ibrāhīm rather than Muḥammad, since, given the intelligence of the questioners, the interview promised to be an awkward one. The *Maḳātil* (193 f.) confirms that Ibrāhīm made a very good impression on them. He was better educated than his brother, if not in the religious sciences at least in the field of literature, since it is reported that he was fond of poetry, that he compiled a collection of the poems of his host and supporter Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī [q.v.], and that he himself wrote poems. He was active and courageous: during the period which he spent in hiding he boldly faced great dangers (Ṭabari, iii, 284-90). The sources extol his piety and his respect for ritual observances: still more interesting are reports of episodes which show him to be free from fanaticism and of a merciful nature.

Bibliography: The sources which devote most space to the revolt of 145 are Ṭabari and Abu 'l-Faraḍī al-Iṣfahānī in his *Maḳātil al-Ṭālibiyyin*; Ṭabari, iii, 143, 147, 152, 158, 163 f. (al-Manṣūr's concern at the plotting of the two brothers and the measures which he took), 169-90 (transfer of the 'Alid prisoners to Kūfa and their sufferings), 282-318 (the revolt of Ibrāhīm); *Maḳātil*, ed. A. Ṣaḡr, Cairo 1365, 205-29, 232-309 (discussion between Ibrāhīm and the Mu'tazilis, 293 f.), 315-89 (revolt of Ibrāhīm); the protests of the Zaydis: 334, cf. 332, 333-5, 344, 370, 405 f., 408. In addition there may be consulted: Balādhuri, *Ansāb*, ms. Paris, 612v-632r; *Fragmenta historicorum arabicorum*, ed. De Goeje and De Jong, Leiden 1869, 230-5, and Index; Ya'kūbī, *Historiae*, ii, 418 f., 424, 431 f., 444 f., 450-6; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *ʿIḥd*, Cairo 1293, iii, 34-41; Mas'ūdi, *Murūdī*, vi, 194-202; *Aghānī*, xviii, 207 f. (the marriages and poetry of Hind, the mother of Ibrāhīm), 208 f., xv, 89; Yāqūt, s.v. Bāḳhamrā; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, v, 402-22, 428-37 and index; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Muḥkhaṣar ta'rīkh al-baṣhar*, ii, 16-20; Ḍhababī, *al-'Ibar fī khabar man ghamar*, ed. Munadīdīd, i, 198-203; Ibn Kathīr, Cairo 1348-53, x, 80 f.; Ibn 'Inaba, *Umdat al-ṭālib*, Nadjaf 1337/1918, 87-92; Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar*, Būlāk 1284, iii, 187-96 (= Beirut 1958, 398 ff.); Muḥsin al-Amīn al-ʿĀmilī, *A'yān al-Shi'a*, v, 308.

Western authors: G. Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Mannheim 1846-51, ii, 40-56; W. Muir, *The Cali-*

phate, London 1891, 450-4; A. Noeldeke, *Der Chalīf Mansur, in Orientalische Skizzen*, 126-34; C. van Arendonk, *De Ophkomst van het Zaidietische Imamaat in Yemen*, Leiden 1921, 40-53 (Fr. tr. by J. Ryckmans, *Les débuts de l'Imāmat Zaidite au Yémen*, Leiden 1960, supporters of the two brothers: 285-90); Ch. Pellat, *Milieu*, 197-8; L. Vecchia Vaglieri, *Divagazioni su due rivolte alidi*, in *A Francesco Gabrieli*, Rome 1964, 315-21, 328, 337-41, 342 f.; on the participation of a number of Mu'tazilis in the movement of revolt and on the recognition of the two brothers as imāms by the "Shi'at al-Mu'tazila", see W. Madelung, *Der Imām al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm und die Glaubenslehre der Zaiditen*, Berlin 1965, 72-4, 211.

(L. VECCHIA VAGLIERI)

IBRĀHĪM B. ADHAM B. MANṢŪR B. YAZĪD B. ḌĀBĪR (ABŪ IṢḤĀK) AL-'IDRĪ was born in Balkh, in Khurāsān, into a family from the Kūfa area belonging to the tribal group Bakr b. Wā'il. The date given for his death in the most dependable sources is 161/777-8.

He was one of the most prominent of the Sūfis of the 2nd/8th century, celebrated in later legend especially for his asceticism. R. A. Nicholson characterizes him as "essentially an ascetic and quietist of a practical type", who had not crossed the borderline which divides asceticism from mysticism. Ibrāhīm caught the imagination of subsequent generations of Sūfis especially because of his generosity, illustrated by many tales of kind acts to friends, and his feats of self-denial, which were in such contrast to the luxury in which he is supposed to have spent his early life.

The earlier Arabic sources, mainly Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣfahānī and Ibn 'Asākir, permit the sketching of an outline of his life: He was born into the Arab community settled in Balkh in about 112/730, or perhaps earlier, and migrated from Khurāsān to Syria some time before 137/754. During the rest of his life he led a somewhat nomadic existence mostly in this region, going as far north as the Sayhān River and as far south as Ghazza. He disapproved of begging and worked with his hands for his livelihood, reaping, gleaning or grinding corn, or tending orchards, for example. In addition to this he probably engaged in military operations on the border with Byzantium; the frontier fortresses of the Thughūr (to the north of Syria, in modern Turkey) are mentioned repeatedly in the anecdotes. We are told that he took part in two land and two naval expeditions against Byzantium; he died on the second naval expedition of "[a disease of] the belly" (Abū Nu'aym, vii, 388). The manner of his death is confirmed by the circumstantial account of it given by Ibn 'Asākir (196). He was buried on a Byzantine island, according to some accounts near a fortress called Sūkin, or Sīfanan. Another account places his death in Egypt. In various other less reliable accounts his tomb is said to be in Tyre, in Baghdād, in Damascus, in 'the city of Lot' (= Kafr Barik), in the Cave of Jeremiah near Jerusalem and finally and most persistently of all, in Ḍjabala on the Syrian coast.

Ibrāhīm B. Adham is known widely in legend as the ruler of Balkh who abdicated his throne to take up the ascetic life. There seems to be no historical basis for this belief. The first source to give him royal status is al-Sulamī (d. 412/1021), the legendary nature of whose account is sufficiently demonstrated by the fact that it includes a description of Ibrāhīm's encounter with the immortal prophet Khidr; how-

ever, from al-Sulamī onwards this legend is found firmly rooted in the accounts of Ibrāhīm's life. Thus the anecdotes generally associate his conversion, or repentance, with his abdication; the accounts of this may be grouped under about ten different themes, e.g. that he repented after reflecting on the utter contentment of a beggar whom he saw sitting in the shade of the palace, or that he was warned by *Khidr*, in the guise of a fakir, of the transitory nature of this world. The best known of the themes is also the earliest, being found in al-Kalābādhi (108), which (in Arberry's translation) reads: "... he went out to hunt for pleasure, and a voice called him, saying 'Not for this wast thou created, and not to this wast thou commanded'. Twice the voice called him; and on the third occasion the call came from the pommel of his saddle. Then he said: 'By God, I will not disobey God henceforth, so long as my Lord protects me from sin.'"

Here it may be remarked that the postulation that the story of Ibrāhīm's conversion was modelled on the story of the Buddha (first put forward by Goldziher, see *JRAS*, 1904, 132-3) has been questioned more than once (see for example L. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines...*, Paris 1922, 63; cf. R. C. Zaehner, *Hindu and Muslim mysticism*, London 1960, 21-2) and perhaps ought no longer to be accepted.

Ibrāhīm's migration from Balkh to Syria is well attested, and the many different "conversion" legends explain his motive for it. However, another interesting possibility is opened up by a brief reference in Ibn 'Asākir (168); it reports that "Ibrāhīm b. Adham left Khurāsān with *Djahdam*, fleeing from Abū Muslim, then he went to live in the *Thuḡūr*...". Al-Bukhārī (iv/1, 23) supplies corroboration that *Djahdam* [b. 'Abd Allāh, of al-Yamāma] left Khurāsān at this time, and there would be no chronological inconsistency between the year of the revolt of Abū Muslim [q.v.]—129/747—and what is known of Ibrāhīm's life. Space does not permit full discussion of this question here; suffice it to say that a study of the material available discloses no reason for rejecting this account in Ibn 'Asākir.

So much for the literature in Arabic. The literature on Ibn Adham underwent certain changes when it passed into other languages: much of the factual material was lost, while the more legendary and fanciful themes were taken over and often greatly embellished. This process can be observed in Persian, by far the richest source being Farid al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār's *Tadhkirat al-awliyā'* [see 'Aṭṭār]; much of the literature on Ibrāhīm in Indian and Indonesian languages seems to have come via Persian. The non-Arabic sources are of almost no value as sources of factual data: certain seemingly authentic details (e.g. the day and month of Ibrāhīm's death in Persian sources, the names given to certain individuals in Malay sources) can only be imaginary. Another feature of the non-Arabic literature is the occurrence of full-length autobiographies, as opposed to anecdotes, round the figure of Ibn Adham, sometimes preceded by an account of his father, Adham. Such highly embellished biographies have been written in Turkish, by Darwish Ḥasan al-Rūmī, known only from an abridgement, or collection of excerpts, in Arabic; in Urdu, by a Muḥammad Abū'l Ḥasan; in "Cashmiri language"—but the manuscript seems to have disappeared; and in Malay, possibly to be attributed to a *Shaykh* Abū Bakr from Haḍramawt. A published abridgement of the Malay version seems to be the source for short versions in Javanese,

Sundanese and Bugis. Besides these accounts, anecdotes of Ibrāhīm b. Adham can be found scattered through Islamic, particularly Ṣūfī, literature. No doubt Ṣūfī Orders have played their part in perpetuating his memory; the author knows of no evidence that the Adhamiyya Order, of which Ibrāhīm is the eponym (though of course not the founder), exists at the present time.

Bibliography: Four brief early sources (in Arabic): al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870), *Kitāb al-Ta'rikh al-kabir*, Ḥaydarābād 1361, i/1, 273; Ibn Ḥibbān al-Bustī (d. 354/965), *Kitāb Mashāhīr 'ulamā' al-amṣār*, ed. Fleischhammer, Cairo/Wiesbaden 1959, 183; *Aghānī*¹, xii, 111, 113; al-Kalābādhi (d. circa 385/995), *Kitāb al-Ta'arruf*, ed. A. J. Arberrī, Cairo 1934, 108 (translated A. J. Arberrī, *The doctrine of the Ṣūfis*, Cambridge 1935). A manifestly legendary flavour appears for the first time in al-Sulamī (d. 412/1021), *Kitāb Ṭabaḳāt al-Ṣūfiyya*, ed. J. Pedersen, Leiden 1960, 13 ff.

By far the most informative sources are Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣfahānī (d. 430/1038), *Hilyat al-awliyā'*, Cairo 1937-8, vii, 367-95, viii, 3-58, and Ibn 'Asākir (d. 571/1176), *al-Ta'rikh al-kabir*, Damascus 1330, ii, 167-96; the sayings and anecdotes recorded by Abū Nu'aym give the best insight into Ibrāhīm's character and personality. The richest source in Persian is Farid al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār's *Tadhkirat al-awliyā'* (ed. R. A. Nicholson, London and Leiden 1905, i, 85-106); translations of relevant portions of this have been supplied by A. Pavet de Courteille, J. Hallauer, Claud Field, Bankey Behari and A. J. Arberrī in different publications. For an example of works in Persian composed in India see Allāh Diyāh... *Čishti al-'Uḥmānī* (d. after 1658 AD), *Siyar al-aḳṭāb*, Lucknow 1877, 29-45.

On the Arabic abridgement of the Turkish biography see W. Ahlwardt, *Die Handschriften...* zu Berlin, viii, Berlin 1896, 47-9; on the Urdu poem see Garcin de Tassy, *Histoire de la littérature hindoue et hindoustanie*, i, Paris 1870, 101; on the Malay version see *Studies in Islam*, v/1, New Delhi 1968, 7-20.

Useful compilations of data on Ibn Adham can be found in an article by R. A. Nicholson in *ZA*, xxvi (1912), 215-20; in H. Ritter's *Das Meer der Seele*, Leiden 1955 (see index); and under IBRĀHĪM B. ADHAM in *ET*¹. For reference to pictorial representations of this saint see W. G. Archer, *Indian painting in the Punjab Hills*, London 1952, 79, 83, 84, 92.

(RUSSELL JONES)

IBRĀHĪM B. 'ALĪ [see AL-SHĪRĀZĪ].

IBRĀHĪM B. 'ALĪ B. ḤASAN AL-SAKKĀ', Egyptian teacher and preacher, whose father's family came from the village of Shabrākhūm (formerly the *markaz* of Zifta, now that of Kuwaysna in Lower Egypt). He himself was born in 1212/1797 in Cairo, where he was to spend his whole life. After he had followed the course of studies at the *kuttāb* and then at al-Azhar (Shāfi'ī rite) until 1234/1819, his whole career was spent as a teacher at al-Azhar. His biographers give the titles of his works and mention his zeal for work and for reading, but in fact little is known of his life, since the history of the members of al-Azhar in the 19th century has still to be written, and the researches of Mme. 'Afāf Luṭfi Sayyid are only now beginning to provide information on this subject. He owed his fame to his gifts as an orator, being preacher at al-Azhar Mosque for over twenty years. He preached sermons on all the customary occasions and celebrations and gave