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**ZĀYIRDJA** [see ZĀ‘IRDJA].

**ZAYLA’**, a port on the Gulf of Aden [see ‘ADAN] and on the African coast, situated in lat. 11° 21’ N., long. 43° 30’ E. (Ar. Zayla’, Somali Seylac, Audal; Fr., Ital., Eng. Zeila, Zeyla, etc.). In the colonial period it came within British Somaliland (1884-1960), and then in the Republic of Somalia, inaugurated in July 1960 by the union of the former British Somaliland and the Italian colony of Somalia [see SOMALI 3. History]. The falling-apart of the Republic of Somalia, since 1991, has placed it once more in the newly-independent Somaliland, which has become independent *de facto* but has not as yet (2000) been recognised internationally.

The town is over 200 km/125 miles west of the capital Berbera [*q.v.*], but only some 40 km/25 miles from the frontier separating Somaliland from the Republic of Djibouti/Djibūti [*q.v.*]. Opposite the town, which offers a secure anchorage, protected on the east by a peninsula, are the isles of Sa’d al-Dīn and, somewhat larger, of Aybat. The population of the hinterland is today made up of ‘Issas/‘Ise Somalis.

Zayla’ has through the centuries been one of the points of contact between the Horn of Africa and the outside world via the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. Its port was in lively relationship with all the other ports of the region, with Taǧǧūrā, but above all with al-Mukhā [*q.v.*]/Mocha and the other ports of Western and Southern Arabia. It was also the point of arrival and departure for caravans connecting the coastlands with the southern part of the Ethiopian highlands. Certain of these started from the well of Tocoshah for Shoa and Christian Ethiopia [see HABASH, HABASHA], others from the well of Warambot for Gildessa. At Gildessa, the road bifurcated, one way going towards Erer and Ankober in Shoa, and the other to Harar [*q.v.*], where caravans entered by the Bāb al-Futūh. This last destination was the most important, to the point that Zayla’ could be called “the port of Harar”. Other tracks then led towards the Arusi country, the southwest and the region of the East African lakes. Coffee, hides, gum, resin, fats, ostrich plumes, cattle, slaves, ivory, etc. were exported from Zayla’; imports comprised rice, salt, tobacco, textiles, manufactured objects, etc. Hence it was via Zayla’ that Arab merchants penetrated into the southern part of the Horn of Africa, as also slave dealers, and with them, Islam and various outside influences.

The oldest mention of Zayla’ under that name is in al-Ya’kūbī (late 3rd/9th century), and most of the Arab travellers who crossed the region mention the town; however, it existed before this, at the time of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*. It always played in the south the role that Maṣawwa’ [*q.v.*]/Massawa played in the north, sc. that of a privileged access into Ethiopia. In the 7th/13th century, Zayla’ belonged to the sultanate of Ifat/Awfāt [*q.v.*], from where the first attacks on Christian Ethiopia were launched in the 8th/14th century. Ethiopia at first successfully resisted. The Negus Yeshāḥ defeated the ruler of Ifat, Sa’d al-Dīn [see ADAL] in 1415, but soon had to appeal to the Portuguese for assistance. Pedro de Covilham, sent by João II in 1487 to organise a Portuguese-Ethiopian alliance, arrived in the land via

Zayla’. After the permanent defeat of Islam and the incorporation of the Red Sea region into the Ottoman empire ca. 1540, the town received a governor who was dependent, according to various periods, on the Yemeni towns of al-Mukhā and al-Hudayda.

Some centuries later, it was also from Zayla’ that the second great Islamic attack on Ethiopia—this time by the Egyptians—was launched. In August 1875, Ra’ūf/Rawf Pasha seized control of Zayla’ and its hinterland in the name of the Khedive Ismā‘īl Pasha [*q.v.*]. The Egyptians, however, were only nominally in control, and in order to protect caravans, they had to seek the help of the *uḡās* of the ‘Issas and of Abū Bakr, the former “Sultan” of Zayla’. From their base on the coast, the Egyptians seized Harar, occupying it for ten years and thus controlling the Zayla’-Harar axis. At Zayla’, they demolished the walls and four of the five gates, and prohibited the slave trade. On their departure, Major Hunter landed at Zayla’ in February 1884, inaugurating the period of British rule which lasted till 1960. At the same time, Ethiopia lost its outlet to the sea, which gradually became Eritrea Italiana. At various times, the British had the idea of ceding Zayla’ to Addis Ababa, which sought an outlet to the sea, in exchange for various advantages, mainly territorial, but the cession of Eritrea to Ethiopia in 1952 ended this possibility for the British.

The decline of Zayla’, which had begun with the silting-up of its port, was largely accomplished by the mid-19th century. The creation of Djibouti (1896), the construction of the railway linking this new port with Addis Ababa (1897-1917), and the growing importance of Berbera (which had in its favour a location well to the south of Aden) brought about the definitive ruin of Zayla’, whilst the relegation in importance of Harar, overshadowed by Dire Dawa, the new stopping-place on the railway, finalised the disappearance of the Zayla’-Harar route. Today the town is reduced to a dilapidated village with a few hundred inhabitants, held by a small garrison of the army of Somaliland, although it has a radio mast for the service of the fishing industry.

*Bibliography:* Since there is no monograph on Zayla’, the sparse items of information must be sought in the Arab and European travellers’ accounts and in works about Ethiopia and Somaliland, their Islamisation and on the history of Egyptian expansion in the Red Sea region. See the various works of I.M. Lewis, esp. his *Modern history of Somalia. Nation and state in the Horn of Africa*, 2<sup>nd</sup> London 1988 (1965), and, for the references in them; J. Doresse, *Histoire sommaire de la Corne orientale de l’Afrique*, Paris 1971; R. Pankhurst, *History of Ethiopian towns*, 2 vols. Wiesbaden 1982-5. Alfred Bardey, the employer of Rimbaud, has left a precious report of his first caravan journey, *Barr-Adjam. Souvenirs d’Afrique orientale, 1880-1887*, to which is prefixed J. Tubiana, *Le patron de Rimbaud*, Paris 1981. (A. ROUAUD)

**ZAYN AL-‘ĀBIDĪN** (“Ornament of the Worship-pers”) ‘ALĪ B. AL-HUSAYN B. ‘ALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB, the fourth Imām of the Twelver Shī‘a. His *kunya* is variously given as Abū ‘Abd Allāh, Abū Bakr, etc. According to many sources he was born (in Medina) in 38/658-9, though the years 33, 36 and 37 are also given. If accounts that he had not reached puberty at the time of the Karbalā’ massacre (61/680) are to be trusted, this would put his birthdate forward to the 40s/660s; these accounts are, however, rejected by al-Wākidī and other authorities.

His mother’s name is variously given as Barra, Ghazāla, Djaydā, etc.; some say that she was an *umm*

*walad* [q.v.] from Sind (or Sidjistan), while *Shīrī* tradition has it that she was a daughter of the last Sāsānid emperor Yazdagird III and that her Persian name was *Djihānshāh*, *Shahrbanū*(ya) or *Shāhzanān*. Some say she threw herself into the Euphrates after the battle, but others maintain that she was among the survivors of Karbalā'. *Shīrī*s refer to 'Alī as *ibn al-khiyaratayn* "the son of the two elect" since, according to a tradition of the Prophet, the *Kuraysh* are the elect of the Arabs and the Persians are the elect of the non-Arabs.

Zayn al-Ābidīn was not the only son of al-Husayn called 'Alī; another was killed at Karbalā' and is known as 'Alī al-Shahīd. Some historians, including Ibn Sa'd, Ibn Kutayba, al-Balādhurī and al-Tabarī, refer to him as 'Alī al-Akbar and to Zayn al-Ābidīn as 'Alī al-Aṣghar. Others (e.g. al-Kāḍī al-Nu'mān) maintain that Zayn al-Ābidīn was the older of the two, and accordingly refer to him as 'Alī al-Akbar and to his martyred brother as 'Alī al-Aṣghar. For many Twelver authors, the title 'Alī al-Aṣghar refers to an infant brother who was also killed at Karbalā'; some of these authors maintain that Zayn al-Ābidīn was the middle brother (hence 'Alī al-Awsat), while the eldest was 'Alī al-Shahīd; others reverse the position of the two older brothers.

At Karbalā', Zayn al-Ābidīn is said to have been too ill to join in the fighting; after the battle *Shamir* b. *Dhi l-Djawshan* found him lying on a mat in the women's tent and ordered him to be killed but was overruled by 'Umar b. Sa'd, the commander of the Syrian army. When 'Alī was brought before 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād in Kūfa, the governor ordered his execution, but relented after pleas by al-Husayn's sister Zaynab. 'Alī and the other survivors were taken to Yazīd in Damascus, and he sent them back to Medina. The *mashhad* 'Alī, forming part of the great mosque in Damascus, is said to have been built at the place of Zayn al-Ābidīn's incarceration (cf. L. Pouzet, *Damas au VII<sup>e</sup>/XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Beirut 1988, 352).

In Medina 'Alī led a pious life which earned him the honorifics Zayn al-Ābidīn, al-Sadīdjād ("he who constantly prostrates himself"), al-Zakī ("the pure") and *Dhu l-Thafnāt* (referring to the calluses on his skin in the places touching the ground in prostration). Whenever the time of prayer drew near, he would tremble and go pale, and his devotional practices caused fears for his health. He was counted among the *bakkā'ūn* [q.v.], since for years he would weep for his father and the other martyrs of Karbalā'. He used to go out at night with his face covered in order to distribute charity (*ṣadaqat al-sirr*), and it was only after his death that people discovered the identity of their benefactor. When his body was washed, marks were found on his shoulders, the result of his carrying heavy loads of food at night for the poor.

'Alī studiously avoided any involvement with the authorities and adopted a quiescent attitude towards the Umayyads and the Zubayrid anti-caliphate. After the battle of the Harra (63/683), Muslim b. *Uqba* [q.v.], acting on orders from Yazīd, treated him with respect and did not try to exact from him an oath of allegiance to the caliph. The reasons for this special treatment were that 'Alī had been unwilling to be associated with the Medinan rebels and had sheltered the entourage of Marwān b. al-Hakam, including Marwān's wife 'Ā'isha bt. *Uthmān*, at his estate at Yanbu'. Non-*Shīrī* sources describe a friendly relationship between 'Alī and the caliphs Marwān and 'Abd al-Malik: the former lent him money to purchase concubines and, before his death, decreed that

his heirs should not demand that it be repaid; the latter consulted him about a message he had received from the Byzantine emperor. *Shīrī* authors, in contrast, maintain that 'Alī's dealings with the authorities were based on *takīyya*. 'Alī proved magnanimous even when wronged: Hishām b. Ismā'il used to insult him during his four years as governor of Medina, yet after Hishām's dismissal by al-Walīd (7 Rabi' I 87/26 February 706) 'Alī forbade his family and friends to speak ill of him. A famous story has it that when the future caliph Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik came to Mecca on pilgrimage, he was unable to approach the Ka'ba because of the crowds; for 'Alī, however, the crowds parted, allowing him unhindered access. On that occasion, al-Farazdaq [q.v.] is said to have improvised a poem in praise of 'Alī, thereby arousing Hishām's ire; but the eulogy, which exists in various versions, has been judged to be mostly or entirely unauthentic (J. Hell, *Al-Farazdaq's Lobbed auf 'Alī ibn al-Husayn* [*Zayn al-Ābidīn*], in *Festschrift Edward Sachau*, ed. G. Weil, Berlin 1915, 368-74; J. Weiss, in *Isl.*, vii [1917], 126-7). 'Alī did not pledge allegiance to 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, but he did escort his sister Sukayna bt. al-Husayn [q.v.] to 'Irāq for her marriage with 'Abd Allāh's brother Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr [q.v.], from whom he received a gift of 40,000 dinārs.

Among the *Shīrī*a, 'Alī at first enjoyed little support; most *Shīrī*s turned to Muḥammad b. al-Hanafiyya, whose imāmate was promoted by al-Mukhtār [q.v.]. In their polemical writings, Twelver authors attempt to show that Ibn al-Hanafiyya acknowledged 'Alī's leadership; an oft-repeated story has it that the two agreed to abide by the ruling of the Black Stone in the Ka'ba; the stone miraculously spoke, upholding 'Alī's rights. Abū Khālid al-Kābulī, who had originally adhered to Ibn al-Hanafiyya, is said consequently to have switched his allegiance to 'Alī. In the view of some Ismā'ilīs, Ibn al-Hanafiyya had been appointed by al-Husayn as a veil (*sitr*) in order to protect 'Alī's identity as the true imām; he was a temporary imām (*mustawḍa'*, lit. "trustee"), while 'Alī was the permanent imām (*mustakarr*). Following Ibn al-Hanafiyya's death, a subgroup of the Kaysāniyya [q.v.] reportedly recognised 'Alī as imām; in contrast, due to 'Alī's quietism most (but not all) *Zaydīs* did not regard him as an imām (cf. R. Strothmann, *Das Staatsrecht der Zaiditen*, Strassburg 1912, 107; W. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm und die Glaubenslehre der Zaiditen*, Berlin 1965, 172).

The relationship between 'Alī and al-Mukhtār was an uneasy one: when al-Mukhtār sent 'Alī a gift of 100,000 dirhams, 'Alī did not wish to accept it but dared not send it back; after al-Mukhtār's death he offered the sum to 'Abd al-Malik, who told him to keep it. Various stories told about the two reflect the ambivalent attitude of Twelver authors to al-Mukhtār. Among these are the claim that al-Mukhtār was anxious to gain 'Alī's support and only turned to Ibn al-Hanafiyya after being rejected; and the report that 'Alī publicly cursed al-Mukhtār; or the account that al-Mukhtār gained 'Alī's gratitude by sending him 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād's head after the latter's death in the battle on the river *Khāzīr* (67/686).

In Sunnī *ḥadīth* collections 'Alī appears as a transmitter from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās, from his father, his uncle al-Hasan and others. Among those who transmitted from him were some of his sons, as well as Abū Ishāq al-Sabī'ī, al-Hakam b. 'Uṭayba, 'Amr b. Dīnār and al-Zuhri. According to al-Zuhri (who held 'Alī in high esteem), he transmitted little (*kāna ka'līl al-ḥadīth*).

‘Alī is said to have died in 94/712 or 95/713; other dates mentioned are 92, 93, 99 and 100. He was buried in al-Bakī‘ cemetery. Shī‘ī authors maintain that he was poisoned on the orders of the reigning caliph al-Walid or his brother Hishām. He is said to have had between eight and fifteen offspring, of whom four were sons from his wife Umm ‘Abd Allāh bt. al-Hasan b. ‘Alī, the rest being from concubines.

A number of short texts are ascribed to ‘Alī, including a certain *al-Sahifa fi ‘l-zuhd* (Kulīnī, *Kāfi*, viii, 14-7). He is also credited with a *Risālat al-Hukūk*, preserved (in two versions) in two 4th/10th century works: Ibn Bābawayh’s *K. al-Khiṣāl* (Nadjaḥ 1391/1971, 529-36) and Ibn Shu‘ba’s *Tuḥaf al-‘uḳūl* (Beirut 1394/1974, 184-95). ‘Alī’s collection of prayers known as *al-Sahifa al-kāmila* or *al-Sahifa [al-kāmila] al-saḍḍādiyya* gained wide popularity; there are numerous redactions and over twenty commentaries, and it was translated into Persian in the Sāfawid period. Fifteen “whispered prayers” (*munāḍjāt*) ascribed to ‘Alī have been added to several modern editions of the *Sahifa*; an English translation of the entire work is now available (Imām Zayn al-‘Ābidīn ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, *The Psalms of Islam: al-Sahifa al-kāmila al-saḍḍādiyya*, tr. with an introd. and annotation by W.C. Chittick, London 1988).

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(E. KOHLBERG)

**ZAYN AL-‘ĀBIDĪN**, the regnal name of the Kashmīr Sultan Shāhīr Khān b. Iskandar, greatest of the line of Shāh Mīr Swātī, hence called Bud Shāh “Great King”, r. 823-75/1420-70.

It was his merit to put an end to the persecutions of his father Sikandar But-Shikan [q.v.], who had forcibly converted Hindus and destroyed their temples. Zayn al-‘Ābidīn now in effect abolished the *ḍīzīya*, allowed the rebuilding of temples, etc. The realm was secured by strong military policies, and internal prosperity secured by such measures as the digging of canals and the founding of new towns. He encouraged arts and crafts, and paper-making and book-binding were introduced from Samarkand. Himself a poet in Persian, he patronised learning, and under him, the *Mahābhārata* and Kalhaṇa’s metrical chronicle the *Rājataranginī* were translated into Persian. His reign was very much a Golden Age for Kashmīr, but much of his work was undone by his weaker successors.

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

**ZAYN AL-‘ĀBIDĪN MARĀGHA’Ī**, Persian merchant and writer (1255-1328/1839-1910).

From a Kurdish family which had recently become Shī‘ī, Marāgha’ī from the age of sixteen engaged in the family trading activity. After failing at Ardabīl, he sought his fortune in the Caucasian region and became Persian consul-general at Tiflis in Georgia, where he again took up commerce but ruined himself helping indigent Persians. Fleeing to Russian territory, he surfaced in the Crimea and in Istanbul. Before the Russo-Turkish War of 1877 he was a cloth merchant at Yalta; he supplied the Imperial family with goods and assumed Russian citizenship, with his three children learning only Russian.

Ca. 1890, in search of his religious and national identity, he sold his trading business and went to Istanbul, moving amongst the Persian reformist milieux, and in 1904 abandoned his Russian nationality and re-assumed his Persian one. In Istanbul, he contributed to the reformist newspaper *Akhtar* and published anonymously, at Cairo, the first volume of his