

giving up his allegiance to the descendants of the famous saint of Gulbarga, Sayyid Muḥammad Gīṣū Darāz (721-825/1321-1422). Under the influence of Khalil Allāh and his sons, who were Shī'īs, not only Aḥmad I became a Shī'ī, but Shī'ī forces were strengthened in the Deccan.

Khalil Allāh continued to be revered by Aḥmad's son and successor, 'Alā' al-Dīn Aḥmad II (830-62/1427-58) who also regarded him as his *pīr*, and, on the occasion of his coronation ceremony, seated him on his right. Khalil Allāh was not a poet or mystic like his father; he was a pious man, given to prayer and meditation, and, unlike his elder son, Ḥabīb Allāh, kept aloof from war and politics. He was succeeded by his younger son, Muḥibb Allāh, as his *sadijdjāda-nashīn* (spiritual successor). Over his grave a beautiful tomb was erected by Aḥmad II. Another building called Takht-i Kirmānī, because it contained the *takht* or throne on which Khalil Allāh used to sit, was also constructed in his memory during this period.

*Bibliography*: H. K. Sherwani, *The Bahmanis of the Deccan, an objective study*, Ḥaydarābād 1953; H. K. Sherwani and P. M. Joshi, ed., *History of medieval Deccan, 1295-1724*, 2 vols, Ḥaydarābād 1973-4; J. N. Hollister, *The Shī'a of India*, London 1953; G. Yazdānī, *Bidar: its history and monuments*, Oxford 1947; Sayyid 'Alī Ṭabātabā, *Ta'rikh-i Burhān-i Ma'āthir*, ed. Sayyid Ḥāshimī, Delhi 1355/1936; Muḥammad Kāsim Hindū-Shāh, *Ta'rikh-i Firishta*, Lucknow 1281/1864.

(MOHIBBUL HASAN)

AL-KHALIL B. AḤMAD B. 'AMR B. TAMīm AL-FARĀHIDī (AL-FURHūdī; see W. Caskel, *Gamharat an-nasab*, ii, 343 f.). AL-AZDī AL-YAḤMADī AL-BAṢRī ABŪ 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN, important Arab philologist. Born in 'Uman, he grew up in Baṣra where he died, at over seventy, in 175/791, or 170/786, or 160/776 (Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 47; Marzubānī, *Muktabas*, 56; *Fihrist*, 42). As a young man he adhered to the Ṣufriyya [q.v.], but he embraced Sunnī orthodoxy under the influence of his teacher Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī (d. 131/748), a well-known traditionist and *faqīh* (Ziriklī, *A'lām*, i, 382). His studies in Arabic philology were especially encouraged by the two Baṣran scholars 'Isā b. 'Umar al-Thakāfi [q.v.] and Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā' [q.v.]. All the sources agree that he lived an unpretentious and pious life, in modest circumstances, on the yield of a garden left to him by his father (Marzubānī, *op. cit.*, 56, 58, 67), and on falconry—probably not only occasionally ([al-Ḥusayn] al-Bāzayr al-Miṣrī, *al-Bayzara*, Damascus 1372/1953, 19; Fr. tr. F. Viré, *Le Traité de l'art de volerie*, Leiden 1967, 7 (= *Arabica*, xii [1965], 7); cf. D. Möller, *Studien zur mittelalterlichen arabischen Falknerliteratur*, Berlin 1965, 73 ff.). He had many pupils (see E. Bräunlich, *al-Ḥalīl und das Kitāb al-'Ain*, in *Islamica*, ii (1926), 66 ff.), the most conspicuous among whom were Sibawayh [q.v.], al-Aṣma'ī [q.v.] and the *ṣāhib al-Khalīl* al-Layḥ b. al-Muzaḥfar [q.v.], who completed, edited and published al-Khalīl's lexicon. By his comprehensive studies and intensive teachings al-Khalīl promoted decisively the already existing beginnings of Arabic philology, and thus became its real founder.

As was the case with others, al-Khalīl's scholarly work started from Qur'ān exegesis and knowledge of Tradition, as demonstrated in particular by evidence available and source material. It is not known whether he himself wrote on Qur'ān exegesis and Tradition (see below). But as a teacher he not only

permanently influenced the broad field of philology in his capacity as grammarian, lexicographer and metrist, but he also left an impressive written testimony—though more indirectly than directly—of his competence, acumen and gift of presentation. There is a double reason why his output was so small. First, it was not yet at all common in those days to commit to writing scholarly discussion; secondly, it seems that al-Khalīl had scruples about finally editing his material together with his explanations and commentaries. It is not correct to assume that he was unable to do so through incapacity to generalise from details. Recent investigations have shown clearly that al-Khalīl had a fundamental part in the first systematic grammar of Arabic, the *Kitāb* of his pupil Sibawayh, not only as far as the material is concerned, but also in the systematisation. In this connection it must be remembered that al-Khalīl had already found elements for a theory of the language. It is even possible that such a theory had already been formulated in a fragmentary way and noted down in lecture courses, in answers to questions about individual problems, and the like. But it started to take shape only thanks to the abundance of observations of individual cases, comparisons and proofs adduced by al-Khalīl, which gave the impulse to systematisation. To give Arabic grammar its first comprehensive written form, hardly surpassed later, was reserved for his great pupil, the Persian Sibawayh. This however does not alter the fact that al-Khalīl was the real creator of this science (see G. Weil in the Introduction to Ibn al-Anbarī's *Kitāb al-Inṣāf*, Leiden 1913, 69), as may be seen clearly from almost every page of Sibawayh's work. For details see W. Reuschel, *al-Ḥalīl ibn Aḥmad, der Lehrer Sibawayhs, als Grammatiker*, Berlin 1959; G. Troupeau, *A propos des grammairiens cités par Sibawayhi dans le Kitāb, in Arabica*, viii (1961), 309-12; cf. also M. G. Carter, *Les origines de la grammaire arabe*, in *REI*, xl (1972), 69-97, esp. 74 ff.

It has yet to be studied how far al-Khalīl's *Kitāb al-Djūmal* fi 'l-naḥw corresponds to those passages which Sibawayh associates with al-Khalīl's name; according to a statement in Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, i, 411, the author of the *Kitāb al-Djūmal* was Ibn Shuḥayr (d. 317/929)! In the ms. Ayasofya 4456, 2, dated 601/1204, the work fills 75 folios and deals with *naṣb*, *raf'*, *khafḍ*, *djāzm*, *alifāt*, *lāmāt* (cf. a fragment, Berlin, vi, 212 no. 6902), *hā'āt*, *tā'āt*, *wāwāt*, *lām-alifāt*, *al-ikhtilāf fi ma'ānihi*, in connection with many, mostly anonymous verses (O. Rescher, in *ZDMG*, lxiv (1910), 508 ff.; for the *Incipit*, see Rescher, *Abriss*, ii, 121, note 1). For a second (?) manuscript, see Kāwala, ii, 118, no. 266 k: *Kitāb Wudjūh al-naṣb* (fol. 1: by Ibn Shuḥayr?), 65 folios; for a third (?) incomplete(?) manuscript, see *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-i khatfī-i Kitābhkhāna-i Markazī-i Dāmishgāh-i Tihirān*, Tehran 1345/1967, xv, 4075 ff., no. 4981, 3: *Sharḥ Djūmal al-i'rāb*, 16 folios. Ibn Khalīkān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1367/1948, ii, 17 no. 206, may well be referring to the *Kitāb al-Djūmal* when he mentions a *kitāb fi 'l-'awāmil* among al-Khalīl's works.

Further investigation is necessary into a short treatise of two pages by al-Khalīl about the question why the root *f'l* is used as paradigm (ms. Bodleiana, i, 230 no. 1047.4, dated 654/1256). The longer fragment of 24 folios of a *Kitāb Sharf al-Khalīl*, dated 821/1418 (Berlin, vi, 215 no. 6909), is perhaps connected with this treatise.

Appreciation of the significance of al-Khalīl's lexicographical activities has steadily increased as

scholars have recognised him as the author of the first Arabic dictionary, the *Kitāb al-ʿAyn*, and this notwithstanding the fact that even in the early period his authorship of this work was rejected by a majority. Recent investigations have again considerably contributed to the solution of this problem. They have shown that the plan of the dictionary undoubtedly comes from al-Khalil. It is not arranged alphabetically but—probably under Indian influence—by certain groups of sounds (the phonetic-permutative principle), i.e., after the so-called “order of al-Khalil”: ʿ, ḥ, h, kh, gh, k, k, dī, sh, ḍ, s, z, t, d, t, z, dh, th, r, l, n, f, b, m, w, alif, y, ʾ. Recent investigations have also shown that al-Khalil’s contribution to the dictionary is hardly more than that of a source, and that the *Kitāb al-ʿAyn* in its present form, especially in regard to the bulk of the material, is to be considered as the work of al-Layth b. al-Muzaḥfar [q.v.]. Al-Layth may have arranged his compilation soon after al-Khalil’s death. But a little later—probably not long after 200/815—this work was revised by an otherwise unknown Abū Muʿādh ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Āʾidh. Additions and corrections, also in the form of refutations (*rudūd*), followed. Many abstracts have been made and it is well known that later lexicographers have repeatedly gone back—directly or indirectly—to the *Kitāb al-ʿAyn* and have often quoted from it. Finally it is worth noticing that the Introduction to the *Kitāb al-ʿAyn*, with the exception of editorial interpolations, may go back directly to al-Khalil. For details see Bräunlich, *op. cit.*, esp. p. 94, on al-Khalil’s *Kitāb Fāʾid al-ʿAyn*, mentioned e.g. in *Fihrist*, 43; J. Kraemer, *Studien zur altarabischen Lexikographie nach Istanbuler und Berliner Handschriften*, in *Oriens*, vi (1953), 201-38; J. A. Haywood, *Arabic Lexicography*, Leiden<sup>a</sup> 1965, *passim* (reviewed by A. Spitaler, in *OLZ*, lxiii [1968], 50-8); above all Stefan Wild, *Das Kitāb al-ʿAyn und die arabische Lexikographie*, Wiesbaden 1965 (reviewed by J. W. Fück, in *Bi Or*, xxiii [1966], 199 ff.; M. M. Bravmann, in *Isl.*, xlvii [1971], 238-44). A first fascicule of the *Kitāb al-ʿAyn* was published by Father Anastase al-Karmālī under the title: *al-Layth b. al-Muzaḥfar, Kitāb al-ʿAyn fi ʾl-luḡha*. Baghdad 1914; of the new edition by ‘Abd Allāh Darwish, *Kitāb al-ʿAyn awwal muʿdjam fi ʾl-luḡha al-ʿarabiyya li-ʾl-Khalil b. Aḥmad al-Farāhidī*, the first volume appeared in 1386/1967 in Baghdad (reviewed by R. ‘Abd al-Tawwāb, in *al-Aklām* v/2 [Baghdad 1388/1968] 127-51).

Al-Khalil’s small treatise *al-Hurūf*, also called *Risāla fī maʾnā ʾl-hurūf*, which is not listed by the ancient biographers and bibliographers (see Bräunlich, *op. cit.*, 67), has been published by R. ‘Abd al-Tawwāb, Cairo 1969. The author deals concisely with the additional meanings of the letters of the alphabet and as a rule supports them by citing ancient verses.

While working on old Arabic verses as evidence for the meaning of words, linguistic peculiarities and grammatical constructions (*Fihrist*, 43, mentions among his writings a *Kitāb al-Shawāhid*), al-Khalil made a surprising and important discovery. The scanning of verses revealed to him that short and long syllables alternate and repeat themselves in strict patterns. He divided these unities, which can be distinguished according to their quantity, into five concentric circles. He thus found an adequate and telling graphical form, equally simple and brilliant, for representing the metre-order of the verses, following each other repetitively, while the rhythmical accent was also taken into account. Al-Khalil’s metrical system has been adopted by all later authors

(see, e.g., the manuscripts and summaries Berlin, vi, 323-48 no. 7108-58). The names of the metres (cf. Marzubānī, *op. cit.*, 71) and a series of terms also reach undoubtedly back to him so that metrics were called simply ‘ilm al-Khalil (see Hādījī Khalifa under the title ‘arūd Ibn al-Hādījī; I. Goldziher, in *WZKM*, xvii [1903], 187-90; see also al-Djāhiz, *al-Muʿallimūn*, on the margin of al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, Cairo 1324/1906, i, 33; idem, *al-Hayawān*, Cairo 1356/1938, i, 150). Although al-Khalil’s original work, the *Kitāb al-ʿArūd*, does not seem to have survived, the content of this treatise (cf. Zubaydī, *op. cit.*, 291) may be conjectured from later works, like Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi’s [q.v.] chapter on ‘arūd [q.v.] in his *al-ʾIḥd al-farīd*, Cairo 1365/1946, v, 424-518. For details see G. W. Freytag, *Darstellung der arabischen Verskunst*, Bonn 1830; G. Weil, *Das metrische System des al-Xalil und der Iktus in den altarabischen Versen*, in *Oriens*, vii (1954), 303-21; and esp., idem, *Grundriss und System der altarabischen Metren*, Wiesbaden 1958 (reviewed by A. Bloch, in *GGA*, 213 [1959], 67-80). [See also ‘ARŪP.] Two other works by al-Khalil, the *Kitāb al-Naḡham* and the *Kitāb al-Iḥd*, dealing with tones and rhythmic tempi, are mentioned in *Fihrist*, 43 (see H. G. Farmer, *The sources of Arabian music*, Leiden 1965, 1, nos. 5 and 6; E. Neubauer in *Oriens*, xxi-xxii [1968-9/1971], 196 ff.).

Among the eight works by al-Khalil enumerated in *Fihrist*, 43, a *Kitāb al-Naḡt wa ʾl-shaḡl* is mentioned, an otherwise unknown treatise on diacritical punctuation and vocalisation (in the ʾKurʾān) (see *Gesch. des Qur.*, iii, 262, note 1 and *TA*, iv, 411, 9 s.v. ‘bd). According to *Dhariʿa*, i, 38 ff. no. 184, it is identical with the above mentioned *Kitāb al-Djūmal*. Such a supposition is however as doubtful as another statement by the same *Dhariʿa*, ii, 325 ff. no. 1292, namely, that al-Khalil composed a *Kitāb al-Imāma*, allegedly finished by Abū ʾl-Faṭḥ Muḥammad b. Djaʿfar al-Marāghī (d. 376/986). The correctness cannot be verified from the available sources and literature (see, e.g., Kaḥḥāla, ix, 157; Brockelmann, S III, 1194 should be corrected accordingly). A so-called *Kitāb al-Muʿammā* finally is mentioned only by Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 47, and then in connection with a quite unconvincing story (cf. Haywood, *op. cit.*, 21 and 133).

**Bibliography:** in addition to the works mentioned in the article: G. Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, Leipzig 1862 (reprint: Nendeln 1966), 37-9; Brockelmann, I, 98 f., S I, 159 f., S III, 1194; O. Rescher, *Abriss der arabischen Literaturgeschichte*, Stuttgart 1933, ii, 119-22; M. al-Makhzūmī, *al-Khalil b. Aḥmad al-Farāhidī, aʾmāluhu wa-manḥadjuhu*, Baghdad 1960; many sources are mentioned in: Kh. Zirikli, *al-ʾAḡlām*, Cairo 1954, ii, 363; ʾU. R. Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʿallifin*, Damascus 1376/1957, iv, 112 f.; al-Wahhābī, *Marāʾij ʾl-tarāʾīm al-udabāʾ*, Najaf 1378/1958, iii, 76-82. The main sources are: al-Bukḥārī, *al-Taʾrīkh al-kabīr*, Ḥaydarābād 1363/1944, ii, 183; Ibn ʾKutayba, *al-Maʿārif*, Göttingen 1850, 269 (Cairo 1960, 541 f.); Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt al-shuʿarāʾ*, Cairo 1375/1956, 96-9; Abū ʾl-ʾTayyib al-Luḡhawī, *Marāʾib al-naḡwiyyin*, Cairo 1375/1955, 27-41; al-Marzubānī, *al-Muḡtabas*, Beirut-Wiesbaden 1964, 56-72; al-Sirāfi, *Aḥbār al-naḡwiyyin*, Beirut-Paris 1936, 38-40; al-Azhārī, *Taḥḍīb al-luḡha* (Introduction), in *MO*, xiv (1920), 39 ff.; al-Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-naḡwiyyin wa-ʾl-luḡhawīyyin*, Cairo 1373/1954; *Fihrist*, 42 f.; Samʿānī, fol. 421b; Ibn al-Anbārī,

*Nuḥḥat al-alibbā'*, Cairo 1386/1967, 45-8 (with references to other sources); Yāqūt, *Uḍabā'*, iv, 181-3; al-Kiftī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt 'alā anbāh al-nuḥāt*, Cairo 1369/1950, i, 341-7 (with indications of other sources); Ibn Kḥallikān, s.n.; Ibn al-Djazarī, *Gḥāyat al-nihāya fī ṭabaqāt al-kurā'*, Cairo-Leipzig 1932, i, 275; Ibn Ḥaḍḍār, *Tahdhib al-tahdhib*, Haydarābād 1325/1907, iii, 163 f.; Suyūṭī, *Bughya* 243-5 (Cairo 1384/1964, 557-60); Ṭashkōprūzāde, *Miftāḥ al-sa'āda*, Cairo (ca. 1968), i, 106-8; 153-8; 216. (R. SELLHEIM)

**KHALIL B. ISHĀK** B. MŪSĀ B. SHU'AYB, ABU 'L-MAWADDA DĪYĀ' AL-DĪN, IBN AL-DJUNDI, Mālikī *faḳīh* of Egypt, born in Cairo 13 Rabi' I 776/22 August 1374 (but other dates, in particular 767 and 769 are also given). His father was a Ḥanafī, and it was through the influence of his teacher 'Abd Allāh al-Manūfī (d. 749/1348) that he adopted the Mālikī law school. He performed the Pilgrimage, and then remained some time in Medina, studying and teaching at the *madrasa Shaykhūniyya*. Although generally leading a fairly retiring life, he nevertheless took up arms in the defence forces, and thus took part in the recovery of Alexandria from the Christians in 767/1365-6.

From a juridical point of view, Kḥalīl represents, just like his model Ibn al-Hādhib, a view of law somewhat tinged with Shāfi'ism, the result of a fusion between the Egyptian and the Maghribī aspects of the Mālikī school. He composed various works, of which manuscripts survive: *al-Tawdīh*, a commentary on the *Mukḥṭaṣar* of Ibn al-Hādhib, *K. al-Manāsik*, *Manāḳib al-Shaykh 'Abd Allāh al-Manūfī*, and *Ḍabṭ al-muwadḍiḥāt wa-ta'rīfuhā*; but all these are today forgotten. His *Mukḥṭaṣar*, however, called by some simply *al-Kitāb* "the Book" par excellence, gained him a great fame, both in the Maghrib and also in the Mālikī centres of West Africa, and furthermore the honorific designation of Sidi Kḥalīl.

This *Mukḥṭaṣar*, then, so obscure because of its conciseness that it can only be understood by means of a commentary, is the most renowned manual in the countries of the Muslim West, where, to some extent replacing the *Muwaffa'* of Mālik and the *Mudawwana* of Saḥnūn, it is everywhere the subject of teaching which is usually based on a host of partial or complete commentaries, glosses and scholia inspired by it (see Brockelmann, II, 83, S II, 96-9). It is divided into 61 chapters dealing with ritual, personal law, the *mu'āmalāt* and various topics.

Orientalists early concerned themselves with it. Between 1848 and 1854, Dr Perron published at Paris, bringing together both text and commentary, a complete French translation called *Précis de jurisprudence musulmane ou Principes de législation musulmane civile et religieuse selon le droit malékite*, 6 vols. The first edition, prepared by Richebém, appeared at Paris in 1855, from which there were successive printings down to 1883; G. Delphin produced a further edition, also at Paris, in 1900. In 1889 E. Fagnan brought out at Algiers the *Concordances du manuel de Sidi Kḥalīl* (in reference to the edition of 1883). The second complete translation, this time in Italian, was made by I. Guidi and D. Santillana (Milan 1919, 2 vols.). Amongst partial translations, one should mention those of Sautayra and Cherbonneau on personal status and on succession (Paris 1873-4), of Seignette (Constantine 1878, Paris 1911), of Fagnan, on the holy war (Algiers 1908), marriage and divorce (Algiers

1909) and of L. Bercher on apostasy, etc., in the *RT* (1923). The most recent is that of G.-H. Bousquet, *Abrégé de la loi musulmane selon la rite de l'Imām Mālek*, i-iv, Algiers-Paris 1956-62; utilising as an aid the commentary of Ṣalāḥ 'Abd al-Samī', *Djawhar al-iklīl*, the translator has adopted a technique of typography which has allowed him to bring out the translation of the comparatively few words making up this "condensation" and to distinguish the expansions strictly necessary for the comprehension of the text.

*Bibliography*: Suyūṭī, *Husn al-muḥāḍara*, Cairo 1321, i, 217; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, ii, 120; Ibn Farḥūn, *Dibāḍī*, Fās 1316, 117; Ahmad Bābā, *Nayl al-ibtibāḍī*, Fās 1317, 95 (given at the beginning of the Paris edition of the *Mukḥṭaṣar*, and tr. by Fagnan in *Mariage et répudiation*; reproduced by Ibn Maryam, *Bustān*, Algiers 1325, 96, and tr. by Provençal in his tr. of the *Bustān*, Algiers 1910, 104); idem, *Kifāya*; 'As-ḳalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, Hyderabad 1945-50, ii, 86; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nudjūm*, xi, 92; M. Ben Cheneb, *Étude sur les personnages...* 'Abd al-Qādir al-Fāsi, Algiers 1907, No. 293; Morand, *Le droit musulman algérien*, Algiers 1913; M. A. Zouber, *Aḥmad Bābā*, Paris 1977, index; Ziriklī, *A'lām*, ii, 364; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'allifin*, iv, 113-14.

(M. BEN CHENEZ \*)

**KHALIL**, AL-MALIK AL-AḤRAF ṢALĀḤ AL-DĪN, eighth Mamlūk sultan, reigned 7 Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 689 to 12 Muḥarram 693/11 November 1290 to 13 December 1293 as successor to his father al-Malik al-Manṣūr Ḳalāwūn [q.v.]. Ḳalāwūn's elder son al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī, the designated heir-apparent, had died in 687/1288, two years before his father, and the *wilāyat al-ahd* passed to his younger brother al-Aḥraf Kḥalīl. Kḥalīl is said not to have enjoyed the particular favour of his father—Ḳalāwūn's seal ('*alāma*') was lacking on Kḥalīl's diploma of investiture (*ṭaklīd*)—but it should be stressed that on several occasions he was the official substitute of his father, notably when Ḳalāwūn was absent from Egypt during the siege of Tripoli in 688/1289. Furthermore, Kḥalīl was the only son old enough to reign and thus the only one to qualify for the dynastic succession.

The battle for a strong sultanate that should be independent from the oligarchy of the *amīrs* left its stamp on Kḥalīl's short reign. Yet he failed to achieve his aim. In 693/1293 he was killed during a hunting-party in the Nile delta by his deputy Baydarā and a handful of other conspirators. In the beginning, Baydarā had been Kḥalīl's esteemed *nā'ib*: still in 690/1291 the sultan had granted him the Syrian fortress of al-Ṣubayba (*Alḳāf*, 29 ff.). But later he had been humiliated repeatedly by Kḥalīl, on one occasion in the presence of the assembled *amīrs*, probably in connection with Baydarā's unsuccessful campaign against the Maronites of Ḍjabal Kasrawān in 691/1292. Other *amīrs* like Ḳarāsunkur, who later acquired fame for his flight to the Mongols, or the future sultan Ḥusām al-Dīn Lāḍīn (see on him P. M. Holt, in *BSOAS*, xxxvi (1973), 521-32), were imprisoned. Although they were set free shortly afterwards, Kḥalīl failed to secure their loyalty. Kḥalīl's closest adviser and confidant, his arrogant vizier Ibn al-Sal'ūs, a Syrian merchant, did everything to estrange the high *amīrs* even more from the sultan. Under Ibn al-Sal'ūs, the vizierate ceased to be in the hands of the military, the *mukawwatīn*, and became the "second office of the state" (Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, viii, 306; Ḳalkaṣhandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iv, 17).