

between *Djabal 'Abd al-'Azīz* and the *Sindjār* mountains, where it takes a southern direction, which it changes in the last part of its course into a south-western one.

Its springs, as well as those of its numerous tributaries, are chiefly connected with three important towns, Ra's al-'Ayn (*Reṣṣāyina* of the Syrians) in the northwest, Mārdīn in the north and Naṣībīn in the northeast. The springs at Ra's al-'Ayn are said to be three hundred in number; they were shut off by iron grills, in order to prevent people from being drowned in them.

Downstream from Ra's al-'Ayn the *Khābūr* is joined by the river of Mārdīn, which is called by the Arab geographers *Sawr*; on Sachau's map it bears the name of *Nahr Zrgān*. Just before passing between *Djabal 'Abd al-'Azīz* and the *Sindjār* mountains it is joined by the river of Naṣībīn. The Arab geographers apparently mean this river when speaking of the *Hirmās*; on Sachau's map it is called *Djaghdiagha*. The course and the nomenclature of this and other tributaries are still uncertain.

The Arab geographers mention several more or less important places situated on the *Khābūr* between *Djabal 'Abd al-'Azīz* and *Karkisiyya*, such as *Shā'ā*, *Tunaynīr* (upper and lower T.), *Tābān* (also on Sachau's map), *'Arbān* or *'Arābān* (also on Sachau's map), *Sukayr*, al-*Ṣhamsāniyya* (probably Sachau's *Shemisan*), *Mākisiṣ* ("the customs-house"), al-*Ghudayr* ("the pool"), and *Ṣuwar* (Sachau's *eṣ-Ṣawar*). At *Mākisiṣ* there was a bridge of boats. Much cotton was grown here, and by it lay the small lake of deep blue water called al-*Munkharīk*, which was said to be unfathomable.

The whole region through which the *Khābūr* flows, and especially its lower course, was renowned for being fertile; its trees are mentioned in Arabic poetry, and its fruits were exported to the towns of al-'Irāk. However, when Sachau travelled in the area (1899) the large fertile valley was devoid of towns, villages and human beings in general.

Bibliography: BGA, I, 74; II, 155; V, 133 f.; al-Idrīsī, tr. Jaubert, II, 150; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḥwīm al-Buldān*, ed. Reinaud, 52; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, II, 383; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuḥḥat al-Kulūb*, ed. and tr. Le Strange, GMS, xxiii, index; Ritter, *Erzkunde*, XI, 253 ff.; Reclus, *Nouvelle Géographie Universelle*, IX, 448 f.; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, 94 ff.; E. Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, Leipzig 1883, index and map; idem, *Am Euphrat und Tigris*, Leipzig 1900, 134 f.; Chesney, *The Expedition for the Survey of the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris*, London 1850, index; idem, *Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition*, London 1868, 250; Ainsworth, *Travels in Asia Minor*, II, London 1842, 118; M. von Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, index.

(ii) The lesser *Khābūr*, one of the tributaries of the *Tigris* which flows past the mountains of southern Armenia, south of Lake Van and west of Lake Urmīya. It passes between the mountain ranges which are now called *Djabal Harbāl* (north) and *Zākha Dagħ* (south). The latter mountains derive their name from the town of *Zākhō*. The *Khābūr* joins the *Tigris* between *Maghāra* and *Mazra*. The Arab geographers often call it *Khābūr al-Ḥasaniyya*, after the town of this name. Here the river was spanned by a magnificent stone bridge which was looked upon as a miraculous piece of mason's work. Al-*Ḥasaniyya* probably survives in the hamlet of *Ḥasan Agha*.

Bibliography: al-Dimashqī, *Nukhbat al-Dahr*, ed. Mehren, 190 f.; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 384; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 93; Ritter, *Erzkunde*, XI, 168; Chesney, *The Expedition for the Survey of the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris*, index. (J. LASSNER)

KHADĪDJA, first wife of Muḥammad, daughter of *Khuwaylid* of the clan of *Asad* of the tribe of *Quraysh* in Mecca. Before her marriage to Muḥammad she had been married twice, to *Abū Hāla al-Tamīmī*, a client of the Meccan clan of *'Abd al-Dār*, and to *'Utayyīk* (or *'Atīk*) b. *'Ā'idh* (incorrectly *'Ābid*) b. *'Abd Allāh* of the Meccan clan of *Makhzūm*. The order of these marriages is disputed, as is also the *ism* of *Abū Hāla* and his genealogy. To *Abū Hāla* she is mostly said to have borne two sons with the (usually feminine) names of *Hind* and *Hāla*, and to *'Utayyīk* a daughter, *Hind*. She was probably divorced from *Abū Hāla* (cf. Sprenger, *Leben*, I, 197), since divorce was common in Mecca (cf. Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 435-55), but *'Utayyīk* is said to have died, leaving her a widow. This gets some confirmation from the fact that his nephew *al-Sā'ib* b. *Abī 'l-Sā'ib* became Muḥammad's business partner (al-Azraqī, 471). Before she married Muḥammad she owned property and was able to engage in trade (as did also *Asmā' bint Mukharriba*, mother of *Abū Djaḥl*). This independence is most probably due to the persistence of old practices based on matrilineal kinship (cf. the fact that *Khadija's* sister *Ruḳayka* had a daughter known as *Umayma bint Ruḳayka*). In 605 (or earlier) *Khadija* arranged for Muḥammad to go to *Boṣrā* in Syria as steward of her merchandise. He executed this commission satisfactorily, and after his return she offered him marriage. The tales that she was impressed by miracles connected with Muḥammad may be discounted, and likewise the story that she gained her father's consent when she had made him drunk. The contract of marriage is mostly said to have been made for her by her uncle *'Amr* b. *Asad*, while *Ḥamza* acted on behalf of his nephew Muḥammad. The couple apparently lived for a time in a *bayt* in the *dār* of *Khadija's* nephew, *Ḥakīm* b. *Ḥizām* b. *Khuwaylid*, in Mecca (al-Azraqī, 463); but during the boycott *Ḥakīm* took food to his aunt who was then among the *Banū Hāshim*. It was from *Ḥakīm* that *Khadija* received *Zayd* b. *Hāritha*, who had been brought as a slave from Syria, or bought at *Ukāz*. At the time of the marriage Muḥammad is said to have been twenty-five (or twenty-three or twenty-one) and *Khadija* forty (or twenty-eight). At least five children were born to *Khadija* and Muḥammad: four girls (*Zaynab*, *Umm Kulthūm*, *Fātima*, *Ruḳayya*) and one or possibly two boys (al-Kāsim, *'Abd Allāh*; but these may be the same, and it is generally agreed that *al-Ṭāhir* and *al-Ṭayyib* are names of *'Abd Allāh*).

Marriage to *Khadija* was an important turning-point in Muḥammad's career, mainly because, as is explicitly stated, she supported and encouraged him, fostering his confidence in himself and his mission. After the experience of the call to prophethood, she reported it to her relative *Waraka* b. *Nawfal*, who was a Christian, and he declared it was an experience similar to that of *Moses* when he received the Law. This doubtless helped to confirm Muḥammad's belief in the genuineness of the experience. The marriage is probably referred to in the verse (XCIII, 8), 'Did he not find you needy and enrich you?', since *Khadija's* wealth would enable him to engage more extensively in commercial operations. Though there is no mention of further journeys to Syria, Muḥam-

mad seems to have been trading in partnership with al-Sā'ib, as already mentioned. *Khadija* is said to have died three days after Abū Tālib in the year 619 (sc. three years before the *Hidjra*).

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, 119-22, 153-6, 232, 277, 1001; Ibn Sa'd, viii, 7-11; i/1. 84 f., 130, 141; al-Ṭabarī, i, 1127-30, 1151, 1156 f., 1159, 1166, 1199, 1766; *Iṣāba*, iii, 130; *Uṣd al-Ghāba*, v. 434-9; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 9-11, 18, 77-9, 83, 99 f., 408, 452; al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Kuraysh*, Cairo 1953, 21, 207, 230 f., 234; W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, Cambridge 1885; F. Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammads*, Leipzig 1930, 118-21; W. M. Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca, Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1953, 1956, indices.

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KHĀDIM, from Arabic *khādama* "to serve (a master)", means properly "servant, domestic", but it has acquired the euphemistic sense, first in Arabic and then in the other Islamic languages, of "eunuch"; hence the word is often ambiguous. In this article, only servants of free status are covered; for slaves, see **ʿABD** and for eunuchs **KHAṢĪ**.

At the side of the slaves, there have always been free servants (coll. *khadam*, pl. *khuddām*). Anas b. Mālik [q.v.] entered Muḥammad's service as a youth (al-Bukhārī, *Djihād*, *bāb* 74 etc.) and he records it to his master's credit that the latter had never said a harsh word to him nor even ever asked him for an explanation of his doings (al-Bukhārī, *Waṣāyā*, *bāb* 25). Servants were used on journeys especially, and put up the tents, etc. These latter are called *farrāsh* (lit. spreaders of the carpets), a name which is, however, given to servants who look after the beds and the house generally (Lane, *The Thousand and One Nights*, London 1859, ii, 202, no. 16).

In Egypt in Lane's time there was an organisation of servants. They were under special *shaykhs* to whom anyone who required a domestic had to apply; these *shaykhs* were responsible for any dishonesty or breach of trust by their people (Lane, *Manners and Customs*, London 1899, 139). There were also free female servants who performed the lowest household duties (op. cit., 147, 197) for a very small wage (168). Some of the male servants used to shave their beards (573).

In Ottoman Turkish houses of the upper classes, these people, who were usually addressed by their name followed by *Agha*, worked as cooks, gardeners, janitors, etc., and they had to avoid the women's apartments in the house with which they communicated by the swivel-box (*dolāb*). If they were married they did not live in their master's house.

The women servants in the *konaks* lived in the women's apartments and had very little personal freedom. They sometimes belonged to impoverished Turkish families or were the children of former servants and slaves. They were called *kalfa* (from *khālifa*) or *halā'ik* (from *khālā'ik*) and the men *ushak*, *deftiyer*, *hizmetkar* (*khidmetkar*). The servant girls (*hidmetdji* = *khidmetdji*) were usually Greeks or Armenians.

Uniformed officials in the imperial and official services were divided into various corporations (chamberlains, janitors, musicians) and were included under the general name *hadama* = *khadama*. On such corporations see also Von Hammer, *Constantinopel und der Bosphorus*, Pest 1822, ii, 395 ff.

In North Africa, *khādim* (dial. *khādām*) has acquired the specialised meaning of "negress", and *khādim* is used for a domestic servant. However, classical *khādim* retained an honourable usage in Morocco,

where all letters sent out by the Sultan's chancery to his officials began with the formula *khadimanā 'l-arḍā* "to our well-pleasing servant". In contemporary Moroccan usage, *shāh*, pl. *shāb*, is more commonly found. Within the great families, there exists in effect a clientage of *shāb* who usually receive no regular salary but live on the bounty of their master. They accompany him on the road, look after his mount, and order illumination for trips at night, etc. If their master is a great *kā'id* or the head of a brotherhood, he appoints one of his *aṣhāb* to accompany travellers who are passing through the areas over which his authority extends. This is a sign that they are under his protection. In Fez, there existed a corporation of female cooks who performed odd jobs within the household (Le Tourneau, *Fès*, 562) and were paid in kind.

In the *zāwiyas* servants form a guild to which is entrusted the care of pilgrims and of the buildings; cf. Depont and Coppolani, *Les confréries religieuses musulmanes*, Algiers 1897; Doutté, *l'Islam algérien en l'an 1900*.

The *Ḥadīth* has handed down various sayings of Muḥammad which endeavour to secure good treatment for servants; in these it is not always possible to distinguish whether the reference is to free men or slaves. The *khādim* is responsible for his master's possessions (al-Bukhārī, *Waṣāyā*, *bāb* 9); on the other hand alms which he bestows out of his master's property bring him a heavenly reward (al-Bukhārī, *Zakāt*, *bāb* 25). One should be ready to forgive one's servant (al-Tirmidhī, *Birr*, *bāb* 32); he should neither be beaten nor cursed (al-Tirmidhī, *bāb* 30, 31, 85); and the servant who has prepared a meal has a right to partake of it (al-Bukhārī, *Aṭ'ima*, *bāb* 55; al-Tirmidhī, *Aṭ'ima*, *bāb* 44, etc.).

One may note finally that, amongst the titles of the Ottoman Sultans, was that of *Khādim al-Ḥaramayn* "Servant of the two sacred areas", and also that at Mecca, one could purchase the title of *khādim al-masjid* (Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.). The collective *khadam* is further used, often linked in paronomasia with *ḥaṣham*, to denote the partisans and entourage of a great man, above all, of a military leader or ruler. (A. J. WENSINCK*)

KHĀDIM AL-ḤARAMAYN (A.), "servant of the two holy places" (sc. Mecca and Medina), a title used by a number of Muslim monarchs. Adopted by the Ottoman Sultan Selim I after the conquest of Egypt in 922/1517 and used by some of his successors, it was regarded in late Ottoman times as a Caliphal title, and was said to have been taken over by Selim from the last 'Abbāsīd caliph in Cairo. This does not correspond with the evidence, and appears to be part of the mythology of the Ottoman caliphate. As far as can be ascertained, the title was never used by the 'Abbāsīd caliphs, whether in 'Irāk or in Egypt. It was however used by several Mamlūk sultans, and it was from the sultans, not the caliphs, of Egypt that the Ottomans adopted this title along with other possessions and perquisites of the Sultanate. Al-Kāḫashandī (*Ṣubḥ*, vi, 46) is quite explicit, and lists it among the titles (*alḳāb*) of the Sultans. The first to use the title appears to have been Saladin, and the earliest known occurrence is in a restoration inscription in the Kubbat Yūsuf in Jerusalem, dated 587/1191 (*CIA, Jerusalem*, ii, no. 150 = *RCEA*, ix, no. 3447). The introduction of this new title was probably a move in the rivalry between Saladin and the caliph al-Nāṣir, over the leadership of the pilgrimage and related questions concerning the holy places in the *Hidjāz* (on this rivalry see E.