

All this came to an abrupt end with the death of Muḥammad ʿAlī; he was succeeded by his grandson ʿAbbās I [q.v.] who had Rifāʿa Bey sent to Khartūm in 1850 to what was, in fact, virtual exile. The translation movement came to an end, and the School of Languages was closed the following year. Only when Saʿīd [q.v.] succeeded ʿAbbās, who was assassinated, did Rifāʿa regain favour and was allowed to return to Cairo in 1854. He became head of a military school but when it was closed in 1861 he remained unemployed until the reign of Ismāʿīl [q.v.]. Ismāʿīl reopened the School of Languages in 1863 and appointed Rifāʿa as director; he was also one of the group that planned the new educational system. In 1870 Rifāʿa became the editor of *Rawḍat al-maʿāris*, a periodical for the Ministry of Education; he occupied this position until his death.

It is a moot question whether Rifāʿa owed most of what is regarded as European influence on him to his teacher at al-Azhar, Ḥasan al-ʿAṭṭār, or if he was a real innovator bringing back ideas from France. The main problem which he had to face as the ideologue of Muḥammad ʿAlī's innovations was how to have his countrymen partake in the modern world while remaining Muslim. In his writings he tried to answer this question. Though a prolific author, nothing Rifāʿa wrote after *Taḥkīlīs* equalled it either in style or in significance. This is not to say that his writings were without impact; quite the contrary.

Although Rifāʿa himself was not a first-rate historian, it was he who laid the groundwork for later Egyptian achievements in historiography. A turning-point in the writing of history in Egypt as well as a turning-point in Egyptians' self-awareness as a nation occurred in 1868 when he published his *Anwār tawfīk al-djālīl fī aḥbār Miṣr wa-tawḥīk banī Ismāʿīl*. It was the first part of a history of Egypt planned to cover the period from the Deluge to his own time, although together with the posthumously (1874) published *sira* of the Prophet *Nihāyat al-idjāz fī sirat sākin al-Hidjāz*, it was all that was published. *Anwār* included the ages of the ancient Egyptians, Alexander the Great, the Romans and the Byzantines, and it ended where Egyptian history written by Arabs had usually begun—the Arab conquest. Rifāʿa was the first writer who saw Egypt as something historically continuous, a distinct geographical unit, and he tried to explain this vision of an Egyptian nation in terms of Islamic thought.

Two other publications of Rifāʿa have to be mentioned here. They are a general book on Egyptian society *Manāhidj al-albāb al-miṣriyya fī mabāhidj al-ādāb al-ʿaṣriyya* (1869), and a book on education *al-Murshid al-amīn li-l-banāt wa-l-banīn* (1872). In the latter he advocated—albeit timidly—the necessity of extending general education to girls.

The pre-eminence which Rifāʿa Bey has come to hold, and deservedly so, reflects the intellectual mediocrity of the Muḥammad ʿAlī era.

Bibliography: Rifāʿa Bey's most important publications are mentioned in the article (1st editions); they have all gone through several editions often with alterations and omissions. Muḥammad ʿAmmāra (ed.), *al-Aʿmāl al-kāmila li-Rifāʿa Rāfiʿ al-Taḥṭāwī*, i-iii, Beirut 1973; *Taḥkīlīs al-ibriz ilā talkhīs Bārīz* has been translated into German by K. Stowasser as *Ein Muslim entdeckt Europa*, Leipzig-Weimar 1988, and into French by A. Louca as *L'Or de Paris*, Paris 1988; Ṣāliḥ Maḍjīdī, *Ḥilyat al-zaman bi-manāḥib khādīm al-waṭan, Rifāʿa Bey Rāfiʿ al-Taḥṭāwī*, Cairo 1958 (the author was a pupil and friend of Rifāʿa); J. Heyworth-Dunne, *Rifāʿah*

Badawī Rāfiʿ al-Taḥṭāwī: the Egyptian revivalist, in BSOS, ix (1937-9), 961-7; x (1940), 399-415; Aḥmad Aḥmad Badawī, *Rifāʿa Rāfiʿ al-Taḥṭāwī*, ²Cairo 1959; A. Hourani, *Arabic thought in the liberal age 1798-1939*, London 1962, ²1983, index; I. Abu-Lughod, *The Arab rediscovery of Europe*, Princeton 1963, 50-3 (partial listing of literary works translated into Arabic); A. Abdel-Malek, *Idéologie et renaissance nationale. L'Égypte moderne*, Paris 1969, *passim*; A. Louca, *Voyageurs et écrivains égyptiens en France au XIX^e siècle*, Paris 1970, 55-74; P. Gran, *Islamic roots of capitalism. Egypt, 1760-1840*, Austin-London 1979, index; G. Delanoue, *Moralistes et politiques musulmans dans l'Égypte du XIX^e siècle (1798-1882)*, Cairo 1982, *passim*; B. Lewis, *The Muslim discovery of Europe*, London 1982, 133, 219-20, 281-2, 191-3; J.A. Crabbs, Jr., *The writing of history in nineteenth-century Egypt*, Detroit 1984, 67-86; Y.M. Choueiri, *Arab history and the nation-state. A study in modern Arabic historiography 1820-1980*, London-New York 1989, 3-24, 197 f., 206; R.A. Hamed, *The Japanese and Egyptian enlightenment*, Tokyo 1990, *passim*; Lewis, *Islam and the West*, New York and Oxford 1993, 171-2. (K. ÖHRNBERG)

AL-RIFĀʿĪ, AḤMAD B. ʿALĪ, Abu ʿI-ʿAbbās, Shāfiʿī *ḥaḥib* by training and founder of the Rifāʿiyya [q.v.] dervish order.

He was born in Muḥarram 500/September 1106 (or, according to other authorities, in Rajab 512/October-November 1118) at Qaryat Ḥasan, a village of the Baṭāʾiḥ or marshlands of lower ʿIrāk [see AL-BAṬĪḤA] between Baṣra and Wāsiṭ, whence the *nisba* sometimes given to him of al-Baṭāʾiḥī, and he died at Umm ʿUbayda in the same region on 22 Djumādā I 578/23 October 1182 (see Ibn Khallikān, ed. ʿAbbās, i, 171-2, tr. de Slane, i, 152-3). The *nisba* al-Rifāʿī is usually explained as referring to an ancestor Rifāʿa, but by some is supposed to be a tribal name. This ancestor Rifāʿa is said to have migrated from Mecca to Seville in Spain in 317/929, whence Aḥmad's grandfather came to Baṣra in 450/1058. Hence he is also called al-Maghribī.

Ibn Khallikān's notice of him is meagre; more is given in al-Dhahabī's *Taʾriḫ al-Islām*, taken from a collection of his *Manāḥib* by Muḥyī ʿI-Dīn Aḥmad b. Sulaymān al-Ḥammāmī recited by him to a disciple in 680/1281. This work does not appear in the lists of treatises on the same subject furnished by Abu ʿI-Hudā Efendi al-Rāfiʿī al-Khālidi al-Ṣayyādī in his works *Tanwīr al-absār* (Cairo 1306) and *Kilādāt al-djāwāhir* (Beirut 1301), the latter of which is a copious biography, frequently citing *Tiryāk al-muḥibbīn* by Takī al-Dīn al-Wāsiṭī (see below), *Umm al-barāḥīn* by Kāsim b. al-Hādijī, *al-Naḥa al-miskiyya* by ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Fārūṭhī (d. 694/1295), and others. Al-Ḥammāmī's statements are cited from one Yaʿqūb b. Kurāz, who acted as *muʾadhdhin* for al-Rifāʿī. Great caution is required in the use of such materials.

Whereas according to some accounts he was a posthumous child, the majority date his father's death to 519/1125 in Baghdād, when Aḥmad was seven years old. He was then brought up by his maternal uncle Maṣṣūr al-Baṭāʾiḥī, resident at Nahr Daḳlā in the neighbourhood of Baṣra. This Maṣṣūr (of whom there is a notice in al-Shaʿrānī's *Lawāḥih al-anwār*, i, 178) is represented as the head of a religious community, called by Aḥmad (if he is correctly reported by his grandson, *Kilāda*, 88) al-Rifāʿiyya; he sent his nephew to Wāsiṭ to study under a Shāfiʿī doctor Abu ʿI-Faḍl ʿAlī al-Wāsiṭī and a maternal uncle Abū Bakr al-Wāsiṭī. His studies lasted till his twenty-seventh year, when he received an *idjāza* [q.v.] from Abu ʿI-

Faḍl, and the *khirka* from his uncle Maṣṣūr, who bade him establish himself in Umm 'Ubayda, where (it would seem) his mother's family had property, and where her father Yaḥyā al-Naḍjdjārī al-Anṣārī was buried. In the following year, 540/1145-6, Maṣṣūr died and bequeathed the headship of his community (*maṣṣūkhā*) to Aḥmad to the exclusion of his own son.

His activities appears to have been confined to Umm 'Ubayda and neighbouring villages, whose names are unknown to the geographers; even Umm 'Ubayda is not mentioned by Yāqūt, though found in one copy of the *Marāṣid al-iḥṣā'*. This fact renders incredible the huge figures cited by Abu 'l-Hudā for the number of his disciples (*muridīn*) and even deputies (*khulafā'*), the princely style and the colossal buildings in which he entertained them. Sibṭ Ibn al-Djauzī in his *Mir'āt al-zamān*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, viii, 370, says that one of their *shaykhs* told him he had seen some 100,000 persons with al-Rifā'ī on a night of *Shā'bān*. In Ibn al-'Imād's *Shadharāt al-dhahab* the experience is said to have been Sibṭ Ibn al-Djauzī's own, though this person was born in 581/1185, three years after al-Rifā'ī's death. In the *Tanwīr al-aḥṣār* (7, 8) his grandfather as well as himself is credited with the assertion.

His followers do not attribute to him any treatises, but Abu 'l-Hudā produces 1. two discourses (*maḍālis*) delivered by him in 577/1181 and 578/1182-3 respectively; 2. a whole *diwān* of odes; 3. a collection of prayers (*ad'īya*), devotional exercises (*awrād*), and incantations (*aḥzāb*); 4. a great number of casual utterances, sometimes nearly of the length of sermons, swollen by frequent repetitions. Since in 1, 2 and 4 he claims descent from 'Alī and Fāṭima, and to be the substitute (*nā'ib*) for the Prophet on earth, whereas his biographers insist on his humility, and disclaiming such titles as *kuṭb*, *ghawṭh*, or even *shaykh*, the genuineness of these documents is questionable.

Various books were written on him by his followers and by subsequent members of the Rifā'ī *ṭarīqa*, such as the *Tiryaq al-muḥibbīn fī sirat sultān al-'arīfīn Aḥmad Ibn al-Rifā'ī* of Taqī 'l-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Wāsiṭī (d. 744/1343-4; see Brockelmann, S I, 781, S II, 214).

In Ibn al-'Imād, *op. cit.*, iv, 260, it is asserted that the marvellous performances associated with the Rifā'īs, such as sitting in heated ovens, riding lions, etc. [see RIFĀ'IYYA] were unknown to the founder, and introduced after the Mongol invasion; in any case, they were no invention of his, since the like are recorded by al-Tanūkhī in the 4th/10th century. The anecdotes produced by al-Dhahabī (repeated by al-Subkī, *Tabakāt al-Shāfi'iyya al-kubrā*, iv, 40) imply a doctrine similar to the Buddhist and Indian *ahimsā*, unwillingness to kill or give pain to living creatures, even lice and locusts. He is also said to have inculcated poverty, abstinence and non-resistance to injury. Thus Sibṭ Ibn al-Djauzī records how he allowed his wife to belabour him with a poker, though his friends collected 500 dinārs to enable him to divorce her by returning her marriage gift. (The sum mentioned is inconsistent with his supposed poverty.)

Inconsistent accounts are given of his relations with his contemporary 'Abd al-Kādir al-Djilānī [q.v.]. In the *Bahjat al-asrār* of Nūr al-Dīn al-Shaṭṭanawī it is recorded by apparently faultless *isnāds* on the authority of two nephews of al-Rifā'ī, and a man who visited him at Umm 'Ubayda in 576/1180-1, that when 'Abd al-Kādir in Baghdad declared that his foot was on the neck of every saint, al-Rifā'ī was heard to say at Umm 'Ubayda "and on mine". Hence some make him a disciple of 'Abd al-Kādir. On the other hand, Abu 'l-Hudā's authorities make 'Abd al-Kādir one of those who witnessed in Medina in the year 555/1160 the

unique miracle of the Prophet holding out his hand from the tomb for al-Rifā'ī to kiss; further, in the list of his predecessors in the discourse of 578/1182-3, al-Rifā'ī mentions Maṣṣūr but not 'Abd al-Kādir. It is probable, therefore, that the two worked independently.

Details of his family are quoted from the work of al-Fārūṭhī, grandson of a disciple named 'Umar. According to him, al-Rifā'ī married first Maṣṣūr's niece *Khadija*; after her death, her sister *Rabī'a*; after her death *Nafisa*, daughter of Muḥammad b. al-Kāsimiyya. There were many daughters; also three sons, who all died before their father. He was succeeded in the headship of his order by a sister's son, 'Alī b. 'Uṭmān.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see *Shā'rānī*, *Lawākiḥ fī tabakāt al-akhṣār*, Cairo 1276/1859-60, i, 121-5; *Ziriklī*, *A'lām*, iii, 169; *Muṣṭafā Kamāl Waṣfī*, *al-Imām al-Kabīr Aḥmad al-Rifā'ī*, Cairo 1376/1957; J. S. Trimingham, *The Sufi orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971, 37 ff. and index; Brockelmann, S II, 780-1.

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RIFĀ'IYYA, the name of one of the most prominent Ṣūfī orders from the period of the institutionalisation of the *ṭarīkas* [q.v.], and one which came to be noted in pre-modern times for the extravagance of some of its practices.

It is unclear whether the founder, Aḥmad al-Rifā'ī [q.v.], was a mystic of the thaumaturgic, miracle-mongering type, but the order which he founded and which was developed by his kinsmen certainly acquired its extravagant reputation during the course of the 6th/12th century; it may not be without significance that the order grew up in the Lower 'Irāk marshlands between Wāsiṭ and Baṣra where there was a mélange of faiths and beliefs, Muslim, Christian, Mandaeen, etc., with many older survivals. Already, Ibn Khallikān [q.v.] (wrote ca. 654/1256) reported that the Rifā'ī dervishes rode on lions in the Baṭā'ih and that eating live snakes and walking on hot coals were amongst their practices (ed. Iḥṣān 'Abbās, i, 172, tr. de Slane, i, 153).

Al-Rifā'ī's retreat in the marshlands was a focus for visiting dervishes, some of whom founded their own orders, such as the *Badawiyya*, *Dasū'iyya* and *Shādhiliyya*, and it was the prototype for many *zāwiya*s which sprang up. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa [q.v.] frequently mentions the strange practices of their devotees. Thus when in Wāsiṭ in 727/1327, he visited Aḥmad al-Rifā'ī's shrine at Umm 'Ubayda, where he saw throngs of people and witnessed fire-walking and fire-swallowing (*Rihla*, ii, 4-5, tr. Gibb, ii, 273-4); an eastern counterpart of these practices were those of the *Kalandars* [see *KALANDARIYYA*], dervishes of the *Haydariyya* order, which he witnessed in India (*Rihla*, ii, 6-7, iii, 79-9, tr. ii, 274-5, iii, 583).

The Rifā'īyya spread rapidly into Egypt and Syria, possibly under the patronage of the Ayyūbids. In Syria, a key figure was Abū Muḥammad 'Alī al-Ḥarīrī (d. 645/1268), so that this branch became known as the *Harīriyya*; another Syrian branch which was later to become notorious for its extravagant practices, including that of the *dawṣa* [q.v.] or trampling of adherents by the mounted *shaykh* of the order, was that of the *Sa'diyya* [q.v.] or *Djibāwiyya* founded by Aḥmad al-Rifā'ī's grandson, 'Izz al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Ṣayyād (d. 670/1271-2). In Egypt, the order became especially strong. 'Izz al-Dīn al-Ṣayyād was teaching in Cairo in 638/1236 and married there an Ayyūbid descendant, the grand-daughter of Nūr al-Dīn al-Malik al-Aḥḍal. However, the great mosque of al-