

tsekhov v krimskikh Tatar, Trudi etnografo-arkheologičeskovo Muzei, pri I. Moskovskom Gosudarstvo. Universitete, iv, Moscow 1928, 56-65).

The Akhī Babas claimed to be descendants of Akhī Ewrān. The local representatives of the Akhī Baba were elected by the members of the respective guilds, but did not necessarily belong to them, and any persons who were in any way notable could be chosen. They had, however, to receive a licence (*idjāzet-nāme*) from the Akhī Baba of Kīrshēhir and a diploma (*berāt*), confirming the appointment, from the government. The Akhī Baba of the tanners was at the same time the head of the whole guild organisation in his town. He could, however, be deposed.

With the decline of the Turkish guilds, following on the penetration of Western economic systems, the journeys of the Akhī Babas of Kīrshēhir, as well as the sending of delegates by him, fell into disuse. A delegate of the Akhī Baba came to Bosnia for the last time in 1886-7 (Hamdija Kreševljaković, *Esnafi i Obrti u Bosni i Hercegovini, Sarajevo*, in *Zbornik Narodni život i običaji južnih Slavena*, Zagreb 1935, 101-47). In the provinces which remained part of the Ottoman Empire, this practice ceased only at the time of the abolition of the old guilds in 1908.

Bibliography: see AKHĪ and AKHĪ EWRĀN, also Fr. Taeschner, *Das Zunftwesen in der Türkei, Leipziger Vierteljahrschrift für Südosteuropa*, 1941, 172-88; idem, *Das bosnische Zunftwesen zur Türkenzeit* (1463-1878), *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 1951, 551-9. (FR. TAESCHNER)

AKHĪ EWRĀN, semilegendary Turkish saint, patron of the Turkish tanners' guilds. His tomb sanctuary in Kīrshēhir (built in the 9th/15th century, with inscriptions of 854/1450 and 886/1481; the last in the name of 'Alā' al-Dawla b. Süleymān Beg, probably of the family of the Dhu 'l-Kadr, and thus brother-in-law of Sultan Mehmed II), connected with a *tekye*, was a frequented place of pilgrimage. Taşköprü-zāde (on margin of Ibn Khallikān, 15; Turkish transl. of Medjidi, 33; German transl. by O. Rescher, 6) mentions him amongst the *shaykhs* of the period of Orkhān. His name first occurs in a Turkish *mathnawī*, *Kerāmāt-i Akhī Ewrān tāba tharāh*, by Gülshehri, which was composed probably after the author's *Manṭiq al-Tayr* (finished in 717/1317)—from which it has many borrowings—and not long after the saint's death. He is next mentioned in the *Wilāyet-nāme* of Hādīdī Bektash, written in the time of Murād II (E. Gross, *Das Wilāyet-name des Hāggī Bektasch*, Leipzig 1927, 82-93). While in Gülshehri's *mathnawī* Akhī Ewrān's figure is given only a slight touch of the miraculous (it is noteworthy that there is as yet no mention there of his relation with the tanners' craft), in the *Wilāyet-nāme* it is already fully elaborated with legendary features (there is also mention of relations with the tanners); it is worth noting that here Akhī Ewrān is presented not as a disciple, but as a friend of Hādīdī Bektash. According to 'Alī Emīrī (OTEM, 1335, 467 f., note) and M. Djewdet (*Dhayl 'alā Faṣl "al-Akhiyya al-Fityān"*, Istanbul 1351/1932, 279-82) there exists a document of endowment (*wakfiyye*) by Akhī Ewrān dating from 706/1306-7 (in a copy published by C. H. Tarım, *Kīrshēhir Tarihi*, Kīrshēhir 1938, it even bears the date of 676/1277!), where the full name of the saint is given as al-Shaykh Naṣīr (Tarım: Naṣr) al-Dīn Pir-i Pirān Akhī Ewrān. The document can, however, easily be recognized as a forgery, as Shaykh Hāmid Well (d. 815/1412), teacher of Hādīdī Bayrām Well (d. 833/1428-9) is named in it; it was

probably fabricated in the first half of the 15th century, in order to give legal sanction to the possessions of Akhī Ewrān's sanctuary in Kīrshēhir.—The importance of the sanctuary as a place of pilgrimage is attested by Sidi 'Alī Re'īs (*Mir'āt ul-Memālik*, Istanbul 1313, 16; Engl. transl. by A. Vambery, *The Travels and Adventures of the Turkish Admiral Sidi Ali Reis*, London 1899, 105), who visited it in 964/1556 on his return from India. Also other Anatolian cities besides Kīrshēhir boasted of the possession of the grave, or at least of a memorial, of the saint, for instance Trapezunt (a *makām* on the Boz Tepe), Konya (in the quarter of Sīrçall), Nigde and Brusa. All these were, however, more or less forgotten, and only the sanctuary of Kīrshēhir retained its position.

In addition to the aforementioned writings, legends of Akhī Ewrān are occasionally found in authors such as 'Alī, *Kūnh ul-Akhhār*, v, 64; Ewliyā Celebi, *Siyāhat-nāme*, i, 594 f.; in the literature of the tanners' guilds, which continued the akhī tradition (often in the form of appendices bearing the title of *Menākib* to the *Fütüwwet-nāme* of Yahyā b. Khalīl al-Burghāzi, (cf. AKHĪ)); in oral traditions, recorded for instance by M. Räsänen, *Türkische Sprachproben aus Mittelanatolien*, iii, Helsinki 1936, 99 ff., nos. 22, 23 and 25, and by W. Ruben (see Bibl.). For the most part they deal with the saint's work as a tanner (or gardener) or with his name (Ewrān or Ewrēn, "snake, dragon"; for this reason Gordlevskiy suspects a survival of a snake cult). In the tanners' guild literature the legend is found that his original name was Mahmūd, that he was a son of al-'Abbās, the Prophet's uncle, and that he had been specially commended by the Prophet. (This anachronism was censured in the work of Müniri Belgharādi, who criticized the Shi'ite tendencies which were displayed in the literature of the guilds, in a work entitled *Nisāb ul-Intisāb wa-Ādāb ul-Iktisāb*, composed in 1620.) In the *Ankā-yi Mushrik* of the Djelwetī *shaykh* Sayyid Muṣṭafā Hāshim (d. 1197/1783), quoted by 'Alī Emīrī (loc. cit., 464-6), the saint, under the name of Sayyid Ni'mat Allāh Akhī Ewrān Well, is brought, along with Hādīdī Bektash Well and Sayyid Edebālī, into connection with Ghāzī 'Othmān's girding with the sword. As patron of the Turkish tanners, a *silile* was ascribed to him which went back to Zayd Hindī, patron of all the tanners; other *sililes* go back to Maṣṣūr 'Ābid, i.e. al-Hallādj.

The sanctuary of Akhī Ewrān in Kīrshēhir played a great role into the first years of the 20th century, as the *shaykh* of the monastery, who bore the title of Akhī Baba [q.v.] controlled, partly personally, partly through his representatives who resided in the various towns, the guilds of the tanners and of kindred leather workers (saddlers, shoemakers) in Anatolia and the European provinces of the Ottoman Empire, and gradually succeeded in extending his influence over almost the whole of the Turkish guild-organisation.

Bibliography: V. Gordlevskiy, *Dervishi Akhi Evrana i tsekh v Turtsii, Izvestiya Akademii Nauk SSSR*, 1927, 1171-94 (French résumé by G. Vajda, in *REI*, 1934, 81-8); Fr. Taeschner, in *Islamica*, 1929, 31-4 (with references to earlier bibliography); idem, *Legendenbildung um Achi Evran, den Heiligen von Kırşehir, WI, Sonderbd. Festschrift Fr. Giese*, 1941, 61-71, 90 f.; C. H. Tarım, *Kırşehir tarihi üzerine araştırmalar*, i, Kırşehir 1938, 114-76; idem, *Tarihte Kırşehir — Gülshehri*, 1948; H. B. Kunter, *Kitabelerimiz, Vakıflar Dergisi*,

1942, 431 ff. (the inscriptions in the sepulchral sanctuary: 434 f. nos. 8-14); W. Ruben, *Kırşehir'in dikkatli çekilen san'at âbideleri*, iii: *Ahi Evran Türbesi*, *Bell.*, 1947, 616-38 (German résumé in *Bell.*, 1948, 195-9; description of the sepulchral sanctuary and legends about Akhi Ewrân); Fr. Taeschner, *Gülschevri's Mesnevi auf Achi Evran, den Heiligen von Kırşehir und Patron der türkischen Zünfte*, Wiesbaden 1955. (FR. TAESCHNER)

AKHİDJÜK, "little akhi", an amir of unknown name in Tabriz, in the 8th/14th century, follower of the Cobanid Malik Aşraf, who was defeated and executed by Djāni Beg, khān of the Golden Horde. When after Djāni Beg's death his son, Berdi Beg, who had been left by his father as governor in the conquered city, left Tabriz in order to secure his father's throne for himself (758/1357), Akhīdjūk succeeded in obtaining possession not only of Tabriz, but of the whole of Ādharbaydjān, and in defending them for some time from the Djalā'irid sultan of Baghdād, Uways, son of the "Great Hasan" (Hasan-i Buzurg). When, however, Uways captured Tabriz in 760/1359, he ordered the execution of Akhīdjūk, who had taken part in a conspiracy against him. During his short rule Akhīdjūk corresponded with the Mamlūk Empire of Egypt (he was addressed by the Mamlūk chancery simply by the title of "akhi"; al-Kāḷāshandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, viii, 261, cf. W. Björkman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten*, 128). His fame spread as far as Anatolia, where a chapter was devoted to him by the old Ottoman poet Aḥmedī in his famous *Iskender-nâme*.

Bibliography: Mirkhānd, *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*, Bombay 1266, v, 169; Khāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, Teheran 1271, iii, 81; Hāfiz-i Abrū, transl. Bayani, Paris 1936, 154; V. Minorsky in *EI*¹, IV, artt. TABRIZ and UWAYS; B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, 137; Fr. Taeschner, *Der Achidschuk von Tebriz*, in *Festschrift Jan Ryška*, Prague 1956.

(FR. TAESCHNER)

ĀKHİR-I ČARSHAMBA [see ŠAFAR].

ĀKHIRA, fem. of *ākhir*, "the last", is a term used already in the Qur'ān for the life to come, according to the commentators properly *al-dār al-ākhirā*, "the last abode", as opposed to (*al-dār* or *al-hayāt*) *al-dunyā*, "the nearer or nearest abode or life", i.e. the present world. A synonym is *ma'ād*. The same antithesis is expressed by the terms *dār al-bakā*, "the abode of everlasting existence", and *dār al-fanā*, "the abode of transitoriness", and by the roots *ḍīl* and *ḍīl*. *Ākhira* also denotes the condition of bliss or misery in the hereafter, again as opposed to *dunyā*, the lot of man in the present world, and in particular its pleasures. From these meanings derive more technically theological and philosophical definitions, such as the state of resurrection whether corporeal or incorporeal or, if resurrection of the body is denied, a spiritual state. See also DUNYĀ.

Bibliography: Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.; A. Sprenger (ed.), *Dictionary of the Technical Terms*, s.v.; Ghazzālī, *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, kitāb 40 and passim; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Muḥaṣṣal*, rukn 3, *ḥisn*, 2. (A. S. TRITTON)

AKHISKHA, the Persian and Turkish name of a town, in Georgian AKHAL TSIKHE, "New Fortress", situated on the Poskhov river (left tributary of the upper Kur), centre of the Georgian province Samtskhe (later Sa-atabago) which is mentioned among the conquests of Ḥabīb b. Maslama (under Mu'āwiya), al-Balādhurī, 203.

Under the Mongols the local rulers (of the Djakil'e family) became autonomous and received the title of *atabegs*. The name Kırkūra found in Persian and Turkish sources refers to these rulers of whom several bore the name of Kuarkuare (see Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, ii). In 1579 Akhal Tsikhe was occupied by the Ottomans who succeeded in implanting in this region Islam and Ottoman customs. In 1625 the Turkish paṣhas took over the administration. Akhal Tsikhe became a considerable strategic point and one of the chief Caucasian slave-markets, cf. Hādjīlī Khalifa, *Djihān-numā*, 408 f. In 1829 the town was incorporated by the Russians. After the revolution it forms part of the Georgian S. S. Republic. (V. MINORSKY)

AKHLĀK (plural of *khuluḥ*, "innate disposition"), ethics.

(i) Survey of ethics in Islam; (ii) Philosophical ethics.

(i) SURVEY OF ETHICS IN ISLAM.

1. Islamic ethics took shape only gradually and the tradition of the different elements of which it is composed was not finally established before the 5th/11th century. Unlike the Greek world, in which popular ethics were refined and reshaped by philosophical reasoning without any breach between them, and with no perceptible influence of any foreign doctrine, so that eventually philosophy came to express the moral values by which the lives of the educated classes were governed, in Islam ethics appear in their matured state as an interesting and, on the whole, successful amalgamation of a pre-Islamic Arabian tradition and Qur'anic teaching with non-Arabic elements, mainly of Persian and Greek origins, embedded in or integrated with a general-Islamic structure. The praise of, and value attached to, good character (*ḥusn al-khuluḥ*) is common enough among traditionalists, mystics, philosophers, and those writers who aim at giving practical advice to rulers and "civil servants". But their ideas of moral perfection are drawn from widely different sources, although all of them, in various ways, try to conform to the basic standards of Islam (which are in themselves not static); hence the process of assimilation and eventual integration of these different and sometimes conflicting trends extended over a considerable time.

2. It would be erroneous to assume that the different kinds of morality which found literary expression in successive periods from the age of the pre-Islamic poets to the 5th/11th century present a cumulative process, in the sense that each new type as it emerged replaced or suppressed the earlier types. On the contrary, they co-existed for a long time, in varying strength. The tribal *sunna* of the pre-Islamic Arabs, based on usage and custom, described by I. Goldziher (*Muhammedanische Studien*, i) and others (e.g. B. Farès, *L'honneur chez les Arabes avant l'Islam*, Paris 1932), by no means died out with the advent of Islam; and since pre-Islamic literature eventually became part of the accepted Arabic humanities, the values expressed in it were never entirely forgotten: a high sense of personal honour [see 'IRD], courage [see ḤAMĀSA], loyalty to one's fellowtribesmen [see QABILA], hospitality [see DAYF], endurance [see ŠABR], self-control [see ḤILM], and a secular spirit which could never be completely quelled by the prevailing religious morality [cf. also MURUWWA]. The preaching of Muḥammad obviously produced a radical change in moral values as well, based on the sanctions of the new religion, and fear