Illuminations on the History of Arab-Islamic Public Administration Contributions

Authoring and Translation
Professor Doctor
Salim Al-Hassanieh

Reviewing by
Dania Nizam
Illuminations on the History of Arab-Islamic Public Administration Contributions
Illuminations on the History of Arab-Islamic Public Administration Contributions

Authoring and Translation
Prof. Dr. Salim Al-Hassanieh

Reviewed by
Dania Nizam

Damascus 2012
Illuminations on the History of Arab-Islamic Public Administration Contributions

Arab Center for Arabization, Translation, Authorship and Publication (ACATAP)

Telephone: +963113334876
Fax : +963113330998
E-mail: acatap@net.sy
Web Site: www.acatap.org

All rights reserved for the Arab Center for Arabization, Translation, Authorship and Publication (ACATAP)  
Copyright © 2012
The Table of Contents is as follows:

**Foreword** ........................................................................................................................................ 9

**Preface** ........................................................................................................................................ 11

**Introduction** ................................................................................................................................ 23

**Chapter I**

Theoretical Framework of the Profession of Bureaucracy Writing .................................................. 25

**Chapter II**

Prophet’s, Rashidun and Umayyad Eras, Establishment of Divans (Ministries) .............................. 37

**Chapter III**

Abbasid Era: Divans’ Prosperity ....................................................................................................... 45

**Chapter IV**

Fatimid Era: First Insha (Writing) Divan in Cairo ....................................................................... 55

**Chapter V**

Ayyubid Era: Laws of Divans and Correspondence ..................................................................... 61

**Chapter VI**

Mamluki Era .................................................................................................................................. 83

**Chapter VII**

Insha Divan Laws ............................................................................................................................... 99

**Conclusion** ...................................................................................................................................... 107

**Appendix 1:**

 English Synonyms .......................................................................................................................... 111

**Appendix 2:**

 English Synonym within Context .................................................................................................. 113

**References** .................................................................................................................................... 115

**Bibliography used in the translated version** ................................................................................. 119
"When you get up, you brush your teeth, but the toothbrush was invented by Arabs. You have breakfast, but it is Arabs who invented orange juice. You read newspapers, but paper was introduced to Europeans by Arabs".¹

Bulliet also said that divergence should not be a reason for scholars to ignore the continued cultural overlap between nations.

I think if every administrator’s decision has a moral consequence, and is taken from awarded preceding experiences, then the voice of most employees should be amplified in management discussions. Governments provide an opportunity to devise new solutions based on justice and compassion.

¹ Richard Bulliet, professor of history at Columbia University, October 18, 2011 (http://dukechronicle.com/user/yueran-zhang).
Foreword

Public Administration, across the history, is playing an increasingly important role in politico-military and socio-economic development. In this connection, the Arab Centre for Arabization, Translation, Authorship and Publication (ACATAP) of the Arab League Educational, Cultural and Scientific Organization (ALECSO) has the pleasure to present to English readers a short history of the Arab-Islamic contribution on Public Administration development, and how this has helped in the rapid spread of Islam across the World.

This enterprise comes in series of translation project from Arabic into living languages, which aims to build bridges of dialogue and cultural exchange with different peoples and to highlight the role of Arabs and Muslims to human civilization. It comes after two precedent issues: the first is about the (Sciences of the Arabs) in Spanish, the second book is about (The Place of the Mind of the Arabs) in French. The origin of this third issue was produced in Arabic, as research results presented in local and international conferences, and published by the Syrian Ministry of Culture in a book in 1997. The author gives light on a subject rarely dealt with by the specialists in organization theory. Salim Al-hassanieh, the author and translator of this book, is a Professor of Universities. In this book, he explained how Public Administration plays a major role in the performance of Islamic Governments and in the spread of Islam. The book entitled ‘Illuminations on the History of Arab-Islamic Public Administration Contributions’, covers a crucial historical period of human history, the period of the vague spread of the Islamic religion from the Arab-peninsula to the four corners of the world at that time, from the phase of Prophet
Muhammad in the year 622 A/D, till the end of Mamluki Era in 1517 A.D.

The book consists of a preface to the translation, an introduction and seven chapters. The chapters are arranged according to the chronological order of the Arab Caliphates that took over the throne. Chapter one talks about the Profession of Administration (divans and writing) and the position of administrative thinking in Islamic Fiqh. Second chapter deals with writing during the Era of Prophet Muhammad at Almadena and about the management of Rashidi Era, and also about the Umayyad Caliphates (the first Arab royal dynasty in Islam) in Damascus. The third chapter talks about Abbasid Caliphate in Baghdad, and the fourth chapter is around the Fatimid Caliphate in Egypt, and the fifth is discusses Mamluki Era in Egypt and Levant. While the sixth chapter is dedicated to Al-Qalqashandi, maybe, the most important author in Public Administration in the history of Arabs. The seventh chapter speaks about the encyclopedia of Al-Qalqashandi: *Subh Al-Asha fı Sina'at Al-Insha*, finished writing in 814 Hijri, which organizes the most administrative knowledge of his contemporaries. It took ten years to reprint it in Egypt in the first quarter of the twentieth century.

Professor Doctor Zaid Alassaf
Director of ACATAP
Preface

In recent years, Western people and scholarly interest in Islamic culture has grown steadily, as have many blogs, websites, articles, research studies, books, conferences, associations and academic departments. They all asked the main questions: What lead to the quick spread of Islam in the seventh and eighth century? To what degree were the political and religious leaderships separated or combined in the history of Islam? How did the change of capital from Damascus to Baghdad, to Cairo, to Istanbul affect the Islamic civilization? All people, by these media, try to understand the nature and history of Islam, Islamic Religion and Arab culture. The search engine Google gives 2.4 milliard items about Islam.¹ A grasp of Islamic culture’s complexity is considered a necessity for the peaceful co-existence of Euro-Atlantic culture and Islamic Arab culture. As interest in Islamic culture increases, it begins to seem like a trend, and thus, many rather superficial studies gain ‘media market’; this is not the case of this study.

Administration in Islam

Attention to Islam is increasing everyday throughout the world. Such focus in its majority is directed to its principles, history, beliefs and norms of its followers, and worship behaviors. Islam had spread in all five continents, and I don’t think that there is an educated person who has not heard about Islam, especially in relation to: religious rituals and practices, like Haj (pilgrimage), fasting and prayers; social habits like marrying four women, Hijab; economics like banking and usury; military like war, fighting, Jihad and martyrdom; or sectarian issues like Sunnism and Shiitism. All the above were accompanied with the lack of highlighting Public Administration Principles and practices, in Arabic and foreign languages.

¹ http://www.google.com/webhp?hl=ar#hl=ar&site=webhp&q=islam*
What is worth noticing, according to my personal experience in Europe and through communicating with colleges from other nationalities is that we mostly mix between Islam as a global religion and Arabs as a Semitic race living, according to the modern names, in the Middle East and North Africa, which are called in Arabic: Arabian East and Arabian West (see Map No.3).\(^1\) This may be due to the reason that Quran was written in Arabic, but it did not differentiate between Arabic and foreigner people. Regardless of this wide spread of Islam and Arabs, we notice that, outside the narrow circle of specialized scholars and orientalists, very few people know that the Islamic Arabic State, historically, practiced the finest arts and sciences of administration in its age. They will be surprised, during this hasty presentation, that administration applied by Arabs was practiced according to authentic standards, roles and systems, but they were buried beneath the accumulation of the Dark Ages. This summary is trying to highlight the arts and sciences of administration in Islamic Arabic State, especially public administration, as neutral and objective as possible.

History books, usually, talk about the biographies of leaders and great people and theirs conquests in thoughts, beliefs, politics, wars, love and money. They draw upon their triumphs, gains and losses, and talk the least about public and day life of the population, or about the foundations and bodies that helped great men to achieve victory or bear failure such as strategic and logistic plans. There was little mention of the administrative processes that were performed in the backstage, in order to transfer thoughts, beliefs and policy into action and behavior that led to accomplishments or encountered defeat, whatever type it was. Islamic Arabic State is no different. It is the history of dynasties that governed the Islamic and Arabic world as from the beginning of the Arabic Umayyad dynasty in Damascus in the year 661 A.D till the end of the Othman dynasty in Istanbul in the year 1922A.D.

This study is derived from the new School of history, the Annales School (Britannica, 2010), replacing the study of leaders, politics and wars with lives of bureaucrats, people of administration and their activities.

\(^1\) http://www.arableagueonline.org/wps/portal/las_en
In the University of Damascus (1970–1980), we did not study, as students, any course or material that speaks about the history and thoughts of administration in Islam. There were courses that dealt with the history of traditional administration thinking covering the first quarter of the twentieth century, such as Frederick Winslow Taylor (1856-1915) who presented the theory of “Scientific Management”,¹ Henri Fayol (1841-1925) who came out with the theory of “General Administration Functions”² and Max Weber (1841-1925) who produced “the Bureaucracy Theory”³ and the following theories like the school of Human and Behavior Relations, the school of Operation Research, Systems, and Contingency. This would indicate to the students that the administration thinking is limited to the contributions of the pioneers of administration in modern age, and that the administrative ideology appeared from the bloom in the contemporary West. This contradicts the scientific logic, as the ideological and scientific achievements such as administration thoughts and practices are accumulative civilized heritage to which successive generations and nations have contributed (Katzenstein, 2010). Such achievements have started along with the beginning of Man conception to himself. His environment and his effort to protect himself from death and to enhance his living conditions. He started thinking about administration action when he felt the necessity to cooperate with others and use available natural resources and tools. At a later stage, we can talk about the Sumerian Tablets that date 4000 years B.C, of which most were on governments and administrations. We will also discuss the Acadian Empire that replaced the Sumerians in the third Millennium B.C, which was considered among the pioneer empires in governing and administration, in addition to Hammurabi’s Law, in the second millennium B.C, which was a doctrine in administration and sociology and it is kept at the Louvre Museum in Paris till now. Most of his thoughts and principles are still enforced and were mentioned in several Holly religions. We cannot ignore Pharaohs, Chinese, Persians and Romans from which Islamic Arabic

¹ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Frederick_Winslow_Taylor
² http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Henri_Fayol
³ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Max_weber
civilization had benefited. This kind being civilization, in turn, achieved valuable administrative experiences. All people have to contribute in uncovering and revealing this human experience, as it would help to better understand human development along with the studies of physical traces and human genes.

**The Spread of Islam**

Arab Muslims account today for around 20% of all Muslims worldwide. They spread out from the Arab Peninsula in the 7th century AD and in the 8th century, into Syria, Egypt, North Africa, Spain, Persia, Part of Asia to India and china. They had profound influence on the decorative arts throughout the known world, (Britannica, 2010, See also Map No. 2). In his book, Michael Hart (1992), ranked popular people from human history according to their importance to humanity, based on their achievements. In fact, just few people know that the most important person in the history of all humankind is the Prophet Muhammad. Hart asserted that Muhammad was "supremely successful" in both the religious and secular realms.

Below, we indicate the size of the Islamic World today, how it spread and expanded when it set out from The Arabian Peninsula before 1433 Hijri years,¹ as follows:

At the ‘golden age’ of the Muslims Empires (Sonn, 2011), most of the Old World in the Islamic era was ruled by Islamic dynasties in particular, during the Umayyad and Abbasid periods (see the Map No. 2). They had profound influence on the religious beliefs, ethics, politics, public administration, sciences and decorative arts throughout the known world (Britannica, 2010). 632-661 AD: conquest of Persia and parts of India, the Middle East, and North Africa as far as Tripoli. 662-750 AD, Moslems conquered Armenia, the rest of North Africa, Spain and the southern parts of France. Muslim expanded into Europe at the Battle of Tours (732), but failed to take Constantinople. The conquests meant, at that era, that the Moslems controlled the Mediterranean Sea and its trade routes.

Muslim world today

A comprehensive 2009 demographic study of 232 countries and territories\(^1\) reported that 23% of the global population, or 1.57 billion people, are Muslims. Between 1900 and 1970 the global Muslim community grew from 200 million to 551 million; between 1970 and 2009 the Muslim population increased more than three times to 1.57 billion. The Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) was established upon a decision of the historical Summit, which took place in Rabat, Kingdom of Morocco in 1389 Hijra (1969).\(^2\) It is the second largest inter-governmental organization after the United Nations, which has the membership of 57 states spread over four continents (see the Map No.1). The Organization is the collective voice of the Muslim world and ensures to safeguard and protect the interests of the Muslim world in the spirit of promoting international peace and harmony among various people of the world.

The Islamic Golden Age

The Islamic Golden Age\(^3\) is traditionally dated from the mid-7th century to the mid-13th century at which Muslim rulers established one of the largest empires in history. During this period, artists, engineers, scholars, poets, philosophers, geographers and traders in the Islamic world contributed to agriculture, the arts, economics, industry, law, literature, navigation, philosophy, sciences, sociology, and technology, both by preserving earlier traditions and by adding inventions and innovations of their own. Also, at that time, the Muslim world became a major intellectual centre for science, philosophy, medicine and education. In Baghdad they established the “House of Wisdom”, where scholars, both Muslim and non-Muslim, sought to gather and translate the world’s knowledge into Arabic in the Translation Movement. Many classic works of antiquity that would otherwise have been forgotten were translated into Arabic and later in turn translated into Turkish, Sindhi, Persian, Hebrew and Latin. Knowledge was synthesized from works originating in ancient Mesopotamia, Ancient Rome,


\(^2\) The conference was held after the fire in Aqsa Mosque.

\(^3\) http://islamichistoryonline.com/islamic-golden-age/
China, India, Persia, Ancient Egypt, North Africa, Ancient Greece and Byzantine civilizations. Rival Muslim dynasties such as the Fatimids of Egypt and the Umayyads of al-Andalusia were also major intellectual centres with cities such as Cairo and Córdoba rivaling Baghdad. The Islamic empire was the first “truly universal civilization,” which brought together for the first time “peoples as diverse as the Chinese, the Indians, the people of the Middle East and North Africa, black Africans, and white Europeans. A major innovation of this period was paper – originally a secret tightly guarded by the Chinese. The art of papermaking was obtained from prisoners taken at the Battle of Talas (751), spreading to the Islamic cities of Samarkand and Baghdad. The Arabs improved upon the Chinese techniques of using mulberry bark by using starch to account for the Muslim preference for pens vs. the Chinese for brushes. By AD 900, there were hundreds of shops employing scribes and binders for books in Baghdad and public libraries began to become established. From there paper-making spread west to Morocco and then to Spain and from there to Europe in the 13th century.

We have a good reconnaissance in Islam in scientific, educational and Philosophic fields like:\footnote{http://www.britannica.com/}

- Jabir ibn Hayyan, ca. 8th – 9th centuries, was an alchemist,
- al-Khwarizmi, ca. 8th–9th centuries, was a Persian mathematician,
- Ibrahim ibn Sina (Avicenna) (908–946) was a physician and astrologist,
- The Banu Musa brothers, ca. early 9th century, three sons of a colorful astronomer and Astrologer,
- al-Idrisi (1100–1166) was a geographer, an Andalusian traveler and cartographer. He was famous for his map of the world.
- Abu Bakr Zakariya al-Razi, ca. 854–925/935, is famous for his most important works in the field of medicine.
- Ibn al-Nafis (1213–1288) was a physician who was born in Damascus and practiced medicine as head physician.
- Hunayn Ibn Ishaq al-Kindi (801–873) was a philosopher and polymath scientist. He was one of the most important translators, among many
Surprisingly, there is a little knowledge of the contribution of Islam in the subject of public administration, in spite of the fact that most of the Old World in the Islamic era was ruled by Islamic background in particular the last Umayyad period and Abbasid period (Britannica, 2010; Wikipedia, 2011).

**Government, Dynasty, Economy and Doctrines:**

Government: Umar Ibn Al Kattab was the first Caliph who shaped the Islamic Empire that was about to evolve.

The organization of the Islamic Caliphates into states and provinces was carried out according to his orders, which still exist until today after more than 1400 years. Muslim caliphates (empires) which were divided into provinces; originally had a central government under a caliph who held supreme civil, military, and religious power.

The Arab-Islamic State depends on three pillars, additional to islamic regulations:

- The official army,
- The judicial system
- The Divans.

Dynasty: For the purpose of this study, we divided rashly the history of the Islamic ruling into four eras:

- Prophet Mohammed (570 Mecca -632 Medina A.C.): after era Hegira (622-632 CE).\(^1\)
- Rushidun’s Caliphs era, “Rightly Guided”: It was the period (632-661 A.C.) which ruled by the First four caliphs of the Islamic community: Abu Bakr Al-Siddiq, Umar ibn al-Khattab, Uthaān ibn Affan, and Ali ibn Abi Talib.
- Most important Arab dynasty caliphates (661-1171): the Umayyads (661-750; Damascus); the Abbasids (750-1258; Baghdad); and the Fatimids (968-1171).

\(^1\) Umar started the first year Hegira with the first day of the lunar month of Muharram, which corresponded to July 16, 622.
• Most important non-Arab dynasty caliphates (1171-1922): the Ayyubids (1173-1250) in Egypt; the Mameluks (1250-1517) in Egypt; and the Ottomans (1200-1922) in Istanbul, which was one of the most powerful states in the world during the 15th and 16th centuries.

Economy based on commerce (from China to the Mediterranean) and on manufacturing (silk, cloth, tapestries, and carpets; jewelry, perfumes, and spices; precious metals and swords from Damascus and Toledo).

Islamic Doctrine: Issues involved selection of Muhammad’s successors (the caliph), and the interpretation of the Noble Qur’an. The result was the emergence of the Shiites and Sunnis who both agreed on law and religious practices. A third group emerged later, the Sufis, and other sects.

Translation Preface

This study aims to shed light on the establishment of administration systems which handled Divans or wrote about public administration during sensitive historical periods of human history. A period started with the beginning of the establishment of Islamic State during the phase of Prophet Muhammad in the year 622 A/D, from the beginning of Hijri year till the end of Mamluki Era in 1517 A.D and the beginning of Othman Era, which these highlights do not cover.

Originally, these studies were produced in Arabic, as research results presented in local and international conferences, and published by the Syrian Ministry of Culture in a book in 1997. The aim of the original Arabic version of the book and this English version are to give some illuminations on the Public Administration of Islamic history. The Public administration is considered as one of the important pillars of spread of Islam and the failure of Islamic governments. It is bureaucracy. It is not to make pure historic research on the subject. I think the history of public administration is rich in information and knowledge, not only for historians but also for scientists in management and administration, and for those who occupied responsibility in government. I would like to take the opportunity of the translation of this book into English, to extend my thanks to the Ministry of Culture and the late professor Antwan Makdisi, the head of Authoring and translation in the ministry, for his interest in spreading the culture of the
Arab history of administration. Also, I would like thank Professor Doctor Zaid Alassaf, Arab Center for Arabization Director in Damascus, who wanted to provide this brief book on the history of administrative ideology to the English reader, after he had read this book in Arabic, because such research is very rare in Arabic and other languages. I, in turn, gladly responded to this wish and used the help of the translator Ms. Ezmeralda Hemedan to aid in translating this book into English. I would like to mention all the people who helped, encouraged and facilitated the completion of this research, and I extend a special thanks to the Higher Institute for the Arab History of Science at Aleppo University and all its staff, and in particular Professor Doctor Sami Shalhob who dedicated himself to research in the history of science among Arabs. Since these researches were aimed basically at those interested in history, and to the Arabic reader, and since the translator translates for himself, new illumination were added, either on the original text or in the notes, to facilitate the comprehension of the historic context for the reader, along with reserving the general structure of the original book and the distribution of its chapters and paragraphs, with the exception of dividing chapter six into two chapters, So, I held all the responsibility on my own for any reclaim concerning this book.

The original book consists of an introduction and six chapters, arranged according to the chronological order of the Arabic Caliphates that took over the throne. Chapter one talks about the Profession of Administration (writing) and the terminology of Administrative writing and the concepts of (bureaucracy and communication according to the contemporary concepts), and the position of administrative thinking in Islamic Feqh. The second chapter deals with writing during the Era of Prophet Muhammad at Almadena and about the management of Rashidi Era, and also about the Umayyad Caliphates (the first Arab royal dynasty in Islam) in Damascus. The third chapter talks about Abbasid Caliphate in Baghdad, and the fourth chapter is around the Fatimid Caliphate in Egypt, and the fifth discusses the Mamluki Era in Egypt and Levant. While the sixth chapter is dedicated to the most important Administration encyclopedia in the history of Arabs, and, I think, at the global level as well: Subh Al-Asha fi Kitabat Al-Insha for
Al-Qalqashandi. The sixth chapter is divided into two sections: the first takes number sixth provides the reader with a brief introduction to the author and the book, and the seventh talks about *Subh Al-Asba* encyclopaedia.

Salim Al-hassanieh
Damascus, March, 2012
Map No. 1: The total population of the member states of OIC
Source: The University of North Carolina:
http://www.uncp.edu/home/rwb/lecture_mid_civ.htm
Introduction

The profession of writing has been and continues to be the most important and most useful of all professions invented by humanity through ages, despite the introduction of modern means of recording, documenting and communication. The invention of writing was the dividing line between historic and prehistoric times.

First, this study aims first to find facts about the profession of bureaucracy writing, since the establishment of the Islamic state till the ruling of Mameluke dynasty. The study aims secondly to highlight the role of writing in the official administrative communication through the establishment of Divans (Ministries).

The importance of the subject of writing as a tool for human communication did not receive the attention it deserves from Arab scholars. This might be because the concept of communication, in general, is not considered as a system for leadership and management, exchange and publishing of knowledge and science on a wide scale, although writing is the key element in any communication system.

The previous studies on the profession of writing were not interested in

---

1. The greater part of this study (Chapters 1-5) was presented, as a research entitled "Spotlight On The Profession Of Bureaucracy Writing In Arab Society: Since Its Emergence Till The Era Of Ibn Abi Ulaybia" at the 15th Conference On The History Of Science among Arabs, organized by the Institute of Arab Science Heritage at Aleppo University in cooperation with Swied’a Governorate, where Ibn Abi Ulaybia lived and died at Salkhad which is famous for having an Ayobi castle and minaret. The Conference was held from 20-22 of April 1993. While Chapter Six of the book, which speaks about the Mamluki era, was presented as a lecturer on October 16, 1993 as part of the Scientific And Cultural Program organized annually by the Faculty of Economics at the University of Aleppo.

2. Member of a military unit that was made-up of slaves converted to Islam. They seized control of the sultanate in 1250 in Egypt and held the throne until 1517 and continued in power until 1811 when it was exterminated by Mehemet Ali.
the history of the relation between the profession of writing and management, and how they developed together to present the Diwani writing (Diwani calligraphy).

The available literature on the profession of writing is limited to addressing technical aspects in Arabic writing (character drawing, grammar, etc.), while what is related to the profession of writing as a civilized function and key element for communication, documentation and storage system were not addressed properly.

This study assumes that the profession of writing played a key role in the bureaucracy systems (Divan) in Arab Islamic state, or what is known today as bureaucratic systems (in the neutral sense of the word). It was the main tool for communicating within the Divans (government offices), between each other, between the Divans and the Caliph, and between all the above and the people.

The framework of this study is determined by the profession of formal non-creative writing (bureaucracy), i.e. the writing in the field of management of Divans (government offices) and the State, as a communication tool and not calligraphy, as a physical embodiment of words.

This Study is mainly based on the information contained in probing documented manuscripts that are directly related to the profession of writing and the establishment and organization of Divans (government offices). We have chosen some models from these sources which represent the consecutive ages of the Islamic state, provided that the writing author had occupied important administrative positions in the government. We tried to select sources that represent the state’s weight centers in Damascus, Baghdad and Cairo, for authors that descend from various religious and ethnic origins such as “Ibn Qutaybah” and “Ibn Serafi” and “Al’ass’a’ad bin Mati” and “Diya Eddin ibn Athir” and “Al-Qalqashandi”.
Chapter I

Theoretical Framework of the Profession of Bureaucracy Writing

1. History and Origin of Arabic Writing:

Pre-Islam Arabs knew writing; it was a key condition to raise the social standard, beside swimming and shooting arrows (Al-Dali, 1980, Pg:16). Writing subjects varied, among which we mention: Jewish and Christian Books, Conventions and treaties that were hanged on the Kaaba.¹

There are five different theories about the origin of Arabic Writing:²
1) The Endowment Theory: It says that writing is a gift from God, granted to Adam, and Ismail was the first person who wrote Arabic.
2) The Southern Theory (Hemerian):³ It says that Arabic Calligraphy is extracted from Masnad and Hemeriai calligraphy.
3) The Northern Theory (Hurrian):⁴ It says that Arabic calligraphy was transferred basically from Al-Hera, compared to Syriac Language.
4) The Holographic Writing Theory. It says that the oldest episode in the series of the history of Arabic calligraphy is related to the Holographic writing. All these theories were refuted (see Joumah, 1947/ Al-Dali, 1980).
5) The Modern Theory is shared by most solid references. It says that the

---
¹ Islamic site in Mecca which is a black stone cube shaped building considered as a holy place for Muslims to which they head to in prayers and seek in pilgrimage.
² Arabic is the second most widely used alphabetic writing system in the world (the Latin alphabet is the most widespread) (Britannica).
³ Arab tribe that used to live in the southern Arabian Peninsula (Yemen today).
⁴ The language of the Hurrians, written in cuneiform, related to ancient people who settled in Syria and northern Mesopotamia during the 3rd–2nd millennia BC. and lived in an ancient city located south of Al-koufa in southern Iraq.
emergence of Arabic writing, which we know today, and used in the writing of Arab study, was accompanied with Arab settlement. Their contact with civilization and residence at the rich edges of the Arabian Peninsula, in Yamane, Euphrates, Syria, Horan and Nabatea, were Arabic calligraphy which was extracted from Aramaic\textsuperscript{1} calligraphy. Nabataeans used an Aramaic calligraphy in their architectural affairs that lasted till 106 A.D.

The architectural techniques found at the banks of Euphrates and Jabal Alarab (As-suwayda in Syria) support this theory. The comparison between the inscription discovered at North of Hijaz and those of Jabal Alarab indicates the similarity between the late original Nabataean\textsuperscript{2} inscription and the ancient Arabic inscription (see the attached table).

Arabic writing spread with Islam, serving each other, and emerged from the Arabian Peninsula to all directions and replaced some characters in the writing of some countries like Persian Language. Arabic writing was, in addition to being the language of The Holy Qur’an, the tool for communication, documentation and managing the Young Arabic Islamic State. The Arabic language was used to send invitation letters to join Islam, make conventions and treaties, and it was the language of commerce and economy during that age. Up till today, we still find some management and commercial terms in European languages that derived from Arabic such as: Tariff, magazine, Douan, etc..

2. Terms of the Study:

A. Writing:

Writing as a term means presenting the spoken words and ideas using

\textsuperscript{1} The earliest Aramaic texts are inscriptions in an alphabet of Phoenician origin found in the northern Levant dating from 850 to 600 BC. The period 600–200 BC saw a dramatic expansion of Aramaic, leading to the development of a standard form known as Imperial Aramaic. In later centuries, as “Standard Literary Aramaic,” it became a linguistic model. Late (or Classical) Aramaic (AD 200–1200) has an abundant literature, both in Syriac and in Mandaic (see Mandaeanism). With the rise of Islam, Arabic rapidly supplanted Aramaic as a vernacular in South Asia (2005 Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc.).

\textsuperscript{2} Nabataea: ancient Arabic kingdom that was located in present day Jordan.
special symbols (characters and other writing signals). Writing as a profession in the field of administration and bureaucratic work means performing office paper works and maintaining books and records, as we see in today’s administrative reporting writing.

The word “Ecriture” in French means: “writing specific process in the appropriate book and account”. In plural it means: “accounting for the trader or company” (Robert 1/1984). Here we notice how the French dictionary handled directly the relation of writing to management and administrative work, while Arabic dictionaries like Lisan Al-Arab and Al-Mounjed did not.

The term “Writing Profession/Sinat Al-Kitabah” prevailed in previous eras corresponds to a great extent with the term of “public function” used nowadays, and the term “writer” corresponds with the public employee. Today, we still use these terms in some public administrations like: “writer in justice” (Notary) and “writer in court” (court clerk)…

**B. Al-Dawawinia (Bureaucracy):**

Divan (Bureau) is the name of the place where the writer sits (Al-Qalqashandi, D821h, Part 1, pg 91). That’s how the term Divan, as a linguistic term, refers to the place where State affairs are handled, and also refers to the registry of soldiery and those who deserve financial help (Al-Mounjed, 1984).

In the modern era, the word *maktab* “office” was frequently used instead of “Divan”, which is related to the modern contact with the advanced western world as a translation of the word “Bureau”, where employees (writers) sit to perform their jobs. With the development and complications

---

1 Nowadays we use the word *idara* a common name in the modern Arabic language for administration, and management acquiring its technical significance during the period of European influence.

2 For more details and analysing of the word ‘WRITING’, see appendix 1.

3 Shihan al-Din Abu ’l-Abbas Ahmad ben Ali ben Ahmad Abd Allah al-Qalqashandi (1355 or 1356 – 1418) was a medieval Egyptian writer and mathematician born in a village in the Nile Delta.

4 Historical, as in Britain this text, a scribe, a clerk, especially in government offices.
of administrative work, the term bureaucracy\(^1\) came into existence around the year 1759 in the western countries after the industrial revolution to refer to office works, the use of offices’ authority and the accompanied complications in the performance of administrative works.

In the earlier Islamic ages, \textit{Al- Dawawinia} (bureaucracy) work began alongside the establishment of the first core of the Islamic State after the migration of Prophet Mohammad to Al-Madinah,\(^2\) and the revelation of Islam as a Divine religion (Al-Qalqashandi, Part 1, Pg 91). In parallel, with the spread of Islam, the activities of the Arabic Islamic State expanded; Divans varied and their tasks and duties branched for the management of the affairs of the new State. The Divan and their masters had authorities, laws and regulations which can be called “Divanian” that corresponds nowadays with the term “bureaucracy” in the neutral sense of the term.

\textbf{C. Administration (idara):}

The term “administration” refers to individuals who manage the organization’s affairs and the method for handling such affairs in order to achieve the organization’s goals. It also refers to the place where the organization is managed. In addition, it indicates to the Sciences of Administration and management thinking.

From the point of view of science and application, administration is divided into two sections:

The first section is interested in Governmental Management, which we are concerned about in this study, and today it is called “Public Administration” and includes non-profit governmental activities.

\(^1\) Professional corps of officials organized in a pyramidal hierarchy and functioning under impersonal, uniform rules and procedures. Its characteristics were first formulated systematically by Max Weber, who saw in the bureaucratic organization a highly developed division of labour, authority based on administrative rules rather than personal allegiance or social custom, and a “rational” and impersonal institution whose members function more as “offices” than as individuals. Later writers saw in bureaucracy a tendency to concentrate power at the top and become dictatorial (2005 Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc.).

\(^2\) Also called \textit{Yathrib}, where Prophet Muhammad travelled from Mecca to in 622, The date represents the beginning of Islamic Calendar \textit{Hegira} 622 A.D. it was the first capital of the first Islamic state served until 661A.D.
The second section is interested in activities that are related to economic projects that aim to gain profits, even if they were owned by the State, and it is called “Business Administration” (Al-Hasaniah, 1992).

The relation between writing profession and Al- Dawawinia (administration) is controversial, as administration developed with writing and vice versa. This story began with the emergence of Sumerian civilization in Mesopotamia around the mid of the fourth Millennium B.C. The archaeologist discoveries have shown that 95% of texts found on hundreds of clay tablets are related to commerce, administration and State affairs (Stiptchevitch, 1993, pg14). Such controversial relation between writing and administration continued throughout many ages and civilizations, when writers and writing held high rank at the courts of kings and sultans.

3. Al- Dawawinia Thought:

A. Al- Dawawinia thinking in Islamic ideology:

The administrative Islamic thinking is based on foundations and roles which connect between Islamic religion and life, trying to benefit from the civilized heritage of humanity among the other nations, taking what corresponds with Islam and modern society in that era.

In the early days of Islam, a coherent collection of administrative or bureaucratic ideas started to become clear depending on the basics and role of Islam, Arabs traditions, Greek and Persian theories related to the administration of State affairs. Scholars (fuqaha’a), philosophers and literati focused their scholastic attention on the position of the ruler, ruling system and public administration of the people’s affairs. Such attention was expressed in three major formulas depending on the owners’ cultural and ideological backgrounds (Lambton, Shaket and Bozorth 1978, page 33 – 77).

Formula one: It is the formula that was set by Koranic scholars, (fuqaha’a). It is based on analyzing and interpreting Qur’an verses, the Sunna1 of Prophet Mohammad, and what prevailed in early days of Islam in

---

1 Body of Islamic religious law which is based upon the words and actions of the Prophet Muhammad.
the light of the following administrative and political developments.

**Formula two:** This is the formula that was set by Islamic philosophers, in an attempt to subdue the Greek philosophy to the provisions of Islam. They focused their ideology on the law on which the State is established, like Al-Farabi\(^1\) (339H/950 A.D.), the second mentor, as Aristotle was the first, and his book “Araa Almadina Alfadilah\(\)Opinions of Utopia\(\)”, Ibn Sina (426H/1037A.D.), Ibn Rushd\(^2\) (1198A.D.), and Fakher Al-Din Alrazi\(^3\) (606H/1209A.D.) who spent a period of his life in Hurriara trying to reconcile between religion and philosophy.

**Formula Three:** This is the formula set by authors of writing profession and the authors of sermons, guidance and directions for rulers, governor Walis, and kuttab writers. It focuses on the practical side of the administration and ruling system more than the theoretical and philosophic sides. This formula tries to merge, to an acceptable level, between the provisions and rules of Islam and those prevailing in the opened countries, especially Persia and Rome and with the necessities and requirements of work (see also, Al-Hony, Amajdla’wa and Khamash).

The **last formula** occupies the middle position between the opinions of the scholars (fiqaha’a)) and philosophers. It can be divided into two parts: the first one is related to providing advice and guidance to the ruling authority represented by Caliphs and rulers, while the second part is related to providing advice and guidance to the executive authority represented by

\(^1\)Abū Nasr Muhammad al-Fārābī; known in the West as Alpharabius (c. 872– between 14 December, 950 and 12 January, 951), was a persian scientist and philosopher of the Islamic world. He was also a cosmologist, logician, musician and psychologist.

\(^2\)Abū l-Walid Muhammad bin Ahmad bin Rušd known in European literature as Averroes (1126 – December 10, 1198), was a Muslim polymath; a master of Aristotelian philosophy, Islamic philosophy, Islamic theology, Maliki law and jurisprudence, logic, psychology, politics, Arabic music theory, and the sciences of medicine, astronomy, geography, mathematics, physics and celestial mechanics. He was born in Córdoba, Al Andalus, modern-day Spain, and died in Marrakesh, Morocco.

\(^3\)Abu Abdullah Muhammad ibn Umar ibn al-Husayn al-Taymi al-Bakri al-Tabaristani Fakhr al-Din al-Razi, most commonly known as Fakhruddin Razi was a well-known theologian and philosopher . He was born in 1149 in Ray of Persia (today located in Iran) to a family tracing its lineage to the first Muslim Caliph, Abu Bakr, and died in 1209 in Herat (today located in Afghanistan). He also wrote on medicines, physics, astrology, literature, history and law.
ministers and “kuttab” writers.

Lambton dealt, in details, with the first part related to providing advice and guidance to Caliphs and rulers (without referring or dealing with the second part). She says: “Ruling theories, included in the books about administration and books written to teach politics to princes, relate back to the time before Ibn Muqaffa (759 A.D). she also refers to the (Resalt) Letter of Abd Al-Hamed Al-Kateb addressed to son of Abd Allah bin Marwan, the last Omayyad Caliph in (129 Hijri/746-747 A.D) when he was assigned to lead a campaign to Iraq. Lambton continues and mentions a great number of books of this type of literature such as: Al-Mansour Commandment, the second Abbasid Caliph, in which he pledges allegiance to his son and recommends him to adhere to justice in his rule. Other books include “advice to kings” written by Al-Gazaly (503 Hijri/1109-1110 A.D) and “Light of Kings” by Al-Tartoushi (520Hijri/1319 A.D)… etc. People continued writing books about princes’ manners till modern ages, and from these books Lambton mentions “Sultan Manners” by Wassaf Alhadrah (719Hijri/1319 A.D)…etc.

The other part of advice and guidance literature concerns advising and guiding the executive authority represented by individuals who carry out orders of the caliph, king or prince actually in daily life like writers, Divan Masters’ and workers. This literature closely resembles what is known today as training and qualification, because these writings were addressed, specifically, to employees (writers) to be as a guide in achieving their tasks in Divans, as they contain accurate details and daily management tasks, and this is what we are concerned with in this study, as we will notice later.

**B. The profession of writing in old encyclopedias and lexicons.**

Composition and publication prevailed during Abbasid Era, and a new phenomenon in classification emerged due to the expansion and branching of sciences. This phenomenon tends to enclose, classify and define such sciences, and each researcher and scientist knows the great value and benefit of this documentation and classification for the contemporary and the following generations.

If we checked the encyclopedias, we will notice that the profession of
writing was one of their main subjects. Some authors – among the most famous in this field Ibn Al-Nadim (390Hijri/1000 A.D.) was a bibliographer who worked in writing indexes which aims to record and classify books that appeared in all sciences till his era, in addition to the information about their classifiers and their bloodlines and statues. This branch prefers the science of calligraphy and writing and its tools over all sciences, as it considers writing the start point and the foundation for any further work of science or knowledge. Science of religions was also attached to it due to the status of religious sciences for Muslims.

Ibn Al-Nadim divided his Kitāb al-Fihrist “The Index” into ten articles then divided each article into an unequal number of arts. He mentioned in the second art of the third article all the news of kings, writers, Al-mutarasilin eloquent, tax officers and Divan Officials and the names of their books. He mentioned a great number of authors who wrote in the field of Bureaucratic work, but he did not explain the bureaucratic tasks and functions. It is noted that Ibn – Al-Nadim had gathered the biographies of men of letters with the biographies of Walis and kings. We note that such a collection is related to the important position of writers in the Islamic society. In this “Index” we find books from all the specialties of Divan (offices) during that age: Letters’ Divan, Tax Divan, Army Divan….

Among the encyclopedic writers who classified the profession of writing as a science and preferred it to other sciences was Al-Farabi\(^2\) (259-339 Hijri). In his book Ihsa’a Al-ulum “Counting of sciences”, and Tashkbrik-Zadah (901 – 968 Hijri), “Keys of Happiness and Lamp of sovereignty”, was the book in which he translated for scientists according to the subject of their sciences. He starts with the science of writing and considers it to be one of the seven origins of science, and divides it into two branches: the first one deals with the quality of calligraphy profession, and the second deals with the quality of dictating characters (see also Mohammad Ibn Ismail Al-Sayed Ahmad, 1988).

---

\(^1\) The persons who exchange letters.

\(^2\) Known in the West as Alpharabius, Farabi made contributions to the fields of logic, mathematics, music, philosophy, psychology, and education.
In all cases, the encyclopedia called “Subh Al-Aasha Fi Sinat Al-Inshaa” written by Al-Qaşshandi consists of 14 volumes and remains to be the most important, comprehensive, complete source and reference specialized in the profession of writing and making of composition (reporting), which promotes the author to be the father of Bureaucrats. But we will stop a little at “Mafatih Al-ulum” or “Keys to Sciences”, of Al-Khwārizmi,¹ the oldest encyclopedia in Arabic that speaks accurately and in details about the profession of writing and its terms and terminology.

Mohammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Yusuf Al-Khwārizmi (Died 378 Hijri/997 A.D.) was famous for his book Mafatih Al-ulum “Keys to Sciences” and was named Abo Abd Allah Al-Kateb (the writer). He is the oldest Muslim author to write an encyclopedia in Arabic. He was a writer and a researcher who was assigned an administrative position. The Arabs gave him a great status because of the great benefit of this book which introduces us to a lot of various subjects.

This glossary consist of two articles: one about Sharia and Arab Sciences and the other is about other nations’ sciences such as the Greeks and others. The book was prepared in a similar way to modern dictionaries in that it gives a short useful definition of a word or term difficult to be understood. He classified similar terms and vocabularies into specialized chapters, and the first article contained six parts. Al-Khwārizmi considered writing among the Sciences of Arabs, and because of its importance, writing was mentioned in a separate part (Fourth part) and includes eight chapters:

He starts with the names of records and tasks used in Divans and he mentions daily record “Roznamij”² and monthly inventory lists “Al-Ketmeh” and annual inventory lists “Al-Ketmeh Al-Jameea”³ which includes disclaimers or instruments and absolute documents …

In the Second Chapter, the author talks about Khiraj,⁴ Tax writing, and

¹ This author is Muhammad ibn Mūsā al-Khwārizmi born c. 780, in Baghdad, Iraq and died c. 850. He was a famous Muslim mathematician.
² Calendar.
³ Yearly budget.
⁴ The combination of all religious taxes collected at the end of the Islamic lunar year.
lists different various terms and vocabularies regarding collecting taxes such as Al-Khiraj (tax collected on reconciled lands), “Mux” (tax collected from merchants), misalliance (expenses which rarely occur), revenue (what is returned to and not counted for), appraisal and bankruptcy … Note that many of these terms are still used in finance and accounting till today.

The third chapter talks about Storage Divan Book (warehouses) and is related to cargo, weights and measures.

The forth chapter deals with Post Divan, and explains the word “Eskdar” which is registry and includes the number of incoming and sending maps, names of their owners and it is known today as Mail Registry… Al-Kkwarizmi relates the word to its origin, so we note that most of the words used in administration and financial affairs were derived from Persian language, as the term Divan.

Subjects related to Military Divan were mentioned in the fifth chapter. The author explains the vocabulary used to pay military wages and salaries like: loans, clearing and financing…

The sixth chapter talks about the vocabulary related to Land, Expenses and Compass Divan.

The seventh chapter is dedicated to Water Divan, where we find accurate technical terms which indicate the method and style of administration and life in that era.

It the last chapter Al-Khwarizmi deals with the subjects of tarassul letter -writing and he says: “Everything mentioned before in this part is used by the letter writers, and in this chapter I mention what they specialize in, more than other writers, in criticizing speech and describing its characteristics and faults (page 96). He also speaks about inlaying, deriving, comparison and other origins and doctrine of the writing systems.

The fourth part of “Key to Sciences” is considered an important source of administration structures and organizations, positions, dealings and State affairs with its citizens which prevailed during the third Abbasid Era in the mid of the fifth Hijri Century since it provides accurate technical image of
the structures and mechanisms of administrative work and activities.

It is of value to say that these divisions of divans which was written more than one thousand years ago, is very similar to the departments of any modern organization.

**C. Value and position of the profession of writing**

A large number of writers supports the saying that prose writing or writing of composition has a greater value and higher rank in comparison to poetry despite the fact that Arabs were famous, because they loved and innovated rhymed speeches since pre-Islam ages till now. The evidence they use to support their claim is that, among other things, the words of Allah, God, descended in prose not in poetry, and that prophet Mohammad did not recite poetry. They refer to Quran verses that speak about the importance of writing in life and afterlife like: “Write between you in justice” and also the Sunnah speeches and actions of the Prophet in this field like setting a captive free if he taught writing to ten Muslim boys.

Al Qalqashandi is considered the best reference in the profession of writing, especially in composition (reporting) and its Divan (see chapter six in this book), which indicates the value and position of the profession of writing in the first volume of his huge encyclopedia “Subh Al-aasha in Sinat Al-Insha” The Dawn for the Blear”. He likes to say this Guide Encyclopedia is a luminaire for the people who work in Divan whether they are beginners or unqualified.

Al Qalqashandi was fond of and creative with writing. He spent most of his life in its service and writing about it. No wonder he granted writing the highest and most sophisticated position and said that writing is: “The most honorable and superior professions, the most profitable and useful products, the best and paramount deed and most rich and valued virtues.” He specifically mentions the writing of Insha composition and he distinguishes and raises it above other writings: “Especially the writing of composition reporting that rank as the Sultan of writing, and the apple of its eye rather it is eye of its apple, kings recognize it only, and tasks depend on it when they glorify writers and make them close” (Part 1, page 6).
He says that the merit of writing “Cannot be measured and it’s more honorable for it to be studied” (Part 1, page 42). If this is the position and merits of writing, so writers of high administrators rather than other people have high stature and merit, and refers to the sayings of Ibn Al-Muqaffa: “Kings need writers more than writers need kings” (Part 1, page 43). He devotes a chapter to praise the best writers and dispraise fools of them. He mentions a number of tales, stories and drolleries about writing and differences in interpreting terms and explaining letters. He also makes a comparison between writing of reporting and writing of financial matters, preferring the first to the second with long quotations from which support his opinion and says: “The pen of writing is the spokesman and the pen of accounting is the executor. Legends of eloquence are copied to be taught while accounting codes are copied and wiped out.” (Part 1, page 56)

He devoted a special part for the characteristics and manners of writers. They have the following ten characteristics: (A free muslim male adult with eloquence, a wise mind and opinion and a knowledge of Sharia provisions. He should also be strong, honorable and efficient in what he does). Checking and comparing this list with the characteristics with employment requirements set by private and governmental organizations today, we find similarities that completely match in most characteristics.

The author mentions without specific classification other conditions related to manners, integrity, good behavior and company. Also he reports conditions related to appearance like being: “average height, small in figure, thick beard, dresses gorgeously and smells good” (see chapter six in this book).
Chapter II

Prophet’s, Rashidun and Umayyad Eras
 Establishment of Divans (Ministries)

1. Prophet’s Era: The core of establishing a Divan System

Resources agree that the Golden Era of Arabic writing began with the descend of the Holy Quran and spread of Islam. Previous historic events proved that writing and blogging are the best ways to spread and maintain ideas. Prophet Mohammad realized that, and recommended the release of any captive taken in Bader Battle if he taught writing to 10 Muslim boys (Ibrahim Jumaa, 1947). Arabic writing became a means for Islamic mission and rule. Arabic was the language used for writing the revelations (Wahy), the correspondences from Prophet Mohammad to the addressees, and from Caliphs to their representatives (Walis). Divans affairs were written and State matters were controlled. The First appearance of Diwan Al Insha (Writing Divan) is related to the Prophet’s State. The most famous writers for Prophet Mohammad were the first four Caliphs: Abu Baker, Umar, Othman, Ali, and others like Abu Sufyan. Al-Qalqashandi says that he found at the biography of followers that Prophet Mohammad had more than thirty writers.

We do not have resources (manuscripts written at the Prophet’s Era) about the Profession of Writing and Divans’ establishment, but we can deduce these administration functions through the Prophet Hadiths,1 the recording of events and occurrences during the Prophet’s Era, and the biography and sayings of Sahaabah (companions) and followers.

1 Collection of writings that document the sayings and actions of the prophet Muhammad, one of the main sources of Islamic law (second in authority to the Koran) (Britannica Encyclopedia, 2010).
According to Al-Assad library archive in Damascus, Abd Alhai Al-Kettani, the elder (1873 – 1908) collected, and translated these events into contemporary terms into a 2 volume book named: “Nizam Alhukoma Alnabuiah, Al-Tarateeb Alidaryah” that means: “System of Prophet’s Government, Administrative Arrangements”. He dictated the third chapter of this book - especially the third Art of it- for writing and its relation to administration, where he speaks about Al kuttab (writers) and their deputies, secretariat, covenants, land tax(Khiraj)…etc. He also deals with delicate technical issues of which no trace was found in specialized books in Abbasid Era like addressing techniques, mentioning the address, as well as the opening and closing of formal letters. It is mentioned that Prophet Mohammad said when he wrote to the Romans: “To Hercules, the Great of Romans” and he did not say: The “King of Romans” as he did not deserve that title, but he did not under-estimate the rank of that king when he addressedg him as the Great of Romans(page 142).

Al-Ketani indicates that all functions known today were present at the Prophet’s Era, which might contain some exaggeration. However, the basic core of Writing Divan was established in addition to some important and necessary administration functions which were practiced even though they did not have fixed regulations and rules. After the emigration (Hijra)\(^1\) of Prophet Mohammad from Mecca, to Medina in 622 A.D, with some of his Ansar (companions), He established the first office to run missionary affairs to Islam at the mosque. In the mosque of Medina, public affairs began to take its place as the greatest builder of human history in the future. Prophet Mohammad issued orders, instructions and directions, he asked his companions to write when it is related to something important like Al-Hudaibah reconciliation between People of Mecca (Meccanians) and Prophet Mohammad and others… (See also Ali Abd Alkhader Mostfa, 1983).

Sources say that Prophet Mohammad has many writers and translators. There were writers for revelation (Wahy)\(^2\), correspondences, money and

\(^1\) The beginning of Islamic calendar 622 A.D.

\(^2\) A Qur’anic term primarily denoting revelation in the form of communication with Allah speech to
military. In fact, the Prophet Mohammad even ordered a complete census of Muslims (Al-Kettani, page 142-220).

Al-Kettani outlines administrative functions he noted in the Prophet’s Era as follows: “The observer finds that function of the modern royal court was related to persons such as: light holder, cleaner, shoemaker, stables caretaker and commissioner, were present for Prophet Mohammad. Maybe from that era, Muslim kings took them. If we looked at the administration ranks such as all types of ministries, all types of writing, letters, feudalities, covenant and reconciliation writing, messengers, translators, military writers, judges, complaint receivers, accountants, inheritance officers, City Police Commanders, jail keepers, spies, hospitals, schools, charities, sanctuaries, nurses, sergeants, bankers, bayt Al-Mal (exchequer officer), land tax officers, land dividers, mangonel makers and shooters, tank officers, trench diggers, goldsmiths, and all types of stores and crafts we find that the Era of Prophet Mohammad, though short in time (eleven years), did not lack these functions and administering these tasks to discover that they were assigned to competent persons from his companions and assistants” (page 9). He says that construction in Medina during the eleven years of Prophet Mohammad reached “the most current knowledge of these functions today in the administration of writing, calculations, judiciary, war, health etc…” (Page 11).

2. Rushidun’s era: The establishing and supporting of Divans System

Rashidun in Arabic means “Rightly Guided”. It was the period (632-661 A.C.) which was ruled by the first four caliphs of the Islamic community: Abû Bakr Al-Siddiq, Umar ibn al-Khattab, Uthmān ibn Affān, and Ali ibn Abi Talib. The 29-year rule of the Rashidun was Islām’s first experience without the leadership of the Prophet. Regardless of the establishment of Divans that assemble today’s Ministries, coherent features of financial and administrative systems of Islamic State were not shaped until Umar Ibn Al-Katab Era. “There was no necessary need to write everything in finance or
calculation during the Prophet’s or Abu Baker’s Era, as Zakat (alms),
trophies and taxes (Faie) were distributed on hand without the need for
writing and calculations. There were no exchequer for Muslims, no salaries,
military forces or other tasks that needed to be written… while in Umar’s
Era, things changed due to the new situations, especially after the Islamic
spread to Egypt, Syria, and Persia. Umar’s innovations affected taxation,
social welfare, and the empire’s entire financial and administrative fabric,
and he was noted for his justice, social ideals, and candour. As there was
plenty of money and so many Muslims from Arabs and others, in addition
to the establishment of the regular army which led to steady pay roles for
governors (Walis), workers and soldiers, organization of endowments for
Muslims. All of that made Umar organize the affairs of this large state, that
had incomes and spending, as this new life required the establishment of
Divans. After the expansion, money that came in to Caliphs was great, so
Umar Ibn Al-Katab established four Divans:
* Insha (Writing) Divan or what was called sometimes letters Divan,
secretariat in today’s terminology was concerned with correspondences and
keeping official documents.
* Tax Divan (Khiraj\(^1\) and Jezyah\(^2\)) was sometimes called Collection Divan,
state financial in today terminology. It was concerned with registering the
incomes and how they were spent. It had branches at the opening
provinces. This Divan, especially in the opened provinces, utilized writing
in the languages of such provinces and writers from the same province.
* Military Divan was concerned with registering warriors and cashing their
expenses. Work in this Divan was done in Arabic and utilized Arab
writers.
* Endowments or Money Divan had a basic task which was distributing
money to the citizens according to Sharia rules.

There are no agreement regarding the number, definition, tasks and
functions of Divans, as they differ from one source to another, especially
regarding Divans in this early stage of the establishment of Islamic State (see
Farouq Majdalay, Mostfa Al-hyari, Farj Al-Honi). For instance, Al-

---

\(^1\) Tax collected on farmed land

\(^2\) Tax collected from non Muslims living on the lands of Muslims.
Qaqashandi says that Uthman Ibn Affan\(^1\) was the first to establish Stamping Divan (which is the Divan responsible for stamping letters and correspondences issued by the Caliph), or otherwise said – Still Al-Qaqashandi speaking – that Moawiya bin Abi Sufyan\(^2\) was the first. It is also said that Umar Ibn Al-Katab was the first to use the stamp (Mohammad Kandil Bakly, 1984). But there is an agreement regarding the framework of Divan System, as it was derived from the prevailed system in the opened provinces, especially Persian which gave the term Divan, in addition to the Roman and Byzantium system that prevailed in the Levant. (Al-Honi, 1976, page 9).

3. Umayyad Era: Expansion and Arabization of Divan Systems

Umayyad dynasty was founded by Muawiya I. It was first great Muslim dynasty. He moved the capital from Medina to Damascus. In the Umayyad Era, the State expanded on a large scale, from Spain to Central Asia and India, causing gradual expansion in its affairs, and leading to the development and growth of administrative systems, which had several levels and many specialties. Branches for Divans were established in the opened provinces, and the central Divans at the Umayyad capital at Damascus were expanded.

References differ regarding the count of the existed Divans during the Umayyad Era; Abd Al-Khany Basuini considers them to be five, while Faraj Al-Honi says seven and Najdat Khamash reports them to be eight. In addition, the definitions, functions and tasks of these Divans differ among the references that were available for us.

The Umayyads kept Divans System that were functioning during Umar Ibn Al-Katab Era, and increased them to be as follows according to Faraj Al-Honi:
- **Inshaa Divan** (*Maktubat*): Secretary or chancery of the State, it

\(^1\) Descending from Umayyad clan of Mecca, he is the third of the Rightly Guided Caliphs, and ruled from the death of Umar in 644 to 656. Under Uthman, the Quran was collected and edited into its final form.

\(^2\) Founder of the great Umayyad dynasty of caliphs since 661-698 AD.
developed and had a parallel Divan in each province.

- **Exchequer Divan**: Sub-divans were established in opened provinces, as the central Divan became under the control of the Caliph “to grant to whoever he wishes” (Al-Honi, page 204).

- **Military Divan** (*Diwan Aljund*): work in this Divan continued as it was taking place during the period of Umar Ibn Al-Kattab.

- **Khirajand Land Tax Divian**: writing in this Divan continued to be in local languages, in Levant it was written in Roman as it used to be under Romans control, while in Iraq they used Persian language (Al-Honi, page 204).

- **Stamp Divan**: used to verify Caliph’s orders, then they would be stamped and bound by a thread and prepared to be sent.

- **Mail Divan**: responsible for mailing letters to provinces. It was also responsible for mail stations where the courier would change his tired horse so he could reach his destination fast. There were mail roads that connected Damascus to the provinces. This Divan received letters addressed to the Caliph, summarized and presented them to him, as they are today. Such a system was taken from the Romans.

- **Archive Divan** (*Diwan Al-zimam*): responsible for archiving and keeping important letters and correspondences. This system was taken from Iraq in which Divans were Persian.

The following Divans were added by Najdat Khamash:\(^1\)

- **Soldiers Families Divan** (*Zarari*): it is an endowment Divan for the families of soldiers and warriors.

- **Uniform Divan** (*Tiraz*): responsible for workshops that produced uniforms. The word “Tiraz” was mentioned in Al-Kawarizmi’s book “Mafateeh Al-Olom”\(^2\) in Water Divan chapter and means the person responsible for dividing the river’s water.

- **Charity Divan**:

Finally, we must indicate that the difference noted during our study for Divan systems and writing profession in the Early Islamic Era, whether in

---

\(^1\) Famous professor in history at Damascus University.

\(^2\) The name means “Keys to Sciences”.

42
number, names, tasks or function, requires to ask questions and encourage experts to rewrite the history of the first administrative systems depending on their original sources, and eliminate or clear these differences and contradictions among them.

Before moving to the Abbasid Era in Baghdad, where the number of Divans increased a lot, and were accompanied with a boom in the literature of bureaucratic writing books, we must record the most important development in the official profession of Arabic Writing and Divan systems in Umayyad Era, Arabization, which is related to its founder, the Caliph Abd Almalek Ibn Marwan (65-86Hijri/685-704 A.D.). He was Arabian from Hijaz and descendant from Koreish or Quraysh, the ruling tribe of Mecca at the time of the birth of the Prophet Muhammad, and a tribe which loved Arabism and Arabic language. When he found that the official administration language was written in languages other than Arabic, he ordered the use of Arabic language as an official language in Muslim countries since it is the language of Quran, in addition to facilitating the supervision by Arab governors on the affairs of their provinces. Arabization included Divans in Iraq, Levant and Egypt. Divans work transferred into Arabic gradually, as it was performed mainly by people other than Arabs such as Romans, Persians and Ahl Al-Dhimmah1 (protected citizens) (Al-Honi, 1976, page 206-207).

On the other hand, Britannia (2010) mentioned that the failure of financial and administration reforms eventually led to the unseating of Umayyad ruling by the Abbāsid dynasty and non Arab Muslims.

---

1 A Christian or Jewish citizen of Caliphate State.
Timeline of the Caliphate
Chapter III

Abbasid Era: Divans’ Prosperity

1. Preface

It is well known that Abbasid Era (750–1258 A.D.), the second of the two great dynasties of the Islamic Caliphate, witnessed a renaissance in every aspect of life, educational, construction and scientific. The profession of writing too reached its peak during Abbasid Era. The establishment of Abbasid State, in 132 H./750 A.D., coincided with the emergence of paper industry in the city of Samarkand,¹ west of China. Baghdad² was the main center for producing and trading books (see Štitevitch, 1993, page 237-241 – Escareet, 1977, Page 28-29).

It may be appropriate here to explain the relationship between the “Al-Dirvān” (the Bureau) and “Al-wizzara” (ministry) which started with the beginning of this Era. The first Abbasid Caliph, Abu Al-Abbass, appointed Abu Salma Al-Khallal a minister, who was the first to be called so in Islam (Al-Qaqashandi and others). During Abbasid Era, Divans developed greatly, and had an army of writers for their service. Insha Divan (writing or composition bureau) and the ministry were so close and established a very delicate relation described by Al-Qaqqashandi as follows: “Insha Divan was once attached to the ministry, where the Minister is the one executing his issues by his signature and handles his own affairs (i.e. the Minister is the Head of Insha Divan, or it is separated with a writer that handles it, and the Minister is the one who executes his affairs and manages them with his signature on orders and such, while the Head of Insha Divan approves the

¹ One of the oldest cities in Central Asia, it was ruled by Arab mulsims.
² It rose to importance after being chosen in AD 762 by Caliph al-Mansūr (r. 754–775) as the capital of the dynasty. A centre of Islamic civilization, it was second only to the Byzantine capital, Constantinople (modern Istanbul), in trade and culture, it’s today capital city of Iraq.
correspondences sent by the Ministry Divan. This matter continued to shift between the two situations until the end of Succession in Baghdad (Al-Qaṣṣānī, Part 1, page 93).

2. Ibn Qutaybah and others: The beginnings of Professional Writing Literature

The history of specialized and organized writing relates back to the third century (Hijri), to Ibn Qutaybah, full name Abū Muhammad ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muslim ibn Qutaybah al-Dīnawarī, born 828, in Al-Kūfah (Iraq) and died 889 in Baghdad. He was the first to set a method for the necessary linguistic education for writers (the staff), and his book “Adab Alkateb/ (“Secretary’s Guide”)” it is one of the 14 surviving works (Brit). It is considered the first organized book in this subject, preceded only by sayings of directive letters (Mohammad Khalf Allah Ahmad, Turath Al-Islam/Islam Heritage, part 4). Broklman (1977) says that the aim of Ibn Qutaybah is to present to the staff (class) that had great statue and widened power during that era – (writers and Heads of Divan) who were at the front of establishers later on- what it required of the instruments of literature and historic education (page 4).

Ibn Qutaybah focuses in his book “Adab Alkateb (Secretary’s Guide”) on linguistic knowledge and calculation, and on self-education of the writer and his good manners and profession, more than technical and administrative aspects of his function as the latter’s did. The book contains Linguistic Introduction and four chapters as follow: 1) Linguistic Knowledge, 2) Hand Correction for Letters Drawing, 3) Tongue Correction for Pronunciation, 4) the Structure of Verbs and Nouns and their meanings.

Ibn Qutaybah criticized the writers of his time for “straying from literature, considering its name a bad omen, and hating the literati” page 5. Therefore, he delegated himself for reform and remedy task, and wrote this book mainly aimed to Divans’ writers in order to provide them with necessary education in language (page 6).

He, Ibn Qutaybah, illustrated a story on the ignorance of writers at his time, that Ahmad Ibn Omar Ibn Shadi, Minister for Almuatasem, was not good at literature – the story says that Almuatasem himself had so little
knowledge of literature – that the Caliph received a letter from Aljabal Governor saying; “They were blessed with so much rain, that herbage grow abundantly”. Almuatasem said to Ibn Omar: “what is herbage?” Ibn Omar hesitated to answer and staturated then said: “I do not know”. Moreover, Al-Muatasem said: “We belong to God and to Him we shall return; illiterate Caliph and Illiterate writer!"

A lot who came after Ibn Qutaybah followed his path, even if they had different approaches to the subject related to their different interests, eras, issues and writing subjects of their times.

Among those writers, we mention; Aljhshyari (331Hijri) in his book “Alwozra Wa Alkuatab/ Ministers & Writers”. Right from the title of this book, we can conclude that they were among senior State employees who were close or equal to ministers. They focused upon the Ruling System, the origin in establishing the Ministers’ system in State in that they were advisors for the Head of the State, whether he was a Caliph, King or President. “Alwozra Wa Alkuatab/ Ministers & Writers” book is considered an important source for knowing the names of writers who handled writing tasks at government’s Divans, either in the succession center or in Islam Provinces. It provides us with clear information about writers and ministers, Arabs or Ajam (others), along with an idea about the Caliphs’ policy regarding Divan writers and writing issues.

At the same period, we find a book called “Kitab AlKutab/Book of Writers” by Ibn Durstweih (258-347Hijri) who was taught by Ibn Qutaybah. It is also a book in Language and grammar, separation and connection, shortening, deletion and addition, replacement, punctuation, dots, form, rhyme and calligraphies. Ibn Durstweih dedicated the last chapter of his book as an appendix for the profession of writing, but the linguistic formula remained prevailing. He talked on how books open and being introduced and supported, dates, days and months names. In addition, he talked about pen and inkwell, he even mentions the way of binding the letter and how to

1 Al-Muatasem(794-842), was the eighth Abbāsid caliph, a younger son of Hārūn ar-Rashid and the first caliph to employ non-Muslims, especially Turkish mercenary forces into his personal army who later came to dominate the Abbāsid dynasty.
write the address and signature. This brief chapter is considered the
beginning of professional and technical writing literature aimed to educate
and teach Divan holders.

We attribute to Abu Baker Mohammad Alsouli (334Hijri/945A.D.) a
book called “Adab Alkuttab/ Writers’ Literature”. He also criticized those who
preceded him who wrote in this new field of writing literature and Insha
Profession. He mentioned that the previous method for writing was without
depth study and analysis saying: “he (the writer in writing literature) has
nothing of this literature but the naming and going deep within without
clarifying and explaining it… Some authors were on the right track but
never went so far, rather stayed on the surface instead of going deep…) page
11. This book is considered as an important reference in the subject of
writing profession. It is divided into three chapters, writing, mechanisms,
tools, and ranks and money, the author sees they are enough.

Among the other famous books that dealt with writing as a profession in
its two parts: rhymed and prose is “Kitab Alsinaatien: Al-Sheer wal Kitabah/
The Book of Two Professions: Poetry and Writing” by Abu Hilal Alhasan
Alaskary (after 1500 A.D.). This book is similar to other books of that era.
The book is overwhelmed with literature and linguistics like conjugation and
grammar( Naho)... etc. Looking close at the titles of the eight chapters
indicates the linguistic style, although some chapters separate between
writing as a specialized profession and a communication tool for Divan
writers and senior management personnel.

Chapter one: in distinguishing good and bad speech. The second chapter
deals with the profession of Speech and includes two sections: one about
rhymed speech like poetry and its features, and another section about the
writers’ needs of writing tools and the techniques for writing to each social
class according to its status: “If the subject of speech meant to be
understood, it is a must to split the speech layers according to people’s
classes, so he speaks to the lowlife and Bedouin in Bedouin talk and not
exceed what he knows. So there would be no benefit and interest of speech”
(Fi Turath AlEnsaniab/ In Humanity Heritage part, Page 497).

What Abu Hilal discovered a thousand years ago is considered a
precedent, due to what is approved by the most modern theories in communication. Such theories say that the effectiveness of communication depends, mainly, on the suitability of the information quantity, quality and level of the quantity, quality and level of people sent to and their method of life and behavior (Lebel.1988).

The remaining chapters of the book deal with linguistic issues in brevity, quoting, likening, assonance, and figures of speech. Abu Hilal relates the importance of his book and the reason for writing it to the urgent need for classification in writing, rhyme and prose, since these two professions have great favor and high status in nobility and honor.

Khudamah Ibn Jaafer Alkateb: wrote the first vocational and school book “Khirag Wa Sinat Alkitabah/Khirag And Writing Profession”

If Ibn Qutaybah is considered to be the first academic writer in the literature of writers and writing, then Khudamah Ibn Jaafer Alkateb (337Hijri/948A.D.), as we believe and see, is the first to write in professional and teaching method in Dawawinia (bureaucracy) Literature and the literature of Divan holders.

Dr. Mustafa Alhiari (1986), who authenticated the manuscript of Khudamah about Divans (Talal Jamil Alrifai also authenticated this book in 1987, but we did not depend on him), says that Khudamah belongs to a small family which served at the Abbasid Succession Divans in Baghdad. His grandfather was Christian who converted into Islam. Khudamah worked in Abbasid Succession Divans, like his father and grandfather, and had a wide knowledge of the works of all the State’s Divans (page 6-8).

Khudamah was more famous for being fluent and eloquent in his books such as (Naked Alsbeear/ Criticizing Poetry), (Naked Alnather/ Criticizing Prose) and (Jawaher Alalfath/ Jewels of speech) than for being a Divan writer. We attribute to him the book titled (Khiraj/ Tax) or (Ketab Alkhiraj wa Sinat Alkitabah/ Book of Khiraj and Writing Profession). Khudamah included in his book a summary for his era’s general knowledge and the necessary requirements for those who perform writing in Divans from different ranks and degrees. It seems that he wrote this book to act as guide for bureaucrats
of his age and introduce them to the pits and pieces of this crucial profession and the knowledge and education related to it.

(Ketab Alkhiraj wa Sinat Alkitabah/ Book of Khiraj and Writing Profession) consists of eight chapters, as mentioned at the preface of the manuscript, but unfortunately, we do not have them all. He dedicated the first chapter to explain what he wants to write, the second to writing and its mechanisms and tools, the third to eloquence, the fourth to Khiraj and real estate’s Divan, the fifth to other Divans (which is the chapter we have), the sixth to the inhabited parts of earth and the Islamic State, the seventh to types of money and finally the eighth to politics (Dr. Mustafa Alhiari also authenticated this chapter in 1981).

Khudamah divided each of these chapters to introduction and sections. The fifth chapter (Divans) is divided into introduction and eleven sections, in each section he deals with a Divan (Department or Ministry) of the Divans that represented the arteries and nerves of the State at that time, and they were eleven Divans: Armed Forces, Expenses, Exchequer, Letters, Signatures and Home, Stamp, silver, Money, calibration and patterns, Complaints, Police and events writing, mail and roads to east and west.

Khudamah focuses, when dealing with his diverted and connected issues at the same time on each of the organization of Divans and the way they work out their tasks, in an accurate and brief way. This feature does not distinguish writers of literature of his age and after. His writing is more close to scientific writing than literary. His style in accuracy and briefing is so similar to Al-Khwarizmi Style in his encyclopedia (Mafatit Al-Zoulim/ Key to Sciences) and we do not know if they knew each other. Khudamah in his book elaborates about Divans that prevailed in his era, and clarifies their work mechanisms in detailed and concentrated description without redundancy and amplification. His explanation in some cases did not exceed one or two pages (Medium size modern printing), like Mail and Complaints Divans. Khudamah dealt with the issues of each Divan according to its importance, and size as we think. So we find Armed Forces Divan which ranked first among Divans and was considered, and is still, the most important State Divans. Its importance is due to its important role in
conquests, defense and maintaining external security of the State. It has been
dealt with along nine pages, while Police and Events Divans were discussed
along eight pages which also indicate the importance of Internal Security in
the frame of Abbasid Succession.

Dr. Mustafa Alhiari has made, during his authentication of Khudamah’s
Book, (Aldawawin/Divan) a broad study about the categories of Divan
writers and their training, types of Divans and their internal structures,
benefitting from other references other than Khudamah’s book.

Alhiari divides writers into five types (page 9 and after) according to the
nature of work he must perfect at any of the State Divans and not according
to the Divan in which he works. This is a very advanced division and
specialization for work. Such division represents the prevailed work during
Abbasid era (in his study, Alhiari depends on a book called (Alburhan In
Wjouh Albyan/The Proof in Statement Aspects) for Ibn Wahab and others, and
he mentions: Calligraphy writer (who is writer and editor), Word writer
(who is a writer specialized with letters and correspondences issued by the
Caliph or Minister in different matters and addressed to different bodies),
Contract writer or accounts writer (This particular writer needs experience in
calculations and sentences count more than experience needed in language
and eloquence), Verdict writer (He is the most consequential type of writers,
because he works on applying the provisions of Islamic Shriaa and Sultan
verdicts), Management writer or the Minister (this writer enjoyed very broad
jurisdictions during Abbasid Succession, and so he was called the Minister).

(Page 119 and after), Divans were very organized during Abbasid
Succession. Such organization was shaped basically during the period of the
Minister Abu Ubaied Allah Mouaweah Ibn Yasar (158-169 Hijri/775-
685A.D.A). He explains most Divans that Khudamah Ibn Jaafer mentioned
and others, indicating that Khudamah stated the main Divans whose
organization and method of work the new writer needs to know. But the
other sources indicate the presence of other Divans in Abbasid Era; some are
established for specific purpose and he mentions: Inheritance Divan,
Confiscated Money Divan, Alms and charity Divan, Facilities Divan (which
is a tax imposed upon governors and Walis who get bribes from powerful
As for the Divans’ Internal Organization, the internal divisions of Expenses Divan, for example, which is the Divan specialized in organizing and registering State Expenses, is represented in six councils, each of which sponsors and supervises certain types of expenses: Ongoing Council (specialized in Armed Forces Expenses); Logistic Council (accommodation and supplying expenses); Livery Council (responsible for supervising the affairs of all animals in State Stables); Construction and Renovation Council (concerned with construction and architecture and all public buildings that need repair); Exchequer Council (specialized with the accounting of Expense Divan according to income and spending); and Incidents Council (concerned with emergency expenses).

Regarding the training and qualifications of writers (Alhiari, page 4 and beyond), the need for training emerged along with the expansion of the Arabic Islamic State due to the multiplicity of Divans and their specialized branches during Abbasid era. Such administrative expansion, vertically and horizontally, produced the need of these central and sub-divans for large numbers of writers (employees) in all fields. While searching for work perfection and improvement, the need for provisional and specialized expertise in writing increased. As we have noticed, specialized literature in writing profession and its origins and branches emerged during the third century Hijri.

Until the end of the first century of Abbasid State, training on writing was performed in Divans. Most trainees were the sons of writers who were already in service of the state, and examples of which are so many at the Arabic sources of Biographies. Khudamah Ibn Jaafer whose father and grandfather were writers is one of these examples. Such a method in training caused the emergence of specialized families in writing. Writing in that era did not mean copying and finalizing drafts; rather it meant sustaining administrative responsibility for tasks performed by the writer. Some of the personnel of this profession have reached Minister’s position in the Abbasid State and afterwards, examples of which are a lot like:

- Sons of Bermek family during First Abbasid Era.
• The family of Ahmad Ibn Yusuf Ibn Alkasem Ibn Sabeh, Mamoun’s Minister.
• Sons of Alfurat.
• Sons of Ali Ibn Issa Aljaarah.
• Sons of Almadeer
• Khudamah Ibn Jaffer family
• Sons of Wahab, who inherited writing in the Divans of Islamic Succession for almost three centuries (according to Ibn Khankan), as their great grandfather (Fanal) worked as writer for Yazed Ibn Abu Sufian when he was assigned the governance of Levant.¹

Training on the principles of writing profession in Divan continued till after the time of Khudamah Ibn Jaafar. Specialized literature in training the writers started to appear as from the mid of third century Hijri, dealing with writing profession in organized manner, and assuring the aspects of knowledge that writers in State Divan must acquire, as a result of the different development in society, and the lack of experience for those wishing to work in such a field, so what is known as (Adab Alkateb/ Writer’s Literature) or (Adab Alkutaab/ Writers’ Literature) stated to emerge. Writers themselves worked on this, which is similar to the science of Business Administration that started, historically, by Executives in big companies like Fredrick Taylor in America and his book “Scientific Management” in 1912, and Henry Fayol in France and his book “Industrial and General Management” in 1916, which are still considered among the basic sources in the science of Business Administration. The way, methodology and description Fayol used for the sections, functions of management and work techniques and mechanisms of modern company are similar to Khudamah Ibn Jaafar’s description for the sections, functions and work mechanisms of Divans in Abbasid State.

After the fall of the Abbasid State in Baghdad by Mongolian (Tatarian) warrior Holako who sieged the Capital and killed the last Abbasid Caliph

¹ We can find more information about some of these families in the Brill _ The _ Encyclopaedia _ of _ Islam _.

53
Almustasem in 656 Hijri, honored writing was abolished and the white flag fell over all life activities, especially cultural and scientific ones with the fall of the black flag. As Al- Qaqashandi says: “most of the writing related to Tatar Kings became in Maflì or Persian and continued to our times” (821 Hijri), (part 1, Page 94). We do not exaggerate if we say that Arabic writing and Dawawini (democratic) in particular still suffers from difficulties and barriers till today.

1 The color of the Abbasid Flag was black.
Chapter IV

**Fatimid Era: First Insha (Writing) Divan in Cairo**

Fatimid Dynasty (909–1171 A.D.) is ascribable to Fatima, the youngest daughter of Prophet Muhammad, from whom the dynasty descended. The dynasty expanded into North Africa and Sicily. The first four Fātimid Caliphs ruled from Tunisia, but after the conquest of Egypt in AD 969, they established a new city, called Al Qahirah (The Victorious), a name that in English was altered to Cairo. At its height, the dynasty controlled Mecca and Medina, Syria, Palestine, and Africa’s Red Sea coast. The forth caliph Al-Muiz established what we called today al-Azhar University, in AD 970, chief centre of Islamic and Arabic learning in the world and centered in the mosque of that name in the medieval quarter of Cairo. They also founded Dar Al-Hikma : 'the house of wisdom', in Cairo in 395/1005 by the sixth Fatimid caliph al-Hakim, to spread, in particular, knowledge of the Greek sciences. The last caliph died in 1171, and the Dynasty was succeeded by the Ayyūbid Dynasty (Britannica, 2010).

1. Ibn Alsyrafi: “Letters Divan Bylaw”

Abu Faraj Kudamah Ibn Jafer Alkateb told us about writers’ status and types, and the specialties and divisions of Divans during Abbasid Era at the Succession center in Baghdad. So, what were the conditions of this profession that ranked high in handling the affairs of the Islamic State during Fatimid Era? In that era, mini-States emerged in provenances and countries which stayed namely obedient for the succession in Baghdad.

Such a question is answered by Ali Ibn Manjab Alsyrafi (463-542 Hijri/1071-1147 A.D.) in his book “AlQanoun fi Diwan Alrasaal wa
Elisharah Ela Man Nal Alwazarah/ The Law of Letters Divan and Reference to Who was Assigned to Ministry. His father was a banker and his grandfather was a writer, and he spent over 50 years working in correspondences and Insha (writing) Divans till he was assigned to the position of the Head of the Divan during the role of Alhafez Li-Dein Allah (Ayman Fouad Sayed, Manuscript Authenticator, 1990A.D.)

As noted from the title, the book consists of two parts: the first is related to the administrative function (Divan and its Head), and the second is related to the political power (the Caliph and his Minister). It seems that the Divan’s affairs were separated from the Ministry that played an important role at the end of Fatimid Era, as it is well known. The importance of the first part “Law in Letters Divan” that means Insha/writing divan is related to the experience enjoyed by the writer who had long expertise and wide knowledge in Divans’ affairs and their Heads. Ibn Alsyrafi served at the court of Fatimid Caliphs, especially Ala’amer Beahkam Allah (595-625Hijri/1101-1301A.D.) and Alhafez Ledien Allah (625-644Hijri/1130-1149 A.D).

Ibn Alsyrafi deals with what was going on in his country (Egypt) in his era, and says in the introduction: “I clarified the issue in the book (The Book of Law of Letters Divan) according to the requirements for ruling the Egyptian country, and the habits prevailing nowadays which were not known before”. Page 6.

He deals in his book with the conditions that should be available to whomever is assigned to Letters Divan and all those who work in this Divan along with mentioning their tasks, specialties and skills that they should perfect. He wanted his book to be a law guide for the workers in this Divan as mentioned in the introduction.

Ibn Alsyrafi criticizes Dawawinia, similar to many others who preceded him in the field of bureaucracy writing, and complains about the negligence and lack of writing in its field. He said: “As for the profession of poetry… they (preceded writers) extended in speech, and expanded and prolonged its classification. I think they neglected the talk about highly honored … highly ranked writing, which is the writing of King’s presence containing letters to other kings and writing on his behalf to nations who are less and above…”
(Page 4). He goes on saying: “They did not mention that (the features and manners of Insha writers) were neither minute nor great, and explain neither a lot nor a little… Most of them filled their books aimed for this purpose with language, grammar and conjugation, and stepped away from its main purpose.” (Page 5). Ibn Alsyrafi devoted himself to what his predecessors left or neglected and classified this book. The book consists of 15 chapters dealing with conditions and features which the different types of Divan writers should enjoy.

In the first chapter he talks about the purpose of writing the book: “The purpose of writing this book is to be a law by which he who is to be assigned the position and presentation of the Head of the Letters Divan is known” and those who follow him in rank one by one, and states the administration methods that: “If followed within the Letters Divan would lead to controlling its matters and protecting it from corruption and facilitating its work… This book must be immortalized in Letters Divan to guide, enlighten and give examples to all who serve in through understanding and memorizing it”. (Page 6). The Law of Letters Divan set by Ibn Alsyrafi nine centuries ago and in which he defined accurately his purpose and aim of this law, is the bylaw used by some of the biggest International companies and some governmental agencies nowadays. A clear work guidance is set (or what is known as Company Bylaw) to help managers, employees and those who deal with the organization to perform their tasks in the right and efficient manner.

Ibn Alsyrafi dedicated the Second Chapter to how to use and benefit from this book. The First one to benefit is the King, and everyone who skims and reads it. He requested that the book shall be kept in Letters’ Divan to be read when necessary. The explanation of Ibn Alsyrafi on how to use the book matches the methodology of Work Manuals, issued by organizations today, in which they identify who the beneficiaries are of the Manual and how to benefit from it.

In the following thirteen chapters, he talks about the conditions and attributes the Head of Divan, Deputy and the remaining writers must hold, characteristics of each, functions they should perform, necessary terms to act
on the following functions: books facing, construction drawing, writing on behalf of the king, writing to State Officials, writing leaflets, editing correspondences, storing measures… etc.

2. Insha (writing) in Fatimid Era

During Walis (governances) era, no attention was given to Insha (writing) Divan. However, later, Ahmad Ibn Tolon declared independence in Egypt in 254Hijri/ 868A.D., while maintaining the nominal subordination for Abbasid Succession in Baghdad. He worked on reorganizing the Egyptian Administration and established Insha (writing) Divan in Egypt in the same manner applied in Baghdad (The Preface of Ibn Alsyrafi manuscript authenticator; Ayman Fouad Saied about Al-Qalqashandi, Part 1, Page 95). Ibn Alsyrafi’s book is useful in identifying the types of writers who work in Letters Divan, as well as types of books and registers they used.

Types of Writers: Letters Divan in Ibn Alsyrafi era consisted of a number of functions and writers:

• Head of Divan,
• a writer who acts as a Deputy of the Head of Divan in summarizing books,
• a writer who writes (formulate) the writing correspondences and he is the writer of a high status in Divan,
• a writer who handles the correspondences on behalf of the King to other Kings and holds a greater status of the previous one,
• a writer for state officials and high ranked peoples from walis and judges,
• a writer for leaflets and so which were not stamped,
• a writer who finalizes correspondences and letters to Kings,
• a copier who copies letters addressed to kings or Leaflets to be handed to the keeper for archiving,
• a writer who read all correspondences and letters thoroughly,
• a writer for memos and books of the Divan,
• a writer who translates correspondences from and to Arabic,
• and writer who signs on behalf of the King.
Two other functions which were not related to the writers’ tasks were added: the Keeper who keeps and archives the copies of incoming and outgoing correspondences and leaflets, and the doorman who prevents anyone other than writers from entering into Divan for the purpose of safeguarding the Sultan’s secrets.

Types of memos and books kept at the Divan for easy reference are:
- a book for the titles of walis, kings and addressees,
- a book for great incidents, statement of honoring and discharging,
- index for incoming correspondences and another one for outgoing correspondences that mention everything necessary for identifying the letter like the sender, sending date, incoming date and content,
- an index for writings, assignments and leaflets,
- a book for important issues that might be questioned later,
- a book for issued orders so they would not be ignored and not answered.

Al-Qalqashandi copied from Ibn Alsyrafi all these functions in the fourth chapter of the first part using the title: “*The Functions of Insha (writing) Divan in Egypt – in Old times*” (page 9).

3. **Ibn Alsyrafi: Elisharah Ela Man Nal Alwazarah “Point to Who is Assigned the Ministry”**

It is the second part of Ibn Alsyrafi’s book “*AlQanoun fi Diwan Alrasaael wa Elisharah Ela Man Nal Alwazarah/ The Law of Letters Divan and Reference to Who is Assigned Ministry*”. This book is considered one of the most important books on the political history of Fatimid in Egypt. The book contains the names of Fatimid Ministers starting from Ibn Kllas (Jacob) (930-991 A.D.) who handled financial affairs of Almamoun Ibn Albatalkhi. Through the book, we may recognize the Fatimid System of Ministers which was known as a stable system in Egypt for the first time. We only presented the book of Ibn Alsyrafi’s book “*AlQanoun fi Diwan Alrasaael/ The Law of Letters Divan*” who worked for 40 years in Letters Divan (Malki 1984), on the Profession of Dawawinia (bureaucracy) writing during Fatimid Era, due to the rarity of specialized references in Dawawinia (bureaucracy) writing on that era. It is known that those who followed him like Al-Qalqashandi, Ibn
Mamati copied from him.
Chapter V

Ayyubid Era: Laws of Divans and Correspondence

Ayyubid Dynasty (1173–1250) is a Muslim Kurdish dynasty founded by Saladin (1137-1193), after overthrowing the Fatimid dynasty. Saladin took back Palestine during the Crusades and made Egypt the most powerful Muslim state in the world at that time. In addition to Egypt, it ruled most of Syria, upper Iraq, and Yemen. The Ayyubids had three principal means of recruiting the learned elites whom needed to rule their cities and towns. Some of those local leaders or governors, known as sheikhs, entered the service of Ayyubid ruling household and thus their bids for power were supported out of Ayyubid household revenues and influence. Others were paid directly out of revenues made from the divan, a high governmental body of the state. The third method was the assigning to sheikhs of the revenues of charitable endowments, known as waqfs. The Ayyubids, like their various predecessors in Muslims dynasties, had relatively few state agencies by which they could penetrate their cities and towns. To link themselves with the learned elite of their cities, they relied on the political usage of patronage practices. The assignment of waqf revenue to the learned was similar to the assignment of fiefs (iqta’at) to the commanders and generals of the army. In both cases, it enabled the Ayyubids to recruit a dependent, but not administratively subordinate elite (Wikipedia, 2011; Britannica, 2010).
1. Era of Major Changes

   A. The Age of Ibn Abi Usaibia

   Abu Al-Abbas Ahmed Ibn Al-Qasem Ibn Abi Usaibia Al-Khazraji lived most of his life in the first half of the seventh Hijri century (591-668 Hijri) coinciding with the first half of the thirteenth century A.D. (1194-1268 A.D.).

   Theoretically speaking, the age of Ibn Abi Usaibia belongs to the Abbasid Era that lasted five centuries from 130/Hijri (750 A.D.) when the first Abbasid Caliph Abu Al-Abbas held the authority in Baghdad, after defeating the Umayyads in Damascus, until the Abbasids were defeated by the Tatars who controlled Baghdad and killed their last Caliph Almoustaasem in 656 (1258 A.D.).

   However, due to the weakness of the central Government in Baghdad, its wide space and the presence of various and different communities elements in its administrative structure led to the emergence of independence movements in the Islamic Mashriq (East) and Maghrib (West). Some of these movements were successful in establishing small states that played a great role in political and social life like the Fatimids in the Maghrib and Egypt (see chapter four). Its age ended in Egypt by the appearance of Salah Al-Dien Ayyubid (532-589 Hijri 1138-1193 A.D.) who took over control and finished the Fatimid State to establish the Ayyubid State which ruled Egypt from 1174 till 1249 A.D. and in Damascus from the year 1193, when Salah Al-Dien assigned his son Alafdal Nour Al-Dein as Damascus Governor and ended in the age of Toran Shah Najm Al-Dein in 1250 A.D.. Shajart Aldur1 represented the transitional period between Ayyubid Ruling and

1 Here we are talking about Ibn Abi Usibia, who classified and dated Medicine and not the profession of writing, as an example from the Ayoubi Era. The 15th Conference on the History of Science of Arabs, held in Swyida city in 1993, where this research "Lights on the Profession of Writing" was presented. The conference selected Ibn Abi Usibia to be remembered as it was held in the land where he lived and died.

2 Shajar al-Durr "Tree of Pearls" (d. 1257, Cairo) was the widow of the Ayyubid Sultan as-Salih Ayyuh who played a crucial role after his death. She was regarded by Muslim historians and chroniclers of the Mamluk period as being of Turkic origin. She became the Sultan of Egypt on May 2, 1250, marking the end of the Ayyubid reign and the starting of the Mamluk Dynasty (Britannica, 2010).
Mamlouki Ruling, as it had the power for a short period till the Mamluks\(^1\) laid her off and took over the country’s affairs till the coming of the Turks (see chapter six)

The age of Ibn Abi Usaibia is considered among the most dangerous eras of Islam and Arab nation. It deserved to be called the age of great geopolitical changes, where Alsham/Levant\(^2\) became the cross-point of vital lines, political, economic, military and cultural, between the Abbasid Succession in Baghdad and Ayyubids in Egypt, Levant, and Emirates, crusades on Levant from the West and the Tatar attacks from the East. Ibn Abi Usaibia lived through five Crusades, out of eight, between the year 1192 (third Crusade) and 1254 (seventh Crusade) which was the Crusade before the last in 1270, in which Louis XIX king of France died.

Ibn Abi Usaibia witnessed the transition from the Renaissance till the start of the Arab declination ages. This corresponded with the commencement of the Renaissance in Europe. Some dates may witness this; in 1258 A.D. The Tatars brought down the Abbasid Succession and burned Bait Alhekmah (House of Wisdom) Library in Baghdad, and in 1250 the Mamluks took over in Egypt. The Mamluks were Turkish, Circassians/Cherkess and Tatar slaves recruited by the Ayyubids in the army. They, as it is well known, have little knowledge of Arabic culture and Language. Arabs’ progress in Europe stopped at Toulouse, and the fall of Cordoba in Andalusia\(^3\) at the hands of Ferdinand the Third in 1236.

As for Europe, this age witnessed the establishment of Universities and Parliaments. In 1257, the University of Sorbonne was founded in Paris, which had been, since then, a source of education and sciences. In 1275 the British Parliament was founded in London, and in 1284 the University of Cambridge was established…

\(^1\) Mamelukes were first used, as slaves and then as warriors by the Ayyubids rulers of Egypt (see ch.6).
\(^2\) Greater Syria, also known simply as Syria, is a term that denotes a region in the Near East bordering the Eastern Mediterranean Sea or the Levant.
\(^3\) Region in southern Spain bordering on the Mediterranean, the Arabic name Al-Andalus was originally applied by the Moors to the whole Iberian Peninsula. When the Umayyad dynasty established its court at Córdoba, this area became the peninsula’s intellectual and political centre. It returned to Spanish rule in 1492 (Britannica, 2010).
The age of Ibn Abi Usaibia was rich in events, full of changes and deserves special study and examination, but we tend to say that it represented the final stages of the declining curve towards the Middle Ages as the decline and rise of societies and nations cannot take place in a sudden, they take a long time. Variable factors fight and finally determine the winner. Among the positive variables we can mention the victory of Al-Zahir Bebars, the founder of the Mamulk State, over the Tatars in Ein Jalut Battle in Palestine in 1270 in which he defeated the Crusades and took over their castles. During the decline phases, there must be torches that carry the burden of responsibility and light up the way. The most important and prominent among them are the educated, scientists and thinkers, like our friend Abu Al-Abbas Ibn Abi Usaibia in the volume named *Uyūn ul-Anbā fi tabaqāt ul-Atibbā*, or *Lives of the Physicians* (1268), and Ibn Khallikan in his book “Wafayāt al-ayyān/Deaths of Eminent Men” (1282 A.D.) and Ibn Battuta in his trip (1377 A.D.), and Ibn Manzur in “Lisan al-Arab/The Arab Tongue” (1311 A.D.), and Ibn Khaldun in the “Muqaddimah / introduction” (1406 A.D.) and Al-Qalqashandi in "Subh Al-Aasha" (1418)

B. Writers and literati contemporaries of Ibn Abi Usaibia

Arabs preceded the West in writing biographies and bibliographies in many centuries. It started with “Altabkat Alkubra/the Great Classes” for Ibn Saad Alzahri (230 Hijri/854 A.D.), in which he wrote about Prophet’s companions and followers, and continued till “Wafayāt al-ayyān/Deaths of Eminent Men” by Ibn Khallikan (1282 Hijri) in which he wrote about all famous and intelligent people from all classes, kings, ministers, poets, writers and scientists, Muslims or otherwise, and from all eras and times.

Mohammad Muhi Eldein Abd elHameed, manuscript authenticator for “Wafayāt al-ayyān/Deaths of Eminent Men” (Cairo, 1984), offered readers and researchers a huge service by writing various indexes for Ibn Khallikan classification, among which we mention: timeline index according to centuries, then according to the alphabet in each century, and scientific classification index which is the index of Eminent arts. Within the scientific classification indexes there is an index related to “Minister, leaders, State
Writers, Men of Letters and writers…"

In order to know the contemporary bureaucracy writers for Ibn Abi Usaibia, we counted the Eminent of the seventh century Hijri that starts from the year 601 to 665 Hijri dating the last death mentioned by Ibn Khallikan. They reached 69 persons representing the first half of the seventh Century Hijri (because Ibn Khallikan did not mention the Eminent of the second half although he died 25 years later). This time coincides with the age of Abu Alabbas. We crosschecked the Eminent of the seventh century Hijri with the index of Ministers, State Writers, Men of Letters and writers, and found the following names, which indicate that most of them were famous in literature, poetry and Feqh, after excluding the Ministers who had not any direct relation to the Literature of writing and came up with the following list:

- Rajaa Ibn Hayawi Ibn Jaroul Alkindi: Man of letters and a poet
- Zied Ibn Alhasan Ibn Saied Alkateb: Man of letters and a poet
- Abdullah Ibn Alhussien Al’akbari: Man of letters and feqh (philologist).
- Yaqut Ibn Abdullah Alromi Alhamwi: Man of letters and a calligrapher.
- Yousef Ibn Hamo Alansari: Man of letters and a poet.
- Al-Assaad Ibn Alkhater Ibn Mamati: Man of letters and a writer.
- Ahmad Ibn Abdulaghani Allakhami Alqartasi: Man of letters and a poet.
- Diaa Eldien Naser Allah Ibn Alather: Man of letters and a writer.

Due to that, we have two Men of letters specialized in Al- Dawawinia (Bureaucracy) writing: Diaa Eldien Naser Allah Ibn Alather and Al-Assaad Ibn Alkhater Ibn Mamati, while Yaqut Alhamwi did not hold any administrative position in Divans. He was famous for being a calligrapher and biography writer: “Mu’jam al-udabá’ / Dictionary of Letterati” and “Ershad Alareeb Fi Maarefat Aladeeb/ Guide for Intelligent Men into knowing Man of Literature” and in history like his famous book “Mu’jam Albuldan/Dictionary of Countries” more than being famous in writing literature.

Also Al-Qanouji, in the third part of his book, “Abjad Aloulom/The
Alphabets of Science” entitled “Alraheeq Almakhtoom Mn Tarajem Aeamat Aloulom/ The Sealed Nectar from the Biographies of the Imams of Sciences”, was among the Insha (writing) scientists. Based upon death dates mentioned in the text, we did not find contemporaries for Ibn Abi Usaibia, with the exception of Ali Abu Alfateh Diaa Eldien Naser Allah Ibn Alather and Zied Ibn Alhasan Ibn Zaied (known as Taj Eldien AlBaghdadi who died in 613H.) but without a biography.

Following this survey study, which included some manuscript indexes like Brockelmann1 Index “History of Arab Literatures” we decided to study Al-Assa’ad Ibn Mamati, Ayyubids Minister in Egypt and Diaa Eldien known as Ibn Alather their Minister in Damascus.


Al-Assa’ad Ibn Mamati (1149 -1209 A.D..) was an Ayyubid Minister. He lived most of his life during the Ayyubid State where he held the administration of Divans and was appointed as Minister. This book is titled “Kitab Qawanin Al-dawawin/Laws of Divans Book”, and authenticated by Aziz Sourial Atyah (1943A.D.). The authenticator says: “Modern sources referring to Al-Assa’ad Ibn Mamati were rare, because his book was not about the arts of literature and copies from old resources like Yaqut Alhamwi did in the “Dictionary of Literati”. He also said: “He is one of the Eminent Heads, who descended from Christian origin from Asyut2 in Egypt’s Saaied (Upper Egypt). He was not the only member of his family who attained high positions in government’s Divan. His grandfather “Abu Almalih”, who lived in Egypt during the Fatimid Era, served the Minister Bader Eldien Aljamali and the Caliph Almountser. Following his death, his son “Almohazab” was appointed as Head of the Armed Forces Divan. As we know, during the early ages of Islam, Workers in this Divan were only Muslim Arabs; so, in order for Almohazab to escape the blockade on Christians during that time,

---

1 Carl Brockelmann (1868–1956), was the foremost German orientalist of his generation. He is best known for his multi-volume (1898–1902) (History of Arabic literature) which included all writers in Arabic to 1937, and remains the fundamental reference volume for all Arabic literature (Wikipedia).

2 Asyut is an ancient Egyptian city (3100 BC) located on the western bank of the Nile.
he and his sons declared their Islam to keep his former position in the government’s Divan.

As for his son Al-Al-Assa’ad (third generation), he spent the first part of his life witnessing the transition between the Fatimid and Ayyubids. Finally, he inherited the Armed Forces Divan after his father (Almohazab) which he kept during Salah Eldien Al-Ayyubid Era (564-589Hijri/1169-1198A.D.) and during the ruling of Salah Eldien’s son Abdul-Aziz Emad Eldien Othman (589-595Hijri/1193-1198A.D.). He also was appointed as Head of the Finance Divan that was considered among the most important Divans and Ministries. It is believed that he maintained the position of Minister (the authenticator did not mention how he was appointed as Minister) and Head of Divans during the ruling of Almansour Mohammad (595-596Hijri/1198-1199A.D.) and part of the ruling of Ala’del Seif Abu Baker (596-615Hijri/1199-1218A.D.). Then, conspiracies were so many, and that his money and position were swept and he was driven to escape into Levant (Alsham) poor and humiliated, where he spent the remaining of his life in the city of Aleppo\(^1\) and died there in 606Hijri/1209A.D..

Regardless of the important administrative positions held by Al-Assa’ad, they did not carry him away from writing. Yaqut Alhamwi named his books and among which is “Diwan Alshear / Divan of Poetry” (page 26-28). Through that, it is clear that Al-Assa’ad had a long and wide experience in administrative affairs of the Fatimid and Ayyubid States. He deserved to classify and write about Divan literature. The value of the book emerges, not only because of the talents and capabilities of the author alone, rather it depends basically on his special status at high position in the government back then, as he was finally appointed as minister. Everything he writes, due to his knowledge and experience in the state systems and work processes in addition to his science and knowledge, turned into accredited documentary reference about the affairs of the Ayyubid State, in particular (this is supported by Aziz Surial Atyah, manuscript authenticator, and Medieval Ages professor in Farouqu University, the first university in Alexandria in 1942).

\(^1\) Ancient city in north Syria, also called Halah, lying at the crossroads of great commercial routes.
The book, *Laws of Divans* is distinguished, as we have noticed with the same style of writing as Ibn Qutieba, Kudamah Ibn Jaafer and Kawarazmi, by briefing and accuracy, although the literature of Al-assa’ad Ibn Mamati Era was featured by assonance, eloquence and prolixity in explanation. This might be due to two reasons: the first reason is that the authenticated copy is a brief manuscript of the origin which consisted originally of four big volumes (see the introduction of authenticator). The second reason is the wide knowledge of the author about Divan affairs in which he wrote about; the authenticator considers the “Laws of Divans” book among the unique references describing the state of Egypt.

The book deals with several issues which can be classified into three main groups:

The first is related to the geography of Egypt during the Ayyubid Era. The second is related to the ruling system and work processes in the Ayyubid Era, in which Al-Assa’ad writes about government positions, Divans and State role, and the third is related to farming and agricultural affairs during his age.

The book consists of fifteen chapters, but the last five chapters are missing from all original copies, but such lacking did not affect the content of the other ten chapters, and each chapter is considered a complete independent unit. Half of the chapters are specified for historic, geographic and agricultural affairs of Egypt as follows: History of Egypt, provinces and country sides, provisions of lands and their issues, types of cultivated products and their seasons, space and its provisions.

While the chapters related to the profession of writers and Divan Heads are as follows:

The first chapter is on the contribution of writing and writers.

The second chapter is about the duties and rights of writers (page 66, this title was not mentioned explicitly in the authenticated manuscript, but the authenticator mentioned it in the margin).

The eighth chapter is about the names of employees of writers and what
they are required to do.

The ninth chapter is about Sultan affairs and Divans Bodies.

And the tenth chapter is about the calculations of time, scales and measurements.

But the missing chapters, as mentioned by Al-Assa’ad himself in the introduction of his book “Laws of Divans” (page 58-59), were not found, unfortunately, by the authenticators, and they are the chapters written basically on the profession of Dawawinia writing, and were as follows:
Chapter 1: Types and organization of accounts, and how to collect them.
Chapter 2: Divans and related affairs, included subjects. He mentioned all Divans, then each one and details of its work.
Chapter 3: Types of prose
Chapter 4: Types of paper used by writers.
Chapter 5: A brief look on the principles of accounting, calculation and engineering terms.

Although most parts of the book on hand and the missing parts concentrate on Dawawinia writing and related geographic, historic, space and agriculture issues, the efforts of the authenticator were focused on the later side. It is a clear indication of the body that financed the authentication and publishing of the book (Royal Agricultural Association) in Egypt, as are the references and resources used by the authenticator most of which are related to the geography and agriculture of Egypt (Geographical Guide of the names of Egyptian countries…). In addition, the types and nature of the indexes he put, like names of countries, mountains, rivers and plants… the book itself provides some help due to the accurate information contained on the agricultural affairs of the country (types of land, agricultural seasons, irrigation systems…). This also indicates the importance of agriculture in that era and its interrelation with the prevailed political and administrative systems.

This does not undermine the value of the book as a reference in Divans’ affairs during the Ayyubid Era, but requires another authentication from the Dawawinia point of view in the light of the information contained about the
Divan system and writing profession in his age. In all cases, we will go through the chapters related to Divans and their employee writers.

Chapter 1: Deals with the contribution of writing and writers. Ibn Mamati quotes several Holy Quran verses in this chapter, especially those speaking about the importance of writers, writing, their virtues and status, starting with the verses of Alalaq/The Clot Sura (96:2-5): “Read! And your Lord is the Most Generous, Who has taught (the writing) by the pen, Has taught man that which he doesn’t know”.

Then, he moves to mention a group of prophets used to write for other prophets saying: “It was said the Prophet Lute used to write for Prophet Ibrahim {peace be upon them}, and that most records by Prophet Muhammad to the people of Najran¹ and others were written by Ali Ibn Abi Talib who enjoyed honor, precedence and ability to offer help, and he was the writer of prophecy for Prophet Muhammad then he became the fourth Rushidun Caliph after being a writer” (page 63-64). Ibn Mamati moves after that to mention the writers of Caliphs and Islam Scholars.

Chapter 2: Is about the duties and rights of writers and says: “The writer shall be free, sane, honest, competent, sevsitive, thankful, patient, tought and faithful, a Muslim, a philologist and intellect with a sharp mind, strong soul, good intuition and sweet tongue who believes in God, loves good speech and dares to take logical decisions…” (Page 66). These are most of the characteristics that AlkQalqashandi mentioned later (see Chapter 6). But Ibn Mamati differs from AlkQalqashandi as AlkQalqashandi considers good appearance and looks among the conditions required to practice Dawawinia writing, while Ibn Mamati considers content (the knowledge, capacities and morals of writers) among the necessary conditions for assignment as writer in Divans rather than appearance or looks, “good looking appearance, and valued clothes are related to his knowledge and accompanied morals” (page 66).

A writer who enjoys all characteristics must enjoy the following rights: “to

¹ Najran is a city which has a longue history and can be traced back to 4000 years ago. Today it is located in southwestern Saudi Arabia, in the desert along the Yemen frontier; it was the seat of an important Christian colony in 500–635.
be accepted, directed towards, honored and respected… paid well … is not driven to need the services of others causing him to be controlled and ordered…” (Page 68-69).

Chapter 8: Is about the names of writers and what they need. Ibn Mamati mentions seventeen types of writers, as he said, and focuses on the use of the term “Al-Mustakhdamin/ employees” to indicate to the workers in State Divans. He also does not use the word “writer” as it prevailed during the Abbasid and Fatimid Eras. This was also noticed in the writing of Kudamah Ibn Jaafer and Ibn Al-Sayrafi. The term “employees” is still used till today in a lot of Arab countries.

Very briefly, he mentions the specialty and function of each employee, his work limits, how he was followed and punished if he neglected or cheated or offended the work or function assigned to him. The employees are: The Headmaster, Divan Trustee, the collector, the assistant, the copier, the supervisor, the worker, the writer, the knowledgeable (Jahbath), the witness, the deputy, the secretary, the surveyor, the guide, the possessor, the keeper, and the assembler (alhashid). Terms and expressions written in this chapter are vague and impossible to understand sometimes. The authenticator indicated the same note and mentioned also that there is “an apparent flounder in this chapter due to the loss of some of its first parts”. He also refers to many linguistic mistakes and traces to “the nature of Coptic writers”.

In this context, we refer to some functions that attracts attention.

The Headmaster: We think that he equals the Head of Divan, and Mamati says: “He comments on everything written and raised. No one precedes him in speech. He is authorized for all completed dealings.” (Footnote mentioned by the authenticator, taken from another copy of the manuscript (page 298).

Divan Trustee: It seems, that a great development occurred in the method of selecting and appointing senior officials in Divans. The assignment of divan function during the Ayyubid era was done according to three ways: in trust, grant and guarantee. If the Divan Trustee was appointed
by trust, he may have judgment; the divan is in his trust unless treason appeared, which was the method that was followed in assigning public positions in the past eras and today. The employee is responsible to the degree of his judgment, faithfulness or negligence. If the Divan Trustee is appointed by grant, he will pledge to put enough effort and work to keep the level of incomes of the Divan (as known) at least or increase it, and shall be accountable to the Sultan in case of negligence. If the Divan Trustee was appointed in trust, meaning that he will pay the Sultan a stipulated amount of money at an agreed time, the Sultan may choose to punish him in case of shortcoming.

The Collector: (similar to the auditor of State accounts including incomes and expenses): He has a desk at the Divan and requires the employees to refer the accounts on time, reminds the Divan Trustee of the money that should be collected in their accredited times and matches all accounts and collects them…

Assistant: A writer assists the Collector in performing the functions mentioned earlier. He holds no responsibility but for neglecting the tasks assigned to him.

The Copier: This function was discussed earlier. He draws and copies incoming and outgoing correspondence and orders.

The Knowledgeable (Aljahbath): Aljahbath in Arabic means the person who knows how to distinguish good from bad, and the word is from Persian origin (Almunjed Dictionary). His work, in addition to something like cashier today, requires him to write receipts of what he cashes and distinguish the good coins from bad ones.

The witness: (his function is similar to certifying documents nowadays). He has to check everything he witnesses and writes it in the related account.

We did not mention the remaining functions because they are not clearly identified and may be interpreted in many different ways.

3. Diaa Eldien, the so-called Ibn Al-Atheir:

Insha profession and tarassul (correspondences) in Damascus is another
example of Divan Literature in the Ayyubid Era. Abu Alfatheh Diaa Eldien Naser Allah Ibn Al-Atheir Aljazari (558-637 Hijri/1162-1234 A.D.) is one of three brothers known as Ibn Al-Atheir. All of them were famous in writing and authoring. Majd Eldien Mubark was an eloquent speaker and a linguistic. Ezz Eldien Ali was a great historian and Diaa Eldien Nasr Allah was a correspondence writer and a Minister for the King Al-Afdal Nour Eldien in Damascus (1193-1196 A.D.). Beside his famous book “Almathal Alsaeir Fi Adab Alkateb Wa Alshaer/The Prevailed Proverb in the Literature of the Writer and Poet”, he has several specialized books in corresponding and Dawawinia writing profession.

Diaa Eldien Aljazari was a contemporary of the encyclopedic researcher Ibn Abi Usaibia Alkhazraji for part of his life (591-668 Hijri/1194-1268 A.D.). He is of Arabic origin, descends from Shiban clan and was born in Jazirat/ Island Ibn Umar near Al-Mawsil, so he was named after it. (Abd Alwahed Hasan, 1990, Page 5, the authenticator of Diaa Eldien Ibn Al-Atheir). Aljazri differs from his precedents in that he did not reach an excellent position in literature and governance by inheriting them from his ancestors, rather he worked hard, learned and memorized. His father was an important farmer and merchant who moved with his family to Al-Mawsil in 579 Hijri (page 9-13). The authenticator says that Ibn Al-Atheir learned and memorized for a specific goal he wanted to achieve, that is to write for princes. The market of writing was promising and writers had the upper hand in the State, as they were the tongue of Caliph, princes and leaders. The more creative the writer was, the higher his position was, so learning, memorizing and style of speech were a way towards writing (page 14).

Diaa Eldien, as has been described by Dr. Abd Alwahed Hasan Alsheik, is a man of science, morals, war and pen. In addition to his science and knowledge, he loved his country and his citizens. He cared for the welfare of the people of his hometown, received them well and helped them without compromising the rights of the country or government. Also he participated in fighting against foreigners with Salah Eldien in Palestine (page 9 and

---

1 Iraqi city, northwestern Iraq. It lies on the right bank of the Tigris River across from the ruins of the ancient Assyrian city of Nineveh.
His practical career started by Alkadi Alfadel, one of the famous ministers of Salah Eldien (596Hijri/ 1200A.D.). He was knowledgeable with Insha and correspondences (Almounjed Dictionary) which led him to be at the service of Salah Eldien after he completed his knowledge and tools for the writing profession (587Hijri). Salah Eldien gave him the choice between serving him to moving to the service of his son Nour Eldien, so Diaa Eldien chose to serve Nour Eldien (Almalek Alfadel/Virtuous King) who made him a Minister (according to Ibn Khalkan). After Salah Eldien passed away, Ibn Alathei overindulged solely in managing the State Affairs, because the governor of Damascus, Almalek Alafdal, loved him so much and gave him so much authority, which led some poets to slur him saying: "the minister went solo in his ministry, and Aljazary (Tide) went far in his tides). All that caused the interference of Alaziz and Aladel (Nour Eldien brothers in Egypt), they brought Nour Eldien out of Damascus to Salkhad (page 27 of the Wafayât al-ayân/ Deaths of Eminent Men, part 5 page 390). Ibn Altheir was able to get out of Damascus to Egypt secretly, with the help of Almalek Alfadel, fearing getting killed. After that he returned to Aleppo to serve Almalek Alzaher Gazy, the first Ibn Salah Eldien (1186-1216A.D.), but he did not like it there and escaped to Al-Mawsil were he was received with welcome. He settled there and dedicated his time for writing and authoring till he died. We do not know if Aljazari met Alkhazraji (Ibn Abi Usaibia).

Diaa Eldien was a man of great knowledge and thorough mind, who studied on the hands of a group of competent scholars, and traveled to the Roman Empire seeking knowledge in the year 600 Hijri, and read a lot about so much. He said: “There is nothing written I have not gone through, whether good or bad.” (Page 15, Almathal Alsaeir, page2). He did not read and know only, rather he apprehended and understood. He fought, argued, criticized, explained and elaborated (Page18). Based upon this deep

---

1 Town in Arab Mountain, southeast of Swidaa City, where Ibn Abi Usibeia lived and died. It was mentioned several times in the Bible as “Salcah”, as a settlement in biblical Bashan (Wikipedia, 3/12/2011)
knowledge and science, Diaa Eldein created and produced a number of literature books that Dr. Abd Alwahed Hasan Alsheik classified into three main groups:
- Selections from modern poetry and proverbs.
- Literature and Linguistic Studies (Rhetoric Profession).
- Educational Books about Insha Writing.

Our study will be limited to the third group, Insha or corresponding books of Diaa Eldien, as following:
- “Almathal Alsaeir Fi Adab Alkateb Wa Alshaeir/ The Prevailed Proverb in the Literature of the Writer and Poet”
- “Aljamei Alkabeer Fi Sinat Almanzoum Mn Alkalam Wa Almanthour/The great Collection in the Profession of Rhymed and Prose Speech”.
- “Rasaeil Ibn Al-Atheir/ Ibn Al-Atheir Letters” or “Diwan Altarasoul/Correspondences Divan”
- Almaani Almouktrah Fi Sinat AlzInsha/ Invented Meanings in the Profession of Writing”
- “Kitab Aladeiah/ Book of Prayers”
- “Kitab Almiftah Almounsha Li-Hadikat AlzInsha/ The Common and Resource Reference for Composition”.

Dr. Abd Alwahed Hasan Alsheik, the authenticator of the book “Almiftah Almounsha Li-Hadikat AlzInsha/ The Common and Resource Reference for Composition”, says that the last three books – stated above – and mentioned by those who wrote Diaa Eldien’s biography are: “The whole book is Almiftah Almounsha Li-Hadikat AlzInsha/The Common and Resource Reference for Composition (page 32) (we will dedicate a special paragraph for this book later).

The content and goals of these books are to introduce the profession of literary, poetic, Insha and Dawawinia writing and elaborate, as mentioned previously, the characteristics and morals of writers, their preferences, status, principles, rules and tools of writing, technical, practical and scientific issues the writers need for practicing their profession.
- “Almathal Alsaeir Fi Adab Alkateb Wa Alshaeir/ The Prevailed Proverb in
the Literature of the Writer and Poet": This book is classified, in literary circles, as a book of literature and the principles of Arabic rhetoric speech and in literary criticism as well. Dr. Badawi Tabanah says that: “they are all right” (*Fi Turath Alensanieah/ In the Heritage of Humanity*, page 106). This book comprehends the study of features distinguishing literary styles in vocabulary and their meanings. It is an important book for a man of letters, critic and writer. It is reference in authoring, but maintains its status as an original reference in literature, rhetoric speech and criticism more than being a reference in Insha and Dawawinia writing except for the linguistic side, that’s why we are not going to deal more with this book.

• “*Aljamei Alkabeer Fi Sinat Almanzoum Mn Alkalam Wa Almanthour/ The great Collection in the Profession of Rhymed and Prose Speech*” (authenticated by Mustafa Jawed and Jamal Saied 1956). Diaa Eldien divides this book into two parts: The first part combines between rhymed and prose speech, and the second part focuses more on the rhymed speech as part of the arts of eloquence, rhetoric and elaboration and its divisions.

The first part, the part we are concerned with in this study, is branched into two parts: the first relates to the initiation of speech by its writer, and the second is dedicated for vocabulary and meanings. In the first chapter of the first art, Diaa Eldien talks first about the tools for authoring like: Naho (grammar), language, Arab proverbs, knowledge of Sultanate Regulations, memorizing Holy Quran and Hadith. These characteristics are shared between the writer and the poet. The second part talks about matters related to poetry alone, regardless of prose such as: rhymed metrics, rhetoric, decorating and rhymes…

Diaa Eldien talks about the importance of knowing Alahkam Alsutaniah/ Sultanate regulations (Shari’a politics),¹ because he knew that might be an Imam. He says: “The one who does not enjoy all conditions for Imama” (page 18). The writing would be without benefit if the writer is ignorant of

---

¹ See *Al-akhkam Alshultania wa Al-lwilayat adinia l* / The sultanate regulations and the religion position undertaking, of Almawardi(d.450 H.).
the Sultanate Regulations. If “the writer, then, does not know the regulations in such events, and the different sayings of scholars therein… he would not write anything with benefit at all” (page 18). When talking about authoring tools, he elaborates how Prophet Muhammad used to speak with people according to their rank: “You should know, if you were a writer, how to address each group of people according to their ranks and ability to understand…”. Although others preceded him to this important difference in the principles of correspondences and communications, but he remains a first class teacher and trainer. He used to follow each theory with practical evidence, to benefit the beginners in the field of writing. He has chosen such examples well due to his wide and deep knowledge. He reported the text of a massage sent by Prophet Muhammad to the Persians (Ajam) to be compared with the letter sent to Wael Ibn Hajar from Arabs (page 43-24). He requests the reader to look up the differences between the two letters due to the difference between nations and their knowledge. In all cases, the pages of the book “Aljamea Alkabeer..” dealt with linguistic and rhetoric and correspondence writing more than dealing with professional and administrative Insha.

“Rasaeil Ibn Al-Atheir/ Ibn Al-Atheir Letters” or “Diwan Altarasoul/Correspondences Divan”: (edited and authenticated by Anees Almaqdesi 1959). The authenticator says that these letters are published for the first time and it is taken from a manuscript relating back to the seventh Hijri Century. This divan consists of several letters by Diaa Eldien Naser Allah Ibn Al-Atheir, addressed to important figures, scientists, friends and acquainted people. They were approximately 169 letters. The importance of these letters, as we think, is because it sheds more light on the conditions of his Era, the Ayyubid era, as we think it is among the most important transitional ages in the history of Arabs, the first expansion of Islam (see the introduction of this chapter).

The style Diaa Eldien Used in corresponding follows the style of his age, elegant phrases, close terms, and he used far references to some of the sayings of the elders a lot. He also used a lot of creativity and meaning arts which indicates that he had a wide experience in this field. All that make his
references hard rather impossible to be understood, as the referred to and aim of reference are not known. The authenticator seeks excuses for Diaa Eldien because the standards of eloquence, figurative speech and style differ in that age from today, as today’s standards have developed along the development of all aspects of life.

Anyhow, these letters consist of important and rich resources for information and documents of that era and its affairs, especially that since they were issued by a man of science and literature and politics who experienced all aspects life, social, cultural and administrative. This statistical study of the nature and subjects of these letters, depending on the authenticator’s indexes revealed that they are divided into four groups:

- 13 letters addressed to the Abbasid Succession Divan in Baghdad. These letters are very important for identifying the affairs and conditions of the Succession during that troubled age, in which the glory of Arabs started to fall in the Mashrig/ East and Maghrib/West, especially since Diaa Eldien was a Minister for Ayyubid in Asham/Levant.

- 47 letters addressed to the Ayyubid Family, three are addressed to Salah Eldien, 15 to Almalek Alashraf Mousa Ibn Almalek Aladel (Damascus).

- 32 letters addressed to the country’s princes, eminent and reputed people.

- 78 letters without the names of the addressees, most of which contain condolences, congratulations and traditions.

• *Kitab Almiftah Almounsha Li-Hadikat AlzInsha/ The Common Reference and Resource for composition*: (Authenticated by Abd Alwahed Hasan Alsheik, 1990) As we mentioned earlier, Diaa Eldien is considered among the most important Arab who worked in corresponding. This book is a handbook in the principles of correspondences and writing of administrative letters. It is a book addressed to the young ambitious people aiming to work in Insha Divan at the service of the governor. This is proof of the prosperity of Dawawinia writing art. How could it not be, and letters used to be the nerves of communication in the central wide state and several local states with various emirates and provinces, even if the focus was on the aspects of form and beauty not on information and communication aspects of corresponding.
As we can notice, the methods and subjects of Dawainia writing were different: one works on the linguistic aspect, another on the structural aspect and the third one on the functional aspect. Here, our friend Diaa Eldien in his book “Almeftah/ The Key” deals with a dear subject to him, professional corresponding, and specifies another manuscript for individual correspondences (Ibn Al-Katheir Letters). This book has a great technical and practical value for the writers of that age. It is a useful book in its method, style and background for the writers of this age also. The authenticator said that this book is the scientific and practical results for all Diaa Eldien products in his other books, but such a saying maybe an exaggeration.

The book consists of an introduction and two chapters.

In the introduction, he speaks about the rank of writing and its importance, and he describes it as: “The most honorable professions of Mamalic, the best and highest position in the kingdom, and the most distinguished and glorious rank” (page 15). Then he moves to talk about the characteristics of writers who should be assigned this great position. This profession requires a good mind, a strong body, good manners, a noble origin and he should be an honest speaker. After fulfilling the physical, mental and cultural characteristics, he talks about the experience of the writer, in relation to culture, science, and knowledge of accounts, dates, history, language, news, biographies, fiqh and astrology … and other sciences of that age. He concludes the introduction with a paragraph summarizing the core of his presentation and elaboration as the writer needs to: “write to each person as he deserves, harmonize between vocabularies and meanings, and not address the senior as junior or vice versa.”

Chapter one contains 12 parts (small sections). They are not really sections as acceptable nowadays, rather they are paragraphs and examples to be followed. He started with the ranks of letters and correspondences, how to write names and addresses. He deals with lettered addressed from bottom up, at the same rank and from the top down, how they should be initiated and concluded, and what the appropriate phrases, titles and vocabularies are for each case. Each is addressed according to his rank, the most senior ranks are “Almalki and Alkamali” (page 57), and the lower ones are
“Almouqadam/Chief Reporter” (page 58). He specifies a section for the principles of replying where it is permitted to address the higher ranks by saying: “we received…” rather it is said: “we kiss the earth…” (page 58). Another section was dedicated for the method of writing to Ajams (other than Arabs), and a third one on the writing to religions other than Islam. “It is alright to be addressed with what was mentioned in the previous sections, but it is not allowed to be addressed by praying for their victory and triumph and gains of the afterlife…”

He says in the last small section that consists of four lines: “The lower rank is not allowed to write to the higher rank in the margin, while the higher rank, if signs an attachment, may write between lines (page 62)”. Most of these correspondence rules and principles brought by Diaa Eldien in this handbook, with some difference in conditions and cultural background, are among the scientific principles of official correspondence nowadays. The books and handbooks on administrative correspondences I have been acquainted with in France do not differ much, except in things imposed by the nature of the environment and social and cultural background.

Chapter two is on prayers, conclusions and positions of names. In addition, Diaa Eldien, in this chapter dealt with some styles of eloquence like matching and similarities, and figures of speech which are usually used in decorating and wording of writing.

At the conclusion of this chapter, in which we presented the literature of Dawawinia writing in correspondences, we may ask the question: “Why is there such focus on correspondences in the literature of administrative writing?”. The answer for this needs researches, studies and searching to be redone, but we can contribute in highlighting the answer by saying:

First: Correspondence, as a mean of communication with others, was among the early methods used by human beings. It was used by prophets and messengers to spread holy callings and deliver holy messages.

Second: The political-religious leaders in early Islam days, i.e. Rashidi Caliphs used to write for the prophet and for each other. We know that

---

1 The chief reporter is the one who ordered the Mamelukes and the servants to Sultan.
Muslims, Arabs and Ajams, love to imitate the Sunna of Prophet Muhammad and his Caliphs which enrich and add to the profession of administrative writing.

**Third:** We all know how wide the Islamic state became, which caused the urgent need for communication and connection between the Succession in Damascus, Baghdad or Cairo on one hand, and the provinces and Emirates all around the known world then and vice versa.

**Finally,** the availability of paper in appropriate qualities and quantities, in addition to land mail tools and methods (horses, camels, trade caravans and military campaigns…) and air mail (Homers), establishing centers and stations for exchanging mails all helped in the spreading and flourishing of the most important way for old and modern communication (mail); but regardless of that, the West still considers mail as its achievement during the Middle Ages.

The issue of using writing as a tool of administration and communication in Arab history is a novel subject, and there are lots of authenticated or manuscript books in this field calling the caretaker of Arabic from scientists and scholars to remove the dust of time and heap of age to be identified and occupy its deserved value and rank on international, Arab or Islamic level.
Chapter VI

Mamluki Era
The Greatest Encyclopedia on the Profession of Writing\(^\text{1}\) Of AL-QALKASHANDI

1. Preface

   If, today, the countries in the Middle East lack paper and suffer from minor cultural productions and books; Damascus, Baghdad, Cairo, Marrakesh and Andalusia used to be the highest world centers in producing and exporting culture.

   Within the scope of this saying, this research tries to answer two questions:

   First: Did Arabs write about administration?
   Second: Who is Al-Qalqashandi and what does he represent?

   To answer the first question, we worked on setting a study model which depends on the thesis saying: “A great state like the wide Islamic Arab State, which during some phases controlled more than half of the known world then, must have used an accurate, sophisticated and written administrative system to handle its affairs in such high efficiency. Such practices must have been based on intellectual and theoretical backgrounds in the field of

---

\(^{1}\) This chapter is a research paper presented on October 16, 1993 during Cultural and Scientific program, Economic Day Activities - first semester (5/10 – 28/12/1993), organized by the Faculty of Economics at the University of Aleppo. Its original title was: " AL-QALKASHANDI, from administrative view: Sheikh Aldoawinyin (Bureaucrat Leader),” In the same title, it presented at Al al-Bayt University, on November 1996, activities organized by the the Faculty of Economics and Administration Sciences. Some of the paragraphs of this research were omitted to avoid repetition of some contents mentioned in the preceding chapters.
administration and management systems.

The research indicated that such an administrative system is Divans. The Writing profession was the spine column of this system and its administrative frames. The term “writing profession” indicated the function of Divan writers which is similar to public employment and public employees nowadays.

The intellectual background was the reconciling formula among the opinions of philosophers and scholars, based upon the connection of factual principle of religion/life that concentrated on providing the guidance and recommendations for senior authorities (in the background) and executive authorities (The Divan and the Ministry).

This study (see previous chapters 1 – 5) indicated that Arabs owned a rich library on authentic administrative literature especially during the Abbasid Era. But this literature was obscure among the sciences of Fiqh, philosophy and history, although a great number of scientists and scholars practiced writing in State Divans like Al-Kawarazmi the author of “Abjad Aloulom/ The Alphabet of Sciences). Such literature deserves independent and specialized study.

Unfortunately, we as researchers and instructors do not have much on the history of administration among Arabs. Neither academic nor cultural books mention more than bits and pieces or refer to the achievements of Arabs in the literature of administration, which enjoyed the same importance of Arab achievements in the fields of mathematics, medicine, pharmacy and astrology. Based upon that, I call for more research to uncover the history of administration among Arabs. Is it possible that a state as wide and great as the Umayyad, Abbasid and Fatimid were administrated without an effective and advanced administrative communication system? So we are going to deal with the theoretical framework for Dawawiniah and Bureaucracy and the relation between the profession of Divan writing with the administration.

In the process, let’s answer the second question: Who is Al-Qalqashandi and what does he represent? The answer is that Al-Qalqashandi presented to Arabic Library the biggest and most comprehensive encyclopedia on the
history of the profession of writing and administrative systems among Arabs. This book is called “Subh Al-Aasha Fi Sinat Al-Insha” which he wrote during the Mamluki Era, the era which was marked by a cultural recession especially among the rulers. Administration of Mamluki Era is the subject of this chapter.

Al-Qalqashandi indicates in his encyclopedia, which consists of fourteen volumes, the state of the Arabic language, how it spread to become the language of the Holy Quran, literature and governance.

In this encyclopedia, the author deals with Islamic succession, its conditions and who the Caliphs were. He talks about Divan systems and their origins, and how they developed along the various stages of the Islamic State in the Almashriq/Arab East and Almaghrib/ Arab West.

Also, he talks about writers and their characteristics, morals and all their scientific and practical needs. He elaborates on the origins and rules of comparisons. In addition, he speaks about wills, treaties and faith as well as about calendars, mail and mail stations and means of the post…

Al-Qalqashandi did not settle for description only, but he made comparisons and drew, sometimes, conclusions and judgments, and elaborated on economic, social and cultural conditions in Egypt and Bilad al-Sham /Levant during his age. The encyclopedia is considered an important historic and administrative document on the conditions that prevailed during the Middle Ages. He talks about agriculture, trade, monetary, financial and public policies, types of currencies and foreign trade.

That’s why we consider Al-Qalqashandi’s book “Subh Al-Aasha” among the most important books on administration, administrative systems and the history of administration among Arabs and that’s why we selected him. We are going to talk about the life and literature of Al-Qalqashandi, and we have dedicated another section to introduce his encyclopedia “Subh Al-Aasha Fi Sinat Al-Insha” and then we are going to present samples of his processing and explanations on Insha Divan.

Finally, we must say that this research does not aim to provide proof and evidences that Al-Qalqashandi is the Master of Dawawiniah writers, rather it
aims to draw attention to the literature of administration among Arabs, and that Al-Qalqashandi was an administrator, historian and man of letters. Before talking about Al-Qalqashandi and his book and laws, it is a must to talk again about the relationship between “Dawawiniah” and “Bureaucracy”.

A. “Dawawiniah” and “Bureaucracy”:

Bilingual dictionaries translate the term “Bureaucratic” to Arabic descending from the Persian language (Dawawiniah or Diwaniah) in relation to Divan (office). What is the indication of each?

1. **Dawawiniah** is a word derived from the word Divan (derived from the verb Dawwana/to write down). This word is of Persian origin and it was used for the place where writers work (Al-Qalqashandi, *Subh Al-Aasha*, part 1, page 91). Thus, the word “Diwan/Divan” became the term referring to the place where writer (employees) work. Such a place witnessed the managing of state affairs. It also referred to the name register of armed forces, audit office and others (see also chapter one of this book).

The nearest term to the meaning of “Diwan/Divan” nowadays is the term “ministry”. Some Arab countries such as Saudi Arabia and Jordan still use the term “Divan/Divan” to signify some important administrative functions: Royal Divan and Accounting Divan, Agency for appointment of officer for all ministries. The term “Ministry” was not in use till the beginning of the Abbasid Era, when a relation of dispute emerged between the Ministry and Insha Divan. Al-Qalqashandi explained such a relation as follows: “Insha (Writing) Divan was once attached to the Ministry, or it was separated with a writer that handled it” (*Subh Al-Aasha*, part 1, page 93).

The term “Dawawiniah or Diwaniah” is a translation for the current term bureaucratic that appeared in Europe in 1759 (Robert, 1984) but was not used widely in Arabic, not even on a small scale.

Divan (office) function started in early Islamic Arab Ages with the formation of the first core of Islamic State after the migration of prophet Muhammad to Medina¹ and going public with Islam as a holy religion

---

¹ city in Saudi Arabia, where Muhammad was first accepted as the supreme prophet of Allah. *Al-Madinah* is ancient Yathrib.
Alongside the spread of Islam, the activities of the Islamic Arab State expanded, Divans varied and their tasks branched for the purpose of handling the affairs of such a modern State. Divans and their headmasters had authority, regulations and laws which may be called “Dawawiniah or Diwaniah”. It is the term that matches Bureaucracy nowadays.

What is the concept of Bureaucracy here?

2. Bureaucracy is a French word of Latin Origin. It consists of two syllables: Bureau = Divan or office and Cratie = power or authority which means Office Power (Diwaniah). Today, this term in Western languages often refers to Government, its bodies, employees and routine in accomplishing work. Such a negative meaning emerged during the second quarter of the twentieth century due to excessive administrative measures and restraints imposed by the government.

Originally, the word bureaucracy or Dawawiniah does not contain any negative meaning. Bureaucracy as a concept is one of the economic theories for rationalizing administrative functions, established by the German socialist and economic politician Max Weber (1864 – 1920). This theory was published in his book Societe et Economie in 1922 after he died.¹

Based upon this theory, Weber divided governmental and economic organizations into three types according to standards of gaining authority within the organization:

- **Talented organization**: The manager derives his authority from his own distinguished and superior characteristics.
- **Typical Organization**: The manager derives his authority from acknowledged and inherited traditions and habits.
- **Legally rationalized Organizations**: The manager derives his authority from laws, regulations and competence.

¹ Max Weber saw in the bureaucratic organization a highly developed division of labour, authority based on administrative rules rather than personal allegiance or social custom, and a "rational" and impersonal institution whose members function more as "offices" than as individuals. Later writers saw in bureaucracy a tendency to concentrate power at the top and become dictatorial, due to blind conformity to procedures (Britannica, 2010).
The later type is known as Bureaucratic Organization.

This Type of organization is distinguished of its dependence on:
- Pyramidal Structure,
- Work division,
- Worker independence from his functions,
- Wages and incentives are specified according to measured capabilities and competence,
- Full restrain from family and personal relations in a communicative and administrative system.

With time passing, the rules and regulations of rationalized work systems were used excessively turning the rationalizing into complication and office power with no content or objectives rather than applying instructions and rules no matter what its value is.

As a result, the following studies (A.W. Gouldner, 1960) showed that there are three types of Bureaucracy:

1. Fake Bureaucracy: Rules and regulations are prepared outside the organization and implemented or respected within it only in their formal and superficial form, such as a no smoking policy, where all people smoke unless the inspector or manager is present.

2. Representative Bureaucracy: Rules and regulations are prepared by acknowledged experts by all members of the organization and are suitable to their needs and wishes. Such rules are not broken consciously, but due to ignorance or negligence.

3. Disciplinary Bureaucracy: Rules and regulations are prepared by one group to subdue another. Such organization is turned into a battlefield between these groups: Management and Workers, Government and organizations… (SCHEID 1983, 25).

Legally rationalized Bureaucracy by acknowledged experts is prepared cooperatively and applied voluntarily and it is the indicated in this research.

**B. History of Administration and Writing Profession**

Administration as an activity is as old as humankind, while administration as an ideology, organization and sciences is relatively recent, but it is closely
connected to the development of the profession of writing. Code of Hammurabi (died 1760 B.C.), which consisted of 285 items, is only a set of ideological diligences for organizing social and administrative life in the Babylonian State. If the Cuneiform Alphabet had not been uncovered, it would have been impossible to materialize this code into existence. Code of Hammurabi aimed to enforce appropriate order and behavior. Its sources are divided into specialized subjects such as prices and crimes... While Administration as a science and profession is more recent but much more older than Taylor (1913), Fayoul (1916) and Weber (1922).

The profession of writing as a tool of communication and information transition is divided into three types (Alfysal, 1992).

1- Functional writing: Writing as a mean of communication among people to fulfill their needs like writing letters and reports, and issuing orders and instructions.

2- Creative writing: Writing that expresses feelings and emotions like poetry and story.

3- Innovative writing: Writing creatively in content or style like presenting a discovery or an invention or a new scientific concept that never existed before.

Unfortunately, modern historical studies were not concerned about functional writing as a means of administrative communication, although Arabic Library is rich with manuscripts on Dawawinah writing especially since Divan writers were distinguished with the Diwani calligraphy.

Throughout the previous chapters we noticed that the history of administration in Arab civilization, like the remaining ones, is closely connected to the history of the profession of writing and the development of administrative ideology and organization (what is known as Dawawiniah (Bureaucracy) Systems). Arabs knew writing prior to Islam and it was a prerequisite for higher social status. The profession of Arabic writing spread alongside Islam and they served each other as it was the language of the Holy Quran and the main tool for communication, documentation and administrating State affairs during the later ages.
2. Al-Qalqashandi

A. Era: Al-Qalqashandi lived during the Middle Ages, under the ruling of the Mamlukes or *mamlük* who governed Egypt, Levant (Alsham) and Alhijaz. From the year 1253 to 1517 A.D. the Mamlukes may have been divided into Bahrioun (seamen) – the Turkish who ruled between 1253-1382 A.D., with *al-Malik al-zāhir Rukn al-Din Baybars* (1223-1277 A.D.) the most famous one; and Alburjioun (Towermen) – The Yerkes? who ruled from 1382-1517.

This era was featured by ideological rigidity, lack of creativity, military bureaucratic ruling and feudal system. The Ayyubids used the Mamlukes, the Turkish and Yerkes as slaves for guarding and enacting military services. When Mamlukes were able to dominate sensitive positions in power, they turned against their masters, overthrew them and appointed themselves as Sultans.\(^1\) In order to gain the approval of society, especially scholars, they protected Islam, encouraged science and literature and their guardians, paid them well and contributed in building hospitals, schools and mosques and looked after art and architecture.

The Mamluki ruling was featured with plots, assassinations and internal killings. The Mamlukis used to rule for a short period that would generally end with assassination, until the Turkish Sultan Salim the First finished out their dynasty and started an even more oppressive age. *al-zāhir Baybars* was the true founder of this state and defeated the Mongols in Ein Jalout Battle (Palestine) in 1260 A.D.

As for literature and science, Egypt and al-Sham/Levant were the focal points attracting scientists, men of letters and scholars after the fall of Baghdad into the hands of Hollako in 656Hijri/1258A.D, and the end of

---
\(^1\) For example, *al-Malik al-Zāhir Baybars* was sold as a slave (*mamlük*) after a Mongol invasion in the 1240s. He distinguished himself against an invading Mongol force at the Battle of Ayn Jālūt (1260) and soon thereafter took the throne, when he murdered the third Mamlük sultan. In 1250 his army captured the Crusader king Louis IX, and he and other *mamlük* officers murdered the last Ayyūbid sultan, establishing the Mamlük Dynasty. He had diplomatic relations with James I of Aragon, Alfonso X of León and Castile, and Charles of Anjou, as well as with the Byzantine emperor (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, 2010).
The Mamalukes tried to attract and woo such a highly educated category of society, maybe because they themselves lacked education and culture. Despite the Middle Ages rarely leaving out any innovation or creativity, we attribute to this era the distinct encyclopedic cultural and literary movement; this movement was featured by collecting the items consisting Arabic culture in great books in the form of encyclopedias. Such books gathered, counted and recoded each and every small and great thing. This movement also paid a great service to the Arabic civilization, for it maintained its culture from being lost and forgotten. Most of those authors used to work in the profession of writing at Sultan Divans. They enjoyed resources and books. Also they had experience, materials and encouragement of rules to do such tasks that needed Plenty of time and effort. As examples we are going to mention some of the precious encyclopedias:

- “Nihayat Alarab fi Fonoun Aladab/The Ultimate Aim in the Arts of Literature” for Ibn Shihab Alnouiry (1278-1332A.D.). It is an encyclopedic book consisting of thirty parts, in which he explains five topics: Universe, Human, Animal, Plants and history. Alnouiry served Almalik Alnaser Muhammad Ibn Qlaawon and worked in the profession of writing.

- “Masalek Alabsar fi Almamlek Wa Alamsar/Ways of Vision in Kingdoms and Counties” by Ibn Fadel Allah Aloumari, Shihab Eldien Ahmad (1301-1349A.D.). He is a historian from Damascus and is considered among the Imams of trassul (correspondences). He belongs to a family of writers who served the Mamlukes. This encyclopedia, specialized in Eastern kingdoms, and was divided into two subjects:
  - The first is about Land,
  - The second is about the inhabitants of Land.

The author had the intention to issue another specialized collection about the Western Kingdoms; unfortunately, he passed away before he could achieve his objective.

- “Lisan Alarab/Tongue of Arabs” by Ibn Manthour (663-711 Hijri/ 1232-
1311 A.D.) Ibn Manthour was a Wali on Western Tripoli and wrote one of the greatest linguistic dictionaries that reached us. His dictionary contained 80 thousand subjects in 15 original volumes and 3 as indexes.

B. Al-Qalqashandi Life: His full name is Ahmad Ibn Ali Ibn Ahmad Ibn Aduallah, called Abu Alabbas (756-821 Hijri/1353-1418 A.D). Al-Qalqashandi was born in Qalqashandah in the surroundings of Alqalyoubiah District in Egypt, and descends from an Arab clan called Bani Kharaza who came to Egypt during the Islamic conquests and beyond (Subh Alasha, part 1).

Al-Qalqashandi was raised in a good environment, on right scientific breeding; he sought learning Shariah (religious sciences) and worked in Arabic Arts and literatures till he gained a valuable amount of knowledge. His famous mentor Ibn Almulken, authorized him to Fatwa and teaching according to the Imam Shafie Doctrine in the year 778 Hijri. After that, he took his position to benefit and certify his students at an early age.

In the year 791 Hijri, he joined Insha Divan of the Sultan of Egypt, i.e. in the early stages of Yerkes Mamluki State (1382-1517 A.D). Insha Divan is very much similar to what is known nowadays as Royal Divan or the presidential Affairs. It issues all official documents of the State and it receives all internal and external correspondences.

Al-Qalqashandi was authorized to carry out many tasks such as signing at Insha and Ehbas (Land) Divans and served Alexandria governor Alsalah Ibn Arram. But Al-Qalqashandi never declared the nature of his work at Insha Divan or for how long he worked there, rather he was content by saying that he settled in Insha writing in the year 791 (Subh Al-Asha, Part1, page 8).

In addition, Al-Qalqashandi was skilled in the Arabic language and literature, and participated in Fiqh, succession and religious obligations, and wrote many books on descent and history.

C. Literature and Books: Al-Qalqashandi wrote several books:
1- Subh Al-Aasha Fi Senaat Al-Ensha," or the "Dawn of the Night-Blind in Composition Work"
2- Dawa Alsubh almusfer wa Jani Aladaub Almuthmer or the Bright Light of
Dawn and Collecting the ripe fruit”, which is the brief version of Subh Al-Aash.

3. Alkhayouth Aljawama or the “Stream rains” which explains the briefings combiner and the combiners of briefings in Fiqh Science according to Imam Shafie Doctrine.

4. “Nihayat Alarab fi Marifet Qabaeil Al-Arab fi Ansab Al-Arab/The Ultimate End in knowing Arab Tribes of Arab Descents.

5. “Qalaied Aljuman Fi Qabaeil Aourban fi Ansab Arab/ Pearl Necklaces in Arab Tribes of Arab Descents”.

6. “Ma’ather Alanaqa fi Ma’alem Alcalaphab/The privileges of Elegance on Caliphs Appearance”.

His book Subh Al-Aasha is considered the most important and famous among the books he wrote, and it is the most used and referred to.

3. Subh Al-Aasha

Below, we are going to study Subh Al-Aasha, its authoring and printing, discuss its content and the literature about it.

A. Authoring and printing: After Al-Qalqashandi joined Insha Divan in 791 Hijri, he wrote an article to introduce the profession of Insha and its sciences and enclosed it with a lot of the principles and branches of the profession. Since it was so brief, it needed an elaborated explanation to uncover its signs and secrets and so he wrote his encyclopedia “Subh Al-Aasha Fi Senaat Al-Ensha/Dawn of the Night-Blind in Composition letters”.

Abu Al-Abbass finished writing his book “Subh Al-Aasha” in 814 Hijri. He enclosed it with all the arts and sciences writers need. The book is an encyclopedia organizing all the knowledge of all his contemporaries. It is believed that Al-Qalqashandi needed 25 years to write this large manuscript (Albaqly, 1972). The supervisors on printing the manuscript of Al-Qalqashandi’s encyclopedia said that it is the accumulated literal, historical and social encyclopedia about the Arab nation since writing was known till mid-ninth century Hijri (Al-Qalqashandi, part 1, Introduction). Amiri Printing House in Egypt took 10 years (1910 – 1920) in order to print all fifteen parts of the encyclopedia and they were printed on 6376 pages.
Ministry of Culture reprinted the book in 1963 (Subh Al-Aasha, part 1, introductions). Also, the Syrian Ministry of Culture issued Selections of Subh Al-Aasha in five parts in 1982.

B. **Content:** The book “Subh Al-Aasha Fi Senaat Al-Ensha/Dawn of the Night-Blind in Composition’s Work” by Al-Qalqashandi is considered the number one reference on literature and arts of writing, for Professor Sheikh Muhammad Abd Alrasoul Ebrahim said about it: “It is the most precious book written on the Arabic language and its literature” (Subh Al-Aasha, part 1, page 13).

In this book, the writer speaks about Arabic writing in Islamic countries and kingdoms, and the high position and rank it reached, then the weakness and decay it descended to, and clarified the classes of writers and Men of Letters, and the care and respect they enjoyed at kings’ courts. Al-Qalqashandi talks about various and branched topics, and indicates Islamic kingdoms in the East and West, Islamic Succession, its conditions, fees and appointed caliphs. Also, he speaks about Egypt (Al-Qalqashandi is Egypt’s faithful son) in great accuracy and detail… the book is arranged into introduction and ten articles and conclusion, mostly based upon introducing the reality of Insha Divan, its original position in Islam, its parting into Kingdoms, clarifications on Insha writing and its preference over other writing types, and writers’ characteristics and manners.

Furthermore, he talked about the knowledge needed for Insha writers in scientific and practical matters and necessity to know all the following materials needed for Insha – calligraphies and complements and others, kingdoms and roads (Land and Geography), shared matters between correspondences and districts and others (names, last names, were to be mentioned in correspondences and titles, …), how to distribute tasks to Insha writers, measurements of paper and what pens suit them, and other writing laws and rules, public correspondences, their principles and objectives – old and new – and terms used, the provinces and their ranks, religious commandments, moon and sun calendars, feudalities and their origin in Sharia, the first one who set the Armed Forces Divan in Islam, oaths and the branches of each communion and doctrine, and knowing
fidelity contracts, conciliations and truces among kings.

This book also contains several arts known for writers and men of letters, which are not related directly to Insha Divan such as: *maqamat* social and religious edict making, praise and critique letters, those who set them in Islam and Jahiliya (pre-Islamic time), clarifications of their features and ranks, and landing points for mail doves…. In addition, Al-Qalqashandi enclosed in his book a lot of eloquent letters for famous writers, and wrote in it entire precious books on literature. The book “*Subh Al-Aasha*” became a book in history biographies, language and literature, Fiqh and interpretation, politics and management as it is a huge literary encyclopedia which gives a sold testimony on the experience of his author in Insha writing.

Al-Qalqashandi was not satisfied by just describing and explaining the previous ruling and administration system and those prevailing in his age, but also he compared them. He mentions that Ayyubid and Mamluki States form one unit regarding administration and ruling system, i.e. many structures set by the Ayyubid State continued to exist during Mamluki State (Al-Qalqashandi, *Subh Al-Aasha*, part 7, page 119). In the fourth part, he dwelled on the description of Mamluki ruling systems in Egypt and Levant (Alsham), where he indicated that Mamluki Sultan occupied a high rank as head of a huge bureaucratic structure that consisted of fighters and writers. By that, Al-Qalqashandi provided us with important and unique information on the nature of each function and the tasks of its holders and the conditions he had to fulfill. In addition, Al-Qalqashandi, who lived during the Middle Ages, talks about the Feudal system in Egypt at that time. Again he was not satisfied by just mentioning the facts, rather he tackled the principles and systems that surrounded the feudal system and its impact on public life, especially on economic and administrative fields (Ashour, 1970).

The content of Al-Qalqashandi’s book “*Subh Al-Aasha*” 821 Hijri/ 1418 A.D.

- The introduction: the principles that should be presented before starting Insha writing.
- Article one: the needs of writers for scientific matters of language and memorizing, and practical ones such as tools and methods;
• Article two: country roads and kingdoms;
• Article three: types of correspondences and provinces;
• Article four: correspondences: objectives and origins of functional corresponding;
• Article five: provinces and their ranks and types of covenants and treaties;
• Article six: religious commandments allowed and margined matters and converting years and mementos;
• Article seven: feudalities and provinces;
• Article eight: oaths
• Article nine: reconciliation and revoked contracts;
• Article ten: writing arts: articles, Fatwa licensing and humorous matters;
• Conclusion: other matters related to Insha Divan but not related to writing like: mail, doves, towers, snow wagons…

C. Resources: Al-Qalqashandi did not write what came to his mind; rather he relied on rich and reliable references and resources. That’s what made some believe that he was a historian (Ezz Eldien, 1990). Al-Qalqashandi also relied on his professional and personal experience, for he uses the words: “I watched…, I heard …, and I noticed…, I was told…, someone told me…” He was a true professional researcher and observer who relied on varied and historically gradual resources.

Below are some of the most important resources which are specialized in the profession of writing, Al-Qalqashandi relied upon:

- “Zakherat Alkuttab/Supply of Writers” by Ibn Hajeb Alnuman;
- “Husn Altawasoul fi Sina’at Altarasul/the Good Petition in the Profession of Correspondence” by Shihab Eldien Mahmoud Alhalbi.
- “Almathal Alsaeir Fi Adab Alkateb Wa Alshaeir/The Prevailed Proverb in the Literature of the Writer and Poet” by Diaa Eldien Nasr Allah Ibn Al-Athere;
- “Kitabat Al-Sinatien/the Two Professions” Writing” by Abu Hilal Al-Askari;
- “Altazkera/The Memento” by Abu Hilal Al-Askari;
- “Al-Qalam wa Aldawat/The Pen and Inkwell” by Muhammad Ibn Ali;
- “Qawawnin Aldawawin/Divans Laws” by Ibn Mamati;
- “Alaked Alfareid/The Unique Necklace” by Ibn Abd Rabah;
- “Adab Alkateb/The Writer’s Literature” by Ibn Kutaibah;
- “Sinat Alkuttab/Making Writers” for Ibn Jaafer Alnahas;
- “Kanz Alkateb/ The Writer’s Treasure” by Kasha Hajm;
- “Al-byan wa Al-tabyn/Book of the Eloquence and Demonstration” by Aljahiz;
- “Al-Abkam Al-Sultaniyah/The Sultan Decisions” by Al-Mawardi;
- Ma’alem Alkitabah wa Fada’el Al-ESabah” by Ibn Rashied.
- And other resources.

But there are some important resources which we could not find such as “Almiftah Almounsha Li-Hadikat Al-Insha/ The Common Reference and Resource for Composition” by Ibn AlkAtheir. Regardless of that, “Subh Al-Aasha” is considered a reliable source rather an important source on the history of administration systems and the profession of writing among Arabs, especially in relation to the Middle Ages Era.

D. Subh Al-Aasha: the eyes of others: Biography writers neglected Al-Qalqashandi (Hamza, 1962, 32-33); original references barely mention Al-Qalqashandi despite his wide knowledge, rich production and high position. When his name is mentioned it appears in brief, and those interested in Al-Qalqashandi’s life and production do not have a convincing reason for that. Shams Eldien Muhammad Alsakhawi (1427 – 1479) is among the best biography writers who wrote on Al-Qalqashandi in his book “Aldawa Al-lamaa fi Ayan Alqarn Altase/The bright Light on the Eminent of the ninth Century.”

We believe that if “Subh Al-Aasha” was translated into European languages at the beginning of the European Renaissance during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, like some other precious Arabic manuscript, it would gain a better position among the Westerns and Arabs alike.

The following books are among the books which were issued recently
about Al-Qalqashandi and his book, “Subh Al-Aasha”:

- “Al-tareef Bi Mustalhat Subh Al-Aasha/Introducing the terms of Subh Al-Aasha”: a dictionary for explaining the vocabulary used by Al-Qalqashandi; prepared by Muhammad Qandeel Baqly, 1984;
- “Fahares Subh Al-Aasha/Indexes of Subh Al-Aasha”: a classification for the vocabulary used by Al-Qalqashandi, prepared by Saied Abd Alfatah Ashour, 1970.
- “Abu Al-Abbas Al-Qalqashandi Mu’arikhan/ Abu Al-Abbas Al-Qalqashandi as a Historian”: this book presented and analyzed the historical aspects of Subh Al-Aasha, written by Muhammad Kamal Eldien Ezz Eldien, 1990.
Chapter VII

Insha Divan Laws

Insha Divan is the Divan that issues and receives all correspondences and documents related to the heads of political and spiritual power represented by the Caliph or King or Sultan.

Al-Qalqashandi says about the origins for establishing Insha Divan in Islam: “you should know that this Divan is the first Divan established in Islam, as the Prophet – Peace be upon him – used to write to princes and leaders of troops through his companions and they would write to him. He also wrote to the close kings inviting them to Islam and sent messengers carrying his letters.” (part 1, page 91). He then trails this with examples such as: the Prophet’s letter to Njashi (Ethiopia Emperor), and his letter to the Persian King…etc. Al-Qalqashandi also lists caliphs who wrote for the Prophet Muhammad – Peace be upon him - and who wrote on their behalf… until he reaches the special paragraphs on the Insha Divan in Egypt. In this regard, he says that Insha Divan went through five stages according to the historic eras in Egypt till his time, the Mamluki Era.

Al-Qalqashandi considers his book the foundation on which all bureaucratic (divan) work starts. It is necessary to train any one aspiring to gain the honor of writing in Insha Divan, as Al-Qalqashandi considers this Divan the most important one.

Insha Divan developed a lot during the Fatimid Era because they made Egypt the heart of the Islamic World, and this development continued during the Mamluki Era. Dr. Abd Al-Meneam Majed says: “This Divan is distinguished by its pure bureaucratic system, as its Headmaster was from the Men of pens (writers)…” (Albaqly, 1984, 114).
To serve the research methodology, we are going to present the ideas mentioned in the introduction on the laws of Insha Divan in three areas: the value and position of the profession of writing, the functions of Insha Divan and the characteristics of its writers, and the characteristics and duties of Divan Headmaster.

A. Value and position of the profession of writing: Al-Qalqashandi was fond and creative with writing. He spent most of his life in its service and writing about it. No wonder then he granted writing the highest and most sophisticated position and said that writing is: “the most honourable and superior professions, the most profitable and useful goods, the best and paramount deed and most rich and valued virtues.” He specifically mentions the writing of composition/insha and he distinguishes and raises it above other writings: “especially the writing of composition/insha that ranked as the Sultan of writing, and the apple of its eye rather it is the eye of its apple, kings recognize only it, and tasks depend only on it, they glorify writers and make them close” (Part 1, page 6).

He says about the merit of writing: “cannot be counted and more honorable to be investigated” (Part 1, page 42). If this is the position and merits of writing, so writers rather than other people have high status and merit, and he refers to the sayings of Ibn Al-Mukafah: “Kings need writers more than writers need kings” (Part 1, page 43). He devotes a chapter to praising the best writers and disparaging the worst of them. He mentions a number of tales, stories and drolleries about writing and differences in interpreting terms and explaining letters. He also make a comparison between writing of composition and writing of financial matters, preferring the first on the second with long quotations which support his opinion and says: “The pen of writing is the suitor and the pen of accounting is the executor. Legends of eloquence are copied to be taught while the accounting codes are copied and studied.” (Part 1, page 56).

A large number of writers support the saying that prose writing or writing of composition/insha has greater value and higher rank in comparison to poetry despite the fact that Arabs were famous, loved and innovated rhymed speeches since pre-Islam ages. The evidence they use to support their claim is
that, among other things, the words of God descended in prose not in poetry, and that prophet Muhammad did not say poetry. They refer to Quran verses that speak about the importance of writing in life and afterlife like: “(O ye who believe! When you contract a debt for a fixed period, write it down and you write a notary)”^1 and also the speeches and actions of the Prophet in this field like setting captives free if he taught writing to ten Muslim boys.

B. Functions and principles of Insha Divan and the characteristics of its writers:

* The functions of Insha Divan in old times and in Mamluki Era:

- **In old times:** It is reported by Abu Alfadel Aldwri in the introduction of his memento that the function holders are of two types: writers and others.

  **Writers:** They can be divided into seven types:

  1. A writer who writes correspondences, using his talent and habitual instinct. He composes by himself, as he receives one word and single meaning and builds on that long speech.
  2. A writer who writes to kings on behalf of his king;
  3. A writer who writes the correspondences of the Men of State, seniors, governors and eminent representatives and judges…
  4. A writer who writes leaflets, nice letters and copies;

---

^1 “O believers, when you negotiate a debt for a fixed term, draw up an agreement in writing, though better it would be to have a scribe write it faithfully down; and no scribe should refuse to write as God has taught him, and write what the borrower dictates, and have fear of God, his Lord, and not leave out a thing. If the borrower is deficient of mind or infirm, or unable to explain, let the guardian explain judiciously; and have two of your men to act as witnesses; but if two men are not available, then a man and two women you approve of, so that in case one of them is confused the other may prompt her. When the witnesses are summoned they should not refuse (to attend). But do not neglect to draw up a contract, big or small, with the time fixed for paying back the debt. This is more equitable in the eyes of God, and better as evidence and best for avoiding doubt. But if it is a contract about some merchandise requiring transaction face to face, there is no harm if no contract is drawn up) in writing. Have witnesses at the deal, (and make sure) that the scribe or the witness is not harmed. If he is, it would surely be sinful on your part. And have fear of God, for God gives you knowledge, and God is aware of everything”(The Holy Qur’an,Albaqara(the caw)Surah, Aya No.282).

101
5. A writer rewrites the draft of the founding writer if it needs beautiful calligraphy like covenants and treaties and others;
6. A writer who goes through what is written in the divan (editor);
7. A writer for mementos and registries related to the Divan;

*While other functions are:

• The Keeper: Someone who keeps, classifies and indexes copies of all incoming and outgoing correspondence.
• The Doorman: Someone who organizes entry and exit from Divan.

- **In Mamluki Era:** Al-Qalqashandi says: “In our time, Divan writers are divided into two classes:

• The first class is Dest/Royal Court writers, who write in the court of the Sultan. They were named as Dest writers in reference to the Sultan’s Dest – his seat –, and the pioneers emerged during Alzaher Baybars era…

• Second class: Darj writer; they write what the secretary or Dest writer signs or the referral of the deputy or the Minister… they were called Darj writers because they write on a special type of paper (Darj) which has an oblong shape and consists of several parts that can be folded or scaled.

The number of Dest writers increased till they exceeded twenty, and continue in increasing as Al-Qalqashandi says (part 1,137). Also Dest writers were increasing till they reached approximately 130 writers. Al-Qalqashandi says that this function had fallen from its heights and degraded in rank to a degree where it was occupied by inferior writers.

* Divan Instructions and principles:

Al-Qalqashandi mentions a lot of instructions and regulations, which he classifies into groups and levels used to be applied or must be applied in the daily and routine work process from which we briefly mention:
1. Memos that include the most important matters contained within the letters for easy retrieval and reference.

---

1. Place of honor.
2. A rolled paper.
2. A register for the titles of Walis, others in service, their names and ranks.
3. A register for great events and proceedings, issues of the entire kingdom, and their dates.
4. The writer has to prepare an index for incoming and outgoing correspondence on annual, monthly and daily basis.
5. The writer has to prepare an index for compilation, traditions, trusts, publications and others every year.
6. The writer has to prepare an index for the translation of incoming correspondence to the divan that are written in languages other than Arabic like Romans and Europeans.

* Characteristics of Writers and Selection Conditions:
Al-Qalqashandi divides the selection conditions into two types: requirements (obligatory) and customary (the Introduction – Chapter Three):

**Obligatory Conditions are divided into ten characteristics as follows:**
1. Muslim;
2. Male;
3. Free;
4. Adult (reached the age of maturity);
5. Fair;
6. Eloquent (achieve goals with less expenses);
7. Wisdom and righteous mind;
8. Knowledgeable of Sharia provisions, arts, literature and others;
9. Strong will, active, and honorable in soul (lacking activity and honor of soul leads to lack in writing);
10. Competence in what he administers, because incompetence leads to deficiencies and disorganization.

**Customary Conditions: Consists of 18 conditions:**
1. Man of Letters;
2. Strong in Soul;
3. Sharp mind;
4. Sensitive;
5. Speaks sweetly;
6. Have a good intuition;
7. Daring but tactful;
8. Honourable;
9. Honest;
10. Of kind manners;
11. Trustworthy;
12. Have polite servants;
13. Average height;
14. Small in size;
15. Have a since of humour;
16. Thick beard;
17. Elegantly dressed;
18. Smells nice.

Looking closely into this list of required and customary characteristics and comparing them with the conditions and requirements set by private and governmental organizations currently based upon the most recent theories, we found that there is a great similarity in the method of thinking and there are overlaps in so many items, especially the first five customary requirements related to capabilities and competence of the applicant.

C. The Characteristics and duties of Insha Divan Headmaster:

The Divan Headmaster enjoyed a high rank, and used to be among the very close persons to governors and Sultans, where he sometimes was promoted as a minister.

It was the highest position that enjoyed much honour in old and modern times, “There is almost no one more special or closer seated than a writer. The Divan Headmaster continued to be honoured by kings of all times, and proceeded all others.

Then Al-Qalqashandi lists his arguments and evidence to quotes by Al-Jahiz and others who preceded him.

The title Divan Headmaster used to be indicated by the word “writer” during the Omayyad Era. During the Abbasid Era, the first Abbasid Caliph, Abo Al-Abbass, assigned his writer Abo Salmah Al-Khallal to be minister and
the title “writer” was abandoned. The title Minister continued till the extinction of Abbasid Succession in Baghdad.

In the beginning, the Divan was famous by the name “Divan of Letters” or “Divan of Correspondence”, but during Al-Qalqashandi’s time in Egypt, this Divan was known as Insha Divan. The Divan writer was first in rank, followed by Dest writer then Durj writer.

*The characteristic of Insha Divan Headmaster: Here, Al-Qalqashandi discusses the writers characteristics, and what features he should enjoy such as: manners, good behavior, especially in his relation with the king and matters related to the king’s advice and how he shall be presented: “the writer must make the king’s aims and desires prevail over his own aims and desires, unless such behavior may cause danger to the kingdom. In such cases, he shall provide advice to the king without proving his opinion corrupt or incomplete” (part 1, 15).

*Duties of the headmaster: The Divan Headmaster has 12 tasks:

1. Reviewing all incoming correspondences due to the king’s limited time.
2. Answering such correspondences after informing the king about the right action to be taken.
3. Formatting the correspondences in regard to their opening, prayers, titles, size of paper and others.
4. Checking all outgoing correspondences from the Divan before sending them, as writers are not exempt from errors.
5. Looking after mail and its related matters like messengers and their instruments. In this subject, Al-Qalqashandi provides us with a beautiful description and clarifies, in great detail, the techniques that were used, presenting to us a photographic picture on the mail in his age and previous ages.
7. Taking care of some outlaw (Khawarij) related matters, such as laws issued in their interest and trade with them.
8. Taking care of spies.
10. Protecting mail and solving problems when it can’t reach some places.
11. Looking after lighthouses and their fuel. Lighthouses are points of surveillance in high mountains to warn others about danger. They could be seen from far distances, so the next lighthouse would be lit up to warn others and so on and so forth till the fuel ends and the news is delivered to the required place.
12. Looking into public matters that would benefit the Sultan and the Kingdom.
Conclusion

The thesis of this research was to know if Arabs enjoyed administrative literature, and its nature and resources. Based upon this, we have selected documentary historic methodology as a research method. Since the profession of writing is closely connected to the history of administration and management system in the Arab-Islamic civilization. We have looked for the relation between the profession of writing and administration and found out that there is a close and ancient relation that relates back to the discovery of writing in the Sumerian Era. We have reached a positive answer to this question: Did Arabs, under the rule of Islam, write about Administration? We have found out that the beginnings of specialized and methodological writing were at the beginning of Abbasid Era and the invention of paper industry in Samarkand.

This new perspective on highlighting the History of Administration (profession of writing) in the Arab-Islamic period, opens a new horizon for contemporary concerned people and writers in administration to go deeper into administrative historic studies each according to his specialty. In addition, the research presents a new vision for studying Arabic Dawawini Heritage from a new aspect, that is writing was also a tool for administrative communication among the administration categories (Writers).

The model of this study was based on the assumption that a great State such as the wide Arab Islamic State, as Umayyad, Abbasside, Ayyubid, and Mamluke, must use an accurate and sophisticated administration system to handle its affairs in such high efficiency. We found that an accurate administration system consisted of Divans (ministries) which are parallel to today’s bureaucratic system (in the neutral meaning of the word). A Divan system depended on the profession of writing as a tool for management and
administrative communication, just as we use computerization nowadays.

We have found that there was a dialectical relation between the profession of writing, (since it first emerged with Sumerians and continued to today), and administrative organization. The Arabic Prophet – Peace be upon him – used writing to call for Islam and manage the state. His companions, led by the Rashidun Caliphs, were among the pioneer writers. The first Insha Divan was established during the Prophet’s Era. The Divan system was enhanced and expanded during Rashidun and Omayyad Eras. In Abbasid Era the niches of the Divan System were completed and it grew and flourished during this era, when it enjoyed its writers and specialists. Divan systems spread in the conquered countries and lands. Our study of the Divan Systems, which we hope to continue in the future, stopped at the Mamluki Era.

In the process of this research, we have found that the book “Subh Al-Aasha fi Sinat Al-Insha” by Al-Qalqashandi is the greatest, most comprehensive and richest book in the history of Divan Systems and their origins as well as on the Islamic ruling systems and phases. That’s why we selected it to represent the History of Administration among Arabs and the Islamic Period, and its author to be called “Sheikh Al-Dawawinieen/Chief of Divan Writers”.

The granting of the title "Sheikh Al-Dawawinieen/ Chief of Divan Writers" given to Al-Qalqashandi did not depend on an objective methodological study that uses specific standards, rather it is a personal appreciation for a writer who dedicated his life to the service of “Insha Profession” and spent more than 25 years to writing about it. Due to that there is no attempt to prove that Al-Qalqashandi is the "Sheikh Al-Dawawinieen/ Chief of Divan Writers", rather we aim to draw attention to one of the major figures of the history of administration among Arabs. All those concerned with the history of Divans and administrative systems among Arabs and Islam must read his book “Subh Al-Aasha”.

Experts of UNESCO say, in introducing the book "Subh Al-Aasha" by Al-Qalqashandi, that writing is one of the most important professions in the Islamic State. Its holders are assigned to Divan functions that handle the
administrative affairs of the State. That’s the reason why those assigned to writing tasks were clever people who were prepared in a special way, and who enjoyed specific capabilities and such people often reached the position of a Minister. Al-Qalqashandi dealt with writing as a profession, art and a craft and he researched an important aspect of Islamic Administration (UNESCO, 1965, 239).

This quick study helped in reaching some important results:

**First:** The official profession of Arabic writing is nothing but the profession of general administration of State affairs and it was considered an important profession among Arabs.

**Second:** The profession of writing was and still is the main tool for administrative communication, and the writing function in the heritage of Arabic literature did not get the necessary attention, especially in the Modern Era.

**Third:** What is known as bureaucratic ideologies and systems have started alongside with the establishment of Divans during Umar Ibn Al-Khattab, which is known by Divan systems and bureaucratic tendency in handling State affairs. Maybe the excessive use of such tendency was among the main reasons for the decline of Arabs.

**Fourth:** The literature of the profession of writing was mainly dedicated to young people and those ambitious to work at Divans (administrative positions), which is known today as vocational training. All of that indicates the greatness of the writer’s status and his importance for the governor and people.

Before we end, we must refer to some application aspects of this study formed into practical recommendations:

**First:** School and university curriculums in the field of administration must include a background on the history of Divan systems in Arab and Islamic State,¹ and the importance of learning functional writing as a tool for modern communication, as most Arabic language lessons focus on creative writing and ignore functional writing. It is notable

---

¹ The author insert a brief paragraph about the history of Divan system in Arab-Islamic States for the most of his publications (see his biography).
that some students may succeed in their literary and poetical attempts more than in writing formal letters, even at the post-graduate level. Thus, the necessity of introducing the concept of functional writing into the curriculums of Arabic language at all levels.

**Second:** Review the classification of manuscripts related to the history of Administration among Arab-Islamic states, to which students and researchers could easily refer; as there is no classification for the history of administration among Arabs pertaining to the following concepts till now:

- Rulings of Sultans for all matters related to the ruling system;
- Dawawinia: for all matters related to upper governmental administration;
- The profession of writing: for all matters related to executive management;
- Transactions: for all matters related to dealings among personnel.

**Third:** encourage students of related higher studies in colleges and institutes to select their thesis from these fields, qualify specialists in the history of administration among Arabs and encourage manuscript authentication.
## Appendix1: English Synonyms

### writing (كتابة)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>English Synonyms with Arabic Translations (sorted by strength)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Verbs</strong></td>
<td>write (طبع، نقل) • communicate (تحادث، نقل) • create (نموذج، كتاب) • describe (نموذج، كتاب) • compose (نموذج، كتاب) • inscribe (نموذج، كتاب) • conceal (نفي، كتاب) • represent (نموذج، كتاب) • assign (نموذج، كتاب) • find (نموذج، كتاب) • reflect (نموذج، كتاب) • mention (نموذج، كتاب) • render (نموذج، كتاب)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Conconsider also: bestow (منح، وضع) • bring (وضع، أعطي) • commit (وضع، أعطي) • deliver (حول) • get (جلب، كسب) • save (حفظ) • suggest (أحذى، وفر) • asafford (فر، منح) • catch (صيد، قض) • construct (انشأ، ثيد) • convey (رسق، نقل) • discover (مكتشف، ثين) • interpret (معتقد، ثين) • depict (رسم، بصر) • engrave (نلب، حفر على الخشب) • express (سرير، بين) • make (صنع، فعل) (رس، صور) • portray (رس)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **Nouns** | script (مخطوطة، مينايرو) • composition (نموذج، ترقيم) • lettering (نموذج، ترقيم) • print (نموذج، كتاب) • document (نموذج، كتاب) • autograph (نموذج، كتاب) • paper (نموذج، كتاب) • authorship (نموذج، كتاب) • book (نموذج، كتاب) • manuscript (نموذج، كتاب) • inscription (نموذج، كتاب) • handwriting (نموذج، كتاب) • record (سجل، رقم قياسي) • journal (سجل، رقم قياسي) • consider also: literature (كتاب، مذيى) • text (نص، نص) • drafting (نموذج، نص) • style (نموذج، نص) • calligraphy (نموذج، نص) • lettering (نموذج، نص) |

<p>| <strong>Adjectives</strong> | literary (كتابة) • dithyrambic (كتابة) • documental (كتابة) • lexicographic (كتابة) • orthographic (كتابة) • civil (كتابة) • covetous (نافذ، نافذ) • elegant (نافذ، نافذ) • formal (كتابة) • greedy (مغيد) • mild (مغيد) • urbane (مغيد) • consider also: graceful (عطاء، طالح) • eager (عطاء، طالح) • avaricious (عطاء، طالح) |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Others</strong></th>
<th><strong>Meaning</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>autographic</td>
<td>(خطاط)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>considered</td>
<td>(مدروس مسجل، مروي فيه)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intercommunicate</td>
<td>(تبادل، تشاور)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indite</td>
<td>(فعل تحرير، توزيل)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>report</td>
<td>(تقرير، محضر)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Eve, based on meta-analysis.
# Appendix 2: English Synonym within Context

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Context</th>
<th>English Synonym within Context</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Book</strong> (كتاب، مسجد)</td>
<td><strong>Writing</strong> (كتابة، خط) • booklet (كتاب، كتابة) • brochure (كتابة، نشرة) • circular (كتابة، دائري، مستدير) • codex (مجموعة مخطوطات، هيئة النص الأدبي) • enchiridion (كتاب، كتابة) • handbook (كتاب، الكتاب) • libretto (الآرایا، الكتاب المحمول للنص الأدبي) • livret (كتاب، الكتاب) • manual (كتاب، كتابة) • pamphlet (كتاب، كتابة) • opusculae (كتاب، سديم) • pamphlet (كتاب، كتابة) • publication (إذاعة، مسج) • tome (كتاب، مسجد) • tract (خدمة) • volume (كتاب، حجم) • work (عمل، كتاب)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Compendium</strong> (خلاصة، وافية، منخش)</td>
<td><strong>analecta</strong> (مختبرات أدبية، استعارة) • anthology (مختبرات أدبية، استعارة) • collectanea (مختبرات أدبية، استعارة) • compilation (التجميع) • cuttings (قطع، نسخ) • extracts (قطع، نسخ) • flowers (حروف، الزهر) • album (كتاب، مسجد) • memorandum book (رخصة، مرفوعة) • note book (كتاب، مسجد) • scrap book (كتاب، مسجد) • signatures (وقع، توقيع) • superscription (الكتابة، العنوان)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Indication</strong> (إشارة، دالة)</td>
<td><strong>Hand writing</strong> (كتابة أو خط) • autograph (كتابة أو خط) • brand (علامة، شعار) • cipher (شفرة) • endorsement (موافقة) • hand (يد) • attestation (توقيع السند) • indorsement (توقيع السند) • mark (علامة، شعار) • seal (حلف، كتابة) • sigil (كتابة، شعار) • signature (توقيع، التوقيع) • superscription (الكتابة، العنوان)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ornament</strong> (زخرفة، زينة)</td>
<td><strong>bombast</strong> (كلمات نمطية، مفتاح) • alexandrine (كلمات نمطية، مفتاح) • fustian (كلمات نمطية، مفتاح) • high-sounding words (كلمات نمطية، مفتاح) • inflation (خف، عاطفة) • pretension (عذاب، غضب) • rant (عذاب، غضب)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Record</strong> (سجل، رقم قياسي)</td>
<td><strong>calendar</strong> (تاريخ، تقويم) • celebrate (احتفال، احتفال) • chronicle (تاريخ، تقويم) • commemorate (احتفال، احتفال) • inform (علم، إعلام) • jot down (تحرير، مراقبة) • note down (تحرير، مراقبة) • put down (الكتابة، إملاءة) • record (سجل، رقم قياسي) • remember (تذكر، ذكر) • report (ذكر، نص) • set down (الكتابة، إملاءة) • take down (الكتابة، إملاءة) • write down (الكتابة، إملاءة) • write (الكتابة، إملاءة) • jot (الكتابة، إملاءة) • note (الكتابة، إملاءة)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing (كتابة خط)</td>
<td>Writing • arrowhead (رأس السهم، النشل) • Brahmi (براهمي) • chirography (الكتابة، طباعة خط) • contraction (Contracts، الانكماش) • cryptography (الكتابة المشفرة، علم الترميز) • Devanagari (سنسكريت يدوي) • hieroglyphic (الكتابة الهيروغرافية) • in writing (كتابة، كتابة) • in black and white (كتاب، كتابة، وضح) • letter (رسالة، حرف) • manuscript (الخط، سلسلة) • MS (الخط، مخطوطات باليد) • Ogham (أوغام) • pennmanship (الخط، أسئ سباق الخطاب) • phonoigraphy (الكتابة الصوتية، الرسم الصوتي) • Runes (الأحرف الرونية، شفرة) • script (شفرة) • secret writing (الخط، سر) • shorthand (الخط، السري) • stenography (الخط، الكتابة السري) • typewriting (الكتابة، طباعة) • written (كتاب، كتابة)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More (أخرى، إضافية)</td>
<td>Chap book • Fugitive writing • commonplace book • excerpta • fugitive pieces • spicilegium • autography • hand and seal • paraph • sign manual • Fine writing • big-sounding words • macrology • Minerva press • prose run mad • sesquipedalia verba • sesquipedality • Writing in black and white • commit to writing • hand down to posterity • keep up the memory • make a note • make a return • place on record • put in writing • put on paper • put on record • reduce to writing • set down in writing • take memorandum • take minute • writing in cipher • brachygraphy • cerography • cuneiform character • literae scriptae • logography • Nagari • pasigraphy • Polygraphy • quill driving • stelography • tachygraphy • these presents • uncial writing • under one's hand.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Please volunteer translation(s).
References

This list only mentions the references indicated in the text of the study, and do not include the various and different references that we went through which helped in shaping the guidelines and general background of this study (All the references written in Arabic or translated to Arabic, but in this English edition are not transliteration to English, simply the title translated to English.


8. Al-Hassaniah (Salim), "Highlights on the Profession of Diwawinia Writing among Arabs: Since Establishment till the Era of Ibn Abo Usibia (Ayoubi Era)”, research delivered at the seventeenth annual conference on the History of Science at Arabs.
Swyidaa, April, 1993, organized by the Institute of Arab Scientific Heritage in Aleppo University.

9. Al-Hassaniah (Salim), "Al-Qalqashandi from Administration point of view: Chief of Bureaucratic Writers/Sheikh Al-Diwawineen", a research delivered during the cultural and scientific program organized by the Faculty of Economics, Aleppo University, October 1993.


14. Ashour (Saied Abd AlkFattah), Faharis Subh AlkAasha/Indexes of Subh AlAsha (see Al-Baqî).


32. Ibn Durstweih (died 347 Hijri), “Kitab Alkutaab/Book of Writers”, (No Place, No Editor, No date).
34. Ibn Al-Nadim Alwaraq (Muhammad) (died390Hijri/1000 A.D.), al-Fihrist “The Index”, studied and authenticated by: Nahid Abbass Othman, Qatar, Qatary ibn Al-Fyaa Publishing House, 1985, 725 pages.
36. Khudamah Ibn Jafer Al-Kateb (Died 337Hijri/948A.D), Politics of Alkhiraj Book and


42. Ministry of Culture and National Guidance (Egypt), The Heritage of Humanity, Dar Alfeker, (B.T), (4 volumes), 4000 pages.

43. Simplified Arabic Encyclopedia, 1959


Bibliography used in the translated version

Biography

- Salim Al-hassanieh received a Ph. D. in Management Sciences on Organizational Behavior, from the University of Rennes 1, France, in 1990, with Honorable Grade. He is Professor at the Department of Business Management, Aleppo University. He is a Former Dean of Higher Institute of Administration Development, Damascus University.
- He worked five years in Jordan Universities and five years as a training consultant in Saudi Arabia
- Publications & Conferences:
  - 40 conferences, seminars, workshops, researches and articles (five of them in English)
  - 10 books (including Information Encyclopedic Dictionary Al-munammy: English Arabic-French).
  - Prize for a research in the MIS applied in Management of the Hospital of Aleppo Univ.: given by the WHO/Ministry of Health, 1995.
- Area of interest: Organizational Behavior, Administration Training, Creativity by Management, Management History.

Email: shassanieh@yahoo.com