كتاب تأريخ اليمن للفقية الاديب نجم الدين عمارة بن ابي الحسن على الحكمى اليمنى و يليله المخطصر المنقول من كتاب العبر للقاضى العلامة عبد الرحمن ابن خلدون السعربي ثم اخبار القرامطة باليمن تائيف القاضى الاجل البهدن تائيف القاضى الاجل البهداء



قد طبع بمطبعة گِلْبرت و رونِكْتُن الكائنة بمدينة لنُدُن المحروسة

## تأريخ اليمن للفقيه العلّلمة نجم الدين عمارة اليمني.

يسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله افضل محمود و احتق معبود و صلَّى الله على محمد النبي اطهر منسل و اكرم مرسل و على آله اعلام العلوم واطواد التحلوم و سلم و بعد فاتَّى في سنة ثلاث و ستَّين و خمسمئة حضرت صجلس العولي القاضي الاجلّ الفاضل ابي عليّ عبد الرحيم بن القاضى الاشرف بهاء الدين ابي المجد على البيساني حرس الله علوة و ادام سموة و هو يومئذ صاحب ديوان الانشاء عن المخلافة العاضدية فحداني بل هداني أسره الى وضع كذاب اجمع فيه ما علق بحفظي من اخبار جزيرة اليمن سهلها و وعرها برًّا و بحرًا و مدد ممالكها و ابعاد مسالكها و حروب أهلها و وقائعهم و مآثرهم و صنائعهم و اخدار قضاتها و دعاتها و اخبار اعيانها و امرائها و من روى له عنه او رايته من شعرائها فامتثلت من ذلك ما ندب اليه و عوّات عند التصفّح عليم و ما هو ممن استحى لقاه خشياً و اجلالًا بمسور خاطر و لو لم یشجعنی تقاضیه عاضنی محادرتی من خصله المتحاسر حدثني الشيخ الفقيم نـزار  $^{1}$  بن عبد الملك المكّى والفقيم احمد بن محمد الاشعرى أو ما منهما الاعارف بايام الناس وانسابهم واشعارهم و قرأت في كتاب مفيد لاخبار زبيد تأييف الملك المكين ابي الطامي جداش من نجام نصير الدين مالك زبيد قالوا لما كان في سنة تسع و تسعين و مائه أتى الى المأمون بن الرشيد بقرم من ولد عبد الله

ابرهيم القرشي الاشعرى ظهير الدين Khi.

ابو المنصور تزار Khi, ابو

النشابة ابو لخسن احمد بن Khi, "

بن زبادا فانتسب احدهم و اسمة محمد بن فلان بن عبد الله بن زیاد الی زیاد<sup>2</sup> و انتسب رجل منهم الی سلیمان بن هشام بن عبد الملك و من ولد هذا الرجل الوزير ابن خلف<sup>3</sup> بن ابي الطاهر وزير الامير جياش بن نجاح فقال المأمون لهذا الاموى انَّ عبد الله بن على بن العباس ضرب عنق سليمان بن هشام و اعذاق ولديه في يوم واحد فقال الاموى انا من ولد الاصغر من ولد سليمان بن هشام  $^{ au}$ منا قوم بالبصرة في افناء الناس و انتسب له رجل الى بني تغلب ً و اسمهٔ محمد بن هرون فبکی المأمون و قال آن لی $^6$  به حمد بن هرون يعنى اخالا الامدين ثم قال اما الامويّان فيقتلان ً و اما التغلبي فيعفى عنه رعايةً \* لاسم، و اسم ابيه فقال ابن زياد ما اكذب الناس يا امير المؤمنين انبهم يزعمون انَّكَ حليم كـثير العفو متورَّع عن سفك الدماء و بغير حتى فإن كنت تقللنا على أن ذنوبنا فانّا لم تخرج عن الطاعة 11 ولم نفارق في بيعتك راى الجماعة 12 و أن كنت تقتلناً على جنایات بنی أسیّه فیکم فالله تعالی یقول و لا تزِرَ وازِرهٔ وزِر آخر*ی* فاستحسن المامون كلامه وعفى عنهم جميعا وكانوا اكثر من مائة رجل و اضافهم الى ابى العباس الفضل بن سهل ذى الرياستين وقيل الى اخيه الحسن فلما بويع لابرهيم بن المهدى ببغداد في المحرم سنه اثنتين و مائتين وافق ذلك و رود $^{13}$  كتاب عامل اليمن بخروج الاشاعر $^{14}$ 

الأمويون و الزياديون فيقتلون . Yak

<sup>8</sup> Yak. عرامةً

عن الدماء . Yak

عن . Yak

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Yak. عن طامة

ني معيد الجماعة . Yak

وافق ذاك ورود . om في كتاب . Yak

وعملى . om الاعاشر . Yak

بقوم من ولـد زياد بن ابيه Yak. و قوم من ولـد هشام و فيهم رجل من من بني أمية Khi, بني تغلب

الى عبيد الله بن زياد بن ابيه .آ.

الوزيرخلف 3

کان جدی صغیرا یومئذ لم یدرك و .J ا

ابن وايل ,Khi

ما لي .Yak ; انتيّ لي , Yak

و عَكَ عَنِ الطَّاعَةُ فَاتُغَى ابنِ سَهِلَ عَلَى هَذَا \* مُحَمَّدُ بن زيادُ و عَلَى المرواني و التغلبي عند المامون و انهم من اعيان الرجال و افراد الكفاة و اشار بتسييرهم الى اليمن ابن زياد اميرا و ابن هشام وزيرا و التغلبي حاكما و صفتيا 3 فمن ولد التغلبي محمد بن هرون قضاة زبيد بنو ابي عقامة ولم يزل الحكم فيهم متوارث حتى ازالهم على بن مهدى حين ازال الحبشة 4 فخرجوا في الجيش الذي جبزه المامون الى بغداد الى محاربة ابرهيم بن المهدى و حيّم ابن زياد و من معه في سنة ثلاث و مائدين و سار الي اليمن و فدّ تهامة بعد حروب جرت بينه وبين العرب بها و اختطّ زبيد في شعبان سنة اربع و مائتين و في هذا التاريخ مات الفقية الامام محمد بن ادريس الشافعي بمصر رحمة الله عليه وحبّ من اليمن جعفر مولى ابن زياد بمال و هدايا سنة خمس و مائتين و وصل الى العراق و صادف المأمون بها وعاد جعفر هذا في سنة ست الي زبيد و معه الـف  $^{\circ}$ فارس من $^{\circ}$  مسودة خراسان سبعمائه فعظم ملك  $^{7}$  ابن زياد و ملك  $^{\circ}$ اقليم اليمن باسرة الجبال والتهايم وتقلُّد جعفرهذا الجبال واختطُّ بها  $^{9}$  مدينة يقال لها المذيخرة  $* بمخلاف ريمة الاشاعر<math>^{10}$  ذات انهار و اشجارً11 واسعة و البلاد التي كانت لجعفر تسمّي الي12 اليوم مخلاب جعفر و المخلاف عند اهل اليمن عبارة عن قطر واسع و كان جعفر هذا احد الكفاة الدهاة 13 و به نمت 14 دولة ابن زياد النَّهم 15 يقولون

تـقلّد .Yak

<sup>9</sup> Yak. a

Deest in Yak.

رياض . Yak

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Om. Yak.

هذا من الدهاة الكفاة . Yak

تهّت . Yak

و اذاك . Yak

على الزيادي وكان اسمه Yak. على

فسير .Yak

التغابي قاضيًا . Yak

<sup>•</sup> Yak. خولة الحبشة

و سار (المذيخرة .s.v.) أو سار (المذيخرة Yak.

<sup>&</sup>quot; Yak. ويها من

آمر .Yak

ابن زباد جعفرها و هو الذي اشترط على عرب تباءة أن لا يركبوا الخيل و علك ابن زياد حضرموت و ديار كندة و الشحر و مرباطا و ابين و لحجا وعدن و التهايم الي حلى و بين حلى و مكة حرسها الله ثمانية ايام و ملك من الجبال الجند و اعمالبا و مخلف المعافر و مخلاف جعفر و صنعاء و صعدة و نجران و بسيحان و واصل ابن زياد الخطبة لبني العباس وحمل الاموال والهدايا السنيه هو واولاده من بعده و هم ابرهيم بن محمد هذا الذي هو الوَّلهم ثم علك بعده ابن زياد بن ابرهيم فلم تطل مدّته ثم ملك بعدة اخوة ابو الجيش اسحق بن ابرهيم و طالت مدته فلما اسن و بلغ الثمانين في الملك تشعب عليه من دولته بعضها فممن اظهر له بعض ما يكره ملك  $^{2}$  صنعاء و هو من اولاد التبابعة من حمير واسمه اسعد بن ابي يعفر ولمنه كان يخطب لابي الجيش بن زياد و يضرب الدراهم على اسمه ولم يكن ينفذ الى ابي الجيش هديةً و لا ميرة و لا ضريبةً و كان ارتفاع أموال اسعد هذا لا يزيد على اربعمائة الف في السنة يصرف معظمها في سبيل البرّ لوافدية و قاصدية و امنّا صاحب سيحان و نجران و جرىش فهم ايضا تحت طاعة ابن زياد و امَّا صعدة فثار بها الشريف المحسني المعروف بالرسي ثم النزيدي<sup>3</sup> و ما يليق ذكرة في هذا الموضع مع انه الله اليس بجميع اليمن مدينة اكبر و لا اكثر مرافقا و اهلا مررا صنعاء و هو بلد في خطّ الاستواء و هو من الاعتدال في 5 الهوي جعيث لا يـ تحوّل الانسان عن مكان واحد الى مكان آخر طول

الامام الهادي يحيى بن الحسين ،Khi الرسى

و قال عمران بن ابي لخسن . Yak عمارة For عمارة read عمارة Yak . . . .

<sup>:</sup> كان يلقب ابن زباد بجمفر . J كان يقولون ابن زياد و جعفر . Yak

بن ابرهيم بن **محمد ب**ن يعفر ،Khi <sup>د</sup> بن عبد الرحيم لخوالي

عمره شتآءً و لا صيفاً و تتقارب بها ساعات الشتاء و الصيف و بها بناء عظيم قد خرب فهو تل ءال يعرف بغمدان ولم تبن ملوك اليمن قصراً مثله و لا ارفع منه و في ملك اسعد بن ابي يعفر صاحب  $^{1}$  صنعاء جبل المذيخرة و بلغني ان اعلاه نحو عشرين فرسخا فيها المزارع و المداة و فدة نبت الورس \* و هو في معنى الزعفران ْ و لا يسلك الا من طريق و احد و قد كان ∞حمد بن الفضل الداعي المعروف بشييخ لاعة وهذه و لاعة الى جانبها قريه لطيفة يقال لها عدن لاعة و ليست عدن ابين الساحلية و انا دخلت هذه عدن لاعة و هي اول موضع ظهرت فيه الدعوة العلوية باليمن و منها قام منصور اليمن و منها محمد بن الفضل الداعي و ممن وصل اليها من دعاة الدولة أبو عبد الله الشيعي صاحب الدعوة العاربة بالمغرب و فيها قرأ عليّ بن محمد الصليحي في صباه و هي دار دءوة باليمن و كان هذا محمد بن الفضل الداعي غلب على جبل المذيخرة و خطب فيه للدعوة العلوية سنة اربعين وثلثمائة ثم استرجعه منه اصحاب اسعد بن ابي يعفر ثم عاد الي اصحاب الدعي صحمد بن الفضل ثانية و في ملك اسعد بن ابي يعفر صاحب صنعا جبل شبام و هو مندیع جدًّا و فیه قری و مزارع و جامع کبیر و هو عمل مستقلٌ بنفسه و يرتـفع منه العقيق و الجزع و هي حجارة معساة فافا عملت ظهر جوهرها و ممن امتنع من عمّال ابسي الجيش بن زیاد سلیمان بن الطرف صاحب عثر و هو من ملوك تهامة و عمله مسيرة سبعة ايام في عرض يومين و هو من الشرجة الي حلى و مبلغ ارتفاعة في السنة خمسمائة الف دينار " و كان مع امتناعه من الوصول الى ابن زياد يخطب له و يضرب السكة على

دينار عَمُرِيّه ١٨١٨ -

Yak. عيد
 Yak. الزعموان
 Yak. وفي شميره الزعموان

اسمه و يحمل اليه صبلغا من المال في كل سنة و هدايا لا اعلم مبلغها ويتلو لابن طرف من ملوك تهامة في الخطبة و السكة لابن زياد و عمل اتاوة مستقرّة الحرامي صاحب حلى دون ابن طرف في المكذة و اما الذي سلم لابن زياد من اليمن حين طعن في السنّ فله من الشرجة الى عدن طولا عشرون مرحلة و له من غلافقه الى صنعاء خمس مراحل و رایت مبلغ ارتفاع اعمال ابن زیاد بعد تذاصريف أفي سنة ست و ستين و ثلاث مائة من الدنانير الف الف عثرية أ خارجا عن ضرائبه على مراكب الهند من الاعواد المختلفة و المسك و الكانور و العنبر<sup>3</sup> و الصندل و الصيني و خارجا عن ضرائب العنبر على السواحل بباب المندب و عدن و ابين و الشحر و غير ذالك و خارجا عن ضرائبه على معادن اللؤلؤ و عن ضرائبه على صاحب مدينة دهلك و من بعضها الف راس رقيق منها خمسمائمة وصيفة حبشية و نوبية و كانت ملوك الحبش من وراء البحر تهاديه و تستدعي مواصلته و مات ابو الجيش هذا سنة احدى و سبعين و ثلاث مائة عن طفل اسمه عبد الله و قيل زياد و تولت كفالته أخته هند بنت ابي الجيش و عبد لابي الجيش استاذ حبشي يدعي رشدا و كان من عبيد رشد هذا وصيف من اولاد النوبة يدعى حسين ابن سلامة و هي أمَّة و بها كان يعرف و نشأ هذا حسين ابن سلامة حازما عفيفا فلما صات مولاه رشد وزر لولد ابی الجیش و لآخته هند بنت ابی الجیش و كانت دولتهم قد تضعضعت اطرافها و تغلبت ولاة الحيصون و الجبال على ما في ايديهم منها فاقام القايد حسين ابن سلامة يحارب اهل الجبال حتى دانوا و دان ابن طرف و ابن الحرامي و استوسعت له مملكة ابن زياد الاولى و اختط مدينة الكدرا على وادى سهام

أتقاصرها أن السمد رشيد فام تطل مدة رشيد الهذاء المدرية الما أن الهذاء ال

و اختط مدينة المعقر على وادى نوال و كان عادلا على الرعايا كـثير الصدقات و الصلاة في الله تعالى مقتديا بسيرة عمر بن عبد العزيز في اكثر احواله و عمر في الملك ثلاثين سنة و مات سنة اثنتين و اربع مائمة و من محاسن حسين بن سلامة انشاء الجوامع الكبار و المنارات الطوال من حضرموت إلى مكّمة حرسها الله تعالى و طول المسافة التي بنى فيها ستَّون يوما و حفر الابار الرويـة و القلب العادية في المقافر المنقطعة وبني اللميال و الفراسخ و البرد على الطرقات فمن ذاك ما رايته عامراً و مهدوماً و منها ما رواه الناس لي رواية اجماع فاوَّلة شبام و تريم مدينتا حضرموت أتصلت عمارة الجوامع منهما الى عدن و أبين و لحي و المسافة عشرون مرحلة في كل مرحلة جامع و مأذنة و بئر فامّا عدن ففيها جامع من عمارة عمر بن عبد العريز و جدده حسين ابن سلامة ثم تفترق الطريق من عدن الى مكة فطريق تصعد الجبال و طريق تسلك في تهامة فامّا طريق الجبال ففيها جامع التحوة و هو كبير ادركته عامرا بعمارة حسين ابن سلامة و رايت فيها جامع الجند و هو جامع مثل جامع احمد بن طولون بمصر و كان مسجدا الطيفا اول من بذاه معان بن جبل صاحب رسول الله صلَّى الله عليه و سلّم حدين بعثه الى اليمن و اهل الجند و ما حوله من القرى يروون في فضل هذا لمسجد اخبارا من جهة الاحاد" أن زيارته في أوّل جمعة من رجب تعدل عمرة او قالوا حجّة و لم يزل اهل تلك الافاق يزورونه في كلُّ سنة حتى كثر ذلك فصار موسما من مواسم الحميم و منسكا المعامّة و اذا كان لبعضهم على بعض حقّ قال المهلني حتى ينقضي المحيِّ و ما يعنون الَّا زيارة الجند ثم ذي اشرف و بها مسجد مكتوب على احجارة فوق بابه صما أمر به عمر بن عبد العزيز بن صروان ثم مدينة

اشرق ,Khi

الجوه Khi, الجوه Khi, الخبارا كشيرة عن رسول الله

اب $^{1}$  ثم النقيل ثم ذمار  $^{\circ}$  ثم جامع صنعاء و هو عظيم ثم من صنعاء الى صعدة عشرة ايام<sup>3</sup> ثم من صعدة الى الطائف سبعة ايام في كلّ مرحلة جامع ومصانع للماء ثم عقبة الطائف وهي مسيرة يوم للطالع من ممَّة و نصف يوم للهابط الى مكَّمة عمرها حسين ابن سلامة عمارة \* يمشى في عرضها ثلاثة اجمال باحمالها هذه الطريق العليا واما طريق تباءة فهي تنفترق ايضا طريقين فواحدة ساحلية على البحر و واحدة و هي الحادّة السلطانية متوسطة منها الي البحر و الجبل \* و افتراقهما من تهاءة و في كلّ مرحلة من الطريقين الساحلية والوسطى جامع عظيم فمن الساحلية \* و الوسطى المخنق و هي من عدن على لميلـــة و بيما بئر طولــها ثمانون° باعا انا وردتها مرارا و جامع مستهدم° ثم العارة ثم عثر ثم السقيا جامع و بئر طولها اربعون باعا ثم البا $^{10}$ باب المندب ثم المخا ثم السحارى $^{11}$  ثم الخوهة ثم الأهواب ثم غلافقة ثم بيعه ثم الجردة 12 ثم الربعة ثم الشرجة ثم المفجر13 ثم القندير14 ثم عثرً أو هي مقرّ ملك قديم ثم الرويمة أله محمصة أله نهدان ثم حلى ثم السرّين ثم جدّة فبذه جوامع 18 السواحل ما منها الا ما رايته  $^{20}$ عامها و المها خرابا و المها الوسطى فذات الخيف $^{10}$  و موزع و الجدون $^{20}$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Deest in Khi.

الزهاري .1D الزهاري

<sup>12</sup> Klii, الحردة

<sup>13</sup> Khi, معمد المقعر

الفسدىرية, الفسديرية) الفسديرية

عبر بن سص ،<sup>15</sup> Khi

الدومه . M. ; الدومة , 16 Khi

حمضة . Khi, H.

ساير ,<sup>18</sup> Khi

ذات الحميث Klii, ذات

ثم الحدون Khi, ثم الحدون

اً ن Khi, اً ا

ثم ما بسین ذمار و صنعا مسافة ،Khi <sup>2</sup> خمسة ایام فی کل مرحلة منها بنا

عي كل مرحلة من ذلك جامع ،Khi

<sup>4</sup> Khi, مَنقنة

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Deest in Khi.

جامع و بير ,Khi

Deest in Khi.

ئلثون Klii, ئلثون

<sup>9</sup> D. المشهد

و حيس و ربيد و فشال و الضِّجاع الكسر الـضاد و القحمة و الكدرا \* و هي مقرة و اختطها ايضا و الجثة و عرق النشم م و المهجم و مور و الواديان و جيزان و المساعِد و تعشر و المدى و رباح و الفحر ثم تلتقى طريق الجادّة و الساحلية 7 و يفترقان من السرين و بينها و بين مكة خمسة ايام فاول ما يلقى الحاجّ من عمارته بين الرياضة ثم سبحة الغراب<sup>8</sup> ثم الليث<sup>9</sup> ثم يرد الناس وأدى يلملم و به بئر<sup>10</sup>روية طولها عشرة ابواع و عرضها خمسة او ستة ابواع ثم يفترق الناس فمن اراد مكة ورد من عمارته \* بيراد ثم البيضا ثم القوين11 ثم مكة و من اراد عرفات ورد من عمارته بئر بوادى الرحم ثم نعمان ثم عرفات واله مسجد على جبل الرحمة بعرفات رحمة الله عليه وحدّثني الفقية ابو محمد عبد الله ابن ابي القاسم الابار وعليه قرأت مذهب الشافعي قال حدَّثه والده ابو القسم وحدّثني بمثل ذاك عبد الرحمن بن على العبسي و حدثني المقرى الحسين بن فلان بن حسين ابن سلاءة. و ما هـؤلا الامن ناهـز عمره المائة قالوا كان الناس مزدحمين للصباح على حسين بن سلامة حتى تقدّم الية انسان فقال له أن رسول الله صلَّى الله عليه و سلَّم أمرني و بعثني اليك لتدفع لي الف دينار قال حسين لعل الشيطان تمثّل لك قال بل الأمارة بيني و بينك انك مذ عشرين سنة كل ايلة تصلَّى عليه مائتي مرَّة فبكي حسين ابن سلامة و قال أمارة والله صحيحة لم يعلم بها الا الله عزّ و جلّ ثم دفع اليه الف دينار و حدّثني الفقيه ابو على بن طليق و كان من الصالحين

ثم ىلھى طريق بالساحليه ،Klii

<sup>&</sup>quot; Khi, الغراب " خة الغراب

لليت . Khi and D

وهو ميقات اهل اليمن و به بير Khi، 10 من عمارته ثم بـير ادام و هي بـير روية

بير البيضا ثم القرين ,Khi

الضحاك . Khi

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Deest in Khi.

<sup>3</sup> Khi, حيران

الساعد, Khi

المبنى .D ق

الهجرة .Khi and D

و من العلماء الراجحين يسكن بمدينة المعقر قال حدثه ابوه و جماعة من اسلافة و هم اهل بيت علم و عفاف قالوا تظلم انسان الي الحسين ابن سلامة بهذا الوادى و هو سائر من مدينة زبيد الى الكدرا و زعم انه سرقت له عیبة فیها الi دینار و قال $^{1}$  الفا دینار فی وادی مور  $^{1}$ و بعده من الموضع ايام فأمر به حسين فجلس معه مع خواصه و قام الى الصلاة <sup>3</sup> فاطلها ثم نام في المحراب فلم يشعر الله و الناس يقرعون اليه من اطراف الجامع الى المحراب قال والدى وكنت من اقرب الذاس اليه فسمعته يقول لرجل من قوادة تمضي مع هذا الرجل الى القربة الفلانية على الساحل فتاخذ له من فلان بن فلان ماله من غير ان تؤذيه فان رسول الله صلَّى الله عليه و سلَّم شفع اليَّ فيه واخبرني انه ينــتسب اليه و هو صلَّى الله عليه و سلَّم الذي عرفنی صورة الحال و اخدار حسین و محاسنه بالیمن مجلَّدات \* ثم انتقل الامر بعد ذلك الى طفل من آل زياد لا اعرف اسمه و اظلُّه عبد الله و كفلته عمّة له و عبد أستان اسمه صرجان من عبيد الحسين ابن سلامة و استقرّت الوزارة لمرجان و كان له عبدان من عبيد الحبشة فحلان رباهما في الصغر و ولاهما الأمور في الكبر واحدهما يسمي نفيسا وهو الذي يتوتى التدبير بالحضرة والعبد الثاني يدعي نجاجا و هو جد ملوك زبديـد الذين ازالهم على بن مهدى في سنـة اربـع و خمسين و خمسمائة و نجاج هذا هو ابو الملك سعيد الاحول قاتل الامير عليّ بن محمد الصليحي الـقائم باليمن بالدعوة الـفاطمية المستنصرية و هو ايضا والد الملك الفاضل العادل ابي الطامي جيّاش و لم يزل الملك في عقب جيّاش هذا الى الدّاريج المذكور وكار

في جامع الكدرا ,Khi

بل مخلدات ،Khi

<sup>?</sup> قبل ا

<sup>2</sup> Khi en aulali

نجاح يتولّى اعمال السكدرا و المهجم و مور و الواديين أو هذه الاعمال الاربعة جلّ الاعمال الشمالية عن $^{2}$  زبيد ثم وقع التنافس بين نفيس و نجام عبدى مرجان على وزارة الحضرة و كان نفيس عسوفا مرهوبا و نجاج رؤفا بالناس عادلا على الرعايا محبوبا اليهم الله أن مولاهما مرجان يميل مع نفيس على نجاح و نما<sup>3</sup> الى نفيس ان عمّة ابن زياد مولاد تكاتب نجاحا و تميل اليه فشكا نفيس ذلك من فعلها الى مرجان فقبض مرجان عليها و على ابن اخيبا ابن زياد و هو اخر القوم و منه زالت دواـة بنى زياد باليمن و انـقـلت الى عبيد عبيدهم و فيكون دولة بني زياد باليمن مائتي سنة و ثلاث سنين الأنهم اختطوا زبيد سنة اربع و مائتين و زالت عنهم سنة تسع ً و اربعمائة ثم ان صرحانا لما قبض على صوليية ابرهيم و عمَّته دفعهما الى نفيس فبنى عليهما جدارا و هما قايمان يناشدانه الله عز و جل حتى خَتِمَهُ <sup>6</sup> عليهما و كانت بنو زياد لما اتّـصل بهم اختــلال الدولـــة العباسية من قتل المتوكل و خلع المستعين تغلبوا على ارتفاع اليمن و ركبوا بالمظلَّـة و سأسوا قلوب الرعايا ببقآء الخطبة لبني العبَّاس فلما قتل نفيس ابن مولاه ابرهيم و عمّته تملّك و ركب بالمظلّة و ضرب السكة باسمه وحين نمى الى نجاح ما اعتمده نفيس في موالية استفن الاحمر و الاسود و قصد نفيسا الى زبيد فجرت بينهما عدّة وقاييع منها يوم رصع و يوم فشال و هما على نجاح و منها يوم العقدة و هو على نفيس و منها يوم العرق و فيه قتل نفيس على باب زبيد و قتل معه خمسة الاف بين الفريقين و فتم نجاح زبيد في ذي القعدة سنة ثنتي عشرة و اربعمائة و قال نجاح المرجان ما

الى عبيدهم ،Khi

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Khi, سبع

<sup>?</sup> ختِم

ا Khi, بیش

غير ,Khi

نّـمِيّ Read

فعل بموالیك و موالینا قال هم فی ذلك الجدار فاخرجهما نجاح و صلَّى عليهما و بني لهما أ مشهدا و اعاد صرجانا في صوضعهما فبنى عليه حيًّا و على جثَّة نفيس و ركب نجاح بالمظلَّة و ضربت السكة باسمه وكاتب اهل العراق وبذل الطاعة فنعت نجاح بالمؤيّد مضير الدين و فوّض اليه تقليد القضاء لمن يراه و النظر العالم على الجزيرة اليمنيه و لم يزل نجاح مالكا لـتهامة قاهرا لاكثر اهل الجبال و خوطب و کوتب بالملك و بمولانا و من اولاده سعید بن نجاح و جياش و معارك و الذخيرة و منصور فامّا الجبال فتغلّبت ولاة حسين ابن سلامة على الحصون فممن تغلّب على عدن و أبين و لحج والشحر وحضرووت بنومعن واظنهم من غير ولد معن بن زائدة الشيباني و تغلب على السمدان و هو حيص الاصلوا و حص صبر و حصن دحر و حصن المتعكر و هو ما هو و على مخلف الجند و مخلاف عنه و مخلاف المعافر قوم من حمير يقال لهم بنو الكرندى وكانت لهم مكارم و مفاخر و سلطنة قاهرة و دولة ظاهرة و تغلّب على حص حب و هو نظير التعكر و على حص يقال له عزان و بیت عز و حص السعر و هو عظیم و حص  $ie^7$  و النقیل و السحول و هو الموضع الذي ينسم فيه الثياب السحوليه و كفن رسول الله صلى الله عليه و سلم في ثوبين منها و هذا الوادب بنو اصبح قوم الفقيم مالك الاصبحى امام دار الهجرة و من العصون ايضا حص خدد و الشواقي " تغلب عليهما " السلطان ابو عبد الله الحسين بن التبعي

و هو لخاكم على لجلند .Khi and J

الشَّعر ,Khi

آبُور ,Khi اَنُور .J

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>ه</sup> لبني <sup>٩</sup>

الشوافي . آ. 9

<sup>?</sup> عايهم ١٥

في الغُرُّف Khi, في الغُرُ

وليس من ولد معن بن زايدة Khi, وليس من ولد معن بن

<sup>.</sup> Khi و هو احصن من الدملوه .Khi و هو حصن عظيم الخطر و على حصن السُواً .See note 19

ذخرِ Khi, ذخرِ

و ولدة و هو الذي عمل الحيلة على قلتل سعيد بن نجاح الاحول قاتل الامدير على بن محمد الصليحي و تغلب $^{1}$  على مخلاف أحاظة و يقال وحاظة و مقر عزها حص بيبرس و من حصونها دهوان و يفوز و شعر و المخضرا و غير ذلك و مدينتها شاحط و في سلطانها يقول نزار بن الفقيه زيد بن الحسين الاحاظى

قالوا لذا السلطان في شاحط للاني الردا<sup>3</sup> من موضع الغائط 

و تغلُّب على حصون وحاظه و بلادها بنو وائل و هم من ولد ذي الكلاع و لهم رياسة مقاُتُلة و هم حماقة يرون انهم اشرف ولد آدم على الاطلاق و لقد اذكر اني خرجت من سوق الجبحب و هو اكبر اسواقهم في يوم صائف حتى اذا بعدت عن السوق لحقني منهم فارسان يركدضان وقد سدَّد التَّي اسنَّة الرَّحيين فنزلت عن الدابة و صعدت الى الجبل فلما انتهيا التي قالا انّا اختلفنا في افضل ولد آدم وقد رضينا بحكمك وكان احدهما قال بنو وايل افضل على الاطلاق و قال الثاني بل هم و قريش في الشرف فقلت لهما ان رسول الله صلى الله عليه و سلم افضل البشر و بنو وائل افضل من قريش و من سائر المخلق تفاديا منهما قال احدهما والله لو قلت غير هذا ما سلمت منى ثم فارقني و من هؤلا بنو وايل السلطان اسعد ابن وايل بن عيسى صاحب الكوم العريض و الثنا المستفيض و ممن تنغلُّب على حصن اشهيم و هو مقرَّ الملك الداعي سبا بن احمد الصليحي و على حصن وصاب و مخاليفها قوم من بكيل ثم من

ياتي الـزنا .Yak

<sup>4</sup> Yak. bula

فارقاني ٿ

يـريس و زهران J. and Khi, يـريس و يفوز و سعب و عزان و الخفرا See note 19.

همدان و تغلّب على صنعاء و صخاليفها قوم من همدان و تغلّبت بنو عبد الواحد على اعمال برع و العمد و لعسان و تغلبت على حصن مسار ايضا و ليس في اليمن ما يماثله سوى التعكر والسمدان و حب و منه ثار الصليحي بالدعوة المستنصرية من حراز و حراز هي الاعمال و بها سمّى اهلها و ألافهم من همدان و بهم ثار الداعي على بن

اخبار الداعى على بن محمد الصليحسى و عنها تتفرع جلّ اخبار اليمن و بها يتعلق بقية الكتاب من القضاة والدعاة و الشعراء

کان انقاضی محمد بن علی والد الداعی علی بن محمد الصلیحی سدّی المذهب و له طاعة فی رجال حراز و هم اربعون الفا ولما انتقلت الدعوة الی عاصر بن عبد الله الزواحی والزواحی قریة من اعمال حراز شرع فی ملاطفة القاضی محمد بن علی والد الداعی علی بن محمد الصلیحی فکان الزواحی یرکب الیه لان محمدا کانت له ریاسة و سوده و صلاح و علم فلم یزل عامر حتی استمال قلب علی بن محمد و هو یومئذ دون البلوغ و لاحت له فیه مختلف النجابة وقیل کانت عند عامر حلیة الصلیحی من کتاب الصور و هو من فخل الائمة علیهم السلام فاوقفه منه علی تنقل حاله و شرف مآله و استماله شراً من ابیه و قومه و لم یلبث عامر الزواحی حتی مات و اومی له بکتبه و علومه و لم یلبث عامر الزواحی حتی مات و اومی له بکتبه و علومه و لم یمت حتی قد عرس قعکف علی الدرس و کان ذکیا فلم یبلغ الحلم حتی تضلع من معارفه التی قد بلغ الدرس و کان ذکیا فلم یبلغ الحلم حتی تضلع من معارفه التی قد بلغ

بها و بالجد السعيد غاية الأمل البعيد فكان عالما فقيها في مذهب الدولة مستبصرا في علم التأويل اخباره انه اقام يحج دليلا بالناس على طريق السراة و الطائف عدة سنين لا يحج بالناس غيره و تنقلت به الاحوال في مبادى عمره من خفض الى رفع و من ضرّ الى نفع فمن ذلك ما حدثنى به الفقيه ابو الحسين على بن سليمان و كان شاعرا قد اسن و من شعره قوله في عمر بن عدنان العكى

اذا الليالي اسأت غير عالمة كان ابن عدنان لى من جوزجار ومنه ما حدثنى به الدربرقان بن الفريقر العكي عن فالن الشاعر وهو القائل يذم قومه من قصيدته

فمن يشقري عكّا بفلس فانذي جميعا على قطع النحيار ابيعها

كالهما و غيرهما من الجمهور حدثنا عن القاضى عمر بن المرجل المحنفى نسبًا و مذهبًا و كان من اعيان العلماء قال كان على باب زبيد من داخل السور دار رجل من الحبشة يقال له فرج السحرتى و كان من أهل المعروف و الصدقات الواسعة و كان من نـزل بمسجده اكرمه و اواه و يتفكّر و يدخل المسجد يتجسس اخبار الضيوف سرّا من وكلائه و خدمه فخرج ذات ليلة فظفر بالمسجد برجل يقرأ القرآن فسأله عن العشاء فانشد قول المتنبى

مَن علم الاسود المخصى مكرمة اعمامه الغرام احواله الصيد فاخذه الحبشى و طلع به الى اعلى مكان فى دارة و اكرم مثواة واستخبرة عن سبب قدومه الى تهامة قال الصليحي الله لى عمال له المعام وله ابنة يقال له السماء قليلة النظير فى الجمال معدومة

<sup>?</sup> من جَوْرٍ جارًا 1

المثل في الأدب و العقل و خطبتها اليه فاشطّ على في مهرها و أمّها تقول لا تنزوجها الّا لبعض ملوك همدان بصنعاء او ملوك بني الكرندي بمخلاف جعفر و قد استاموا على من المال مبلغا لا قدرة لي عليه و إنا متوجّه امّا الي بني معن بعدن و إمّا الي بني الكرندي بالمعافر قالوا فدفع له القائد فرج السحرتي مالا جزيلا اضعاف ما أنّي الصليحي و جهز العروسين جميعا احسن جهاز يحتفل الملوك به لعقائلهم و اعادة الى عمّه فتزوّج باسماء و هي أمّ الملك المكرّم زوج الحرّة الملكة السيدة الر و ابنت احمد الصليحي و كانت اسماء من الكرم و السودن و الجوائز السنية الجزيلة للشعراء و الصلات الواسعة في سبيل الله تعالى و في سبيل المروّة و الخير بحيث يمدح اولادها و اخوتها و بنو عمها بمفاخرها و فيها يقول شاعر زوجها و اسمه اسعد بن يحيى البهيثمي من قصيدة اولها حشمت بيضآ الوامل حشماء و منها

وسمت فی السماح سنه وجود لم تدع من معالم البخل رسما قلت اذ عظموا لبلقیس عرشا دسّت اسماء من ذری المنحم اسما و من اخبار انداعی علی بن محمد الصلیحی ما حدثنی احمد بن

حسين اللموي المعروف بابن السحة عن ابيه عن جدة قال كنتُ اسكن في مدينة حيس و بينها و بين زبيد ليلة فلما ملك الصليحي زبيد و قد ركب الى مجلس القاضى و ادا عنه شهادة كان قد تحمّلها في صباه ثم تحدّث مع القاضى سرا و افترقا و اخبر القاضى بعد قيام الامير على بن محمد الصليحي انه قال انى نزلت الى مدينة حيس

<sup>&#</sup>x27; J. and Khi, النجم ; Ah. المجد

ه السخة ع See infra.

<sup>?</sup> و ادّى عنده ۴

*ا* أُروى بنت ا

حثمت بيض الانامل حثما "

<sup>3</sup> ä. ?

استطاع خدر عبدی صرحان نفیس و نجاح فمرّ علیّ بعض من یعرفنی فتحردت عن ثيابي ولبست ثياب سلاط يبيع السليط في معصرة من معاصر حيس و تحمّلت هذه الشهادة يوميُّذ في مذرل رجل يقال له السبخة ولما ملكت الأمر وقفت لي عجوز بخطّي فعرفته فلم يسعني الا اتّاء شهادتي و كان مثال ما كتبته في وقت التحمّل شهد على ذلك على بن محمد قاضى حراز و كتبت بخطه ليذكره أن شأ الله تعالى و من اخبار الصليحي في مدادي امره ما حدثني به السلطان ناصر بن منصور الوایلی عن جده عیسی بن یزید قال ان علی بن محمد الصليحي كان دليلا على طريق السروات خمس عشرة و ان الناسي في أوَّل ظهوره كانوا يقولون له قد بلغنا انك ستملك اليمن باسره و یکون اک شان و دولة فیکره ذلك و ینکره على قائلیه صع كونه أمرا قد شاع في اقواله بافواه الذاس الخاصة و العامة ولما كان في سنة تسع و عشرين و اربع مائة ثار الصليحي في راس مسار و هو اعلى ذروة في جبال حراز و كان معه يومئذ ستون رجلا قد حالفهم في مكة في موسم سنة ثمان و عشرين و اربعمائة على الموت على القيام بالدعوة و ما منهم الا من هو من قومه و عشائره في منعة و عدد كثيرولم يكن براس الجبل بذاء بل كان قلة فايشة منيعة فلما ملكها الصليحي لم ينتصف النهار الذي ملكها في ليله الله وقد احاط به عشرون الفا ضارب سيف و حصروه و شتموه و حمقوه و قالوا له امّا نزلت و الله قتلناك انت و من معك بالجوع فقال لهم انى ام افعل ما فعلت الله خوفا علينا و عليكم فان تركتموني احرسه و الا نزات البيكم فانصرفوا عنه ولم تمض به اشهرحتى بناه و حصّنه و اتقنه و بقى الصليحي في مسار و أدرة يستفحل شيًّا فشيًّا من سنة تسع و عشرين و اربعمائه في نزق من أمرة كاتم لما يضمر من الدعوة

و كان ججاحا صاحب تهامة يكافيه و يلاطفها و يستكين الموه ولم يزل الصليحي يعمل على نجاح<sup>2</sup> حتى قتله بالسمّ مع جارية جميلة اهداها اليه و كانت وفاة نجام بالكدرا في عام اثنين و خمسين و اربعمائه و" كتب الصليحي الى الامام المستنصر بالله يستاذنه في اظهار الدعوة فعاد اليه الجواب بالأنن فطوى البلاد طيا و فتع الحصون والتهايم و لم تخرج سنة خمس و خمسين و بقى عليه من اليمن سبل و لا وعر و لا برّ و لا بحر الا فتحه و ذلك أبر لا يعهد مثله في جاهلية و لا اسلام حتى قال يوما و هو يخطب الناس في الجند و في مثل هذا اليوم يخطب على منبر عدن أن شا الله تعالى فقال بعض من استبزا \* سبوح قد وس فأمر الصليحي بالحوطة عليه و خطب الصليحي في مثل ذلك اليوم على منبر عدن فقام ذلك الانسان وقال سبوحان قدوسان وأخذ البيعة و دخل في المذهب الظاهر و من سنة خمس و خمسين استقر قرار الصليحي بصنعاء فاخذ معه ملوك اليمن التي ازال ملكها فاسكنهم معه و ولي في الحصون غيرهم و اختط بصنعاء عدة قصور حدثني محمد بن بشارة من أهل صنعاء سنة خمس و ثلاثين و خمسمائة و ذكر ان عمره قد ناهز الثمانين قال لم اعقل بقصر الصليحي الا مستهدما 6 و جميع من بني دارا بصنعاء يبنى بانقاض قصور الصليحي من تلك المدة الى الان و ما فني طوبه و احجاره و اخشابه و امّا زبيد و اعمالها تهامة فكان الصليحي اقسم لا ولَّها الَّا لمن وزن له مائة الف دينار ثم ندم على يمينه و اراد

من حضر مستهزيا .Kan أ الذبن قد ازال ملكهم أ

لم يسبق من قصور الصليحي الا ما هو 6 ? مستهدما

كان يخاف نجاحا صاحب .Kan تهامة فكان يلاطفه

و فــى الباطن يــعمل لخيلة .Kan <sup>°</sup> فى قنله ولم يزل حتى

نى سنة ٣٠ . Kan

ان يولّيها صهرة اسعد بن شهاب صنو اسماء بنت شهاب زوجة علىّ بن محمد الصليحي¹ فقال لها زوجها² مولاتذا انتي لك هذا قالت هو من عند الله ان الله يرزق من يشآء بغير حساب فتبسم و علم انه من خزائمنة فقبضة و قال هذه بضاعتنا رقت الينا فقالت له و نمير اهلنا و نحفظ اخانا و دخل اسعد بن شهاب زبید سنة ست و خمسین و اربعمائة و احسن السيرة مع الرعايا و فسم للسنية في اظهار ادیانهم و سکن دار شحار و هی بنیة لا تکاد همّة الخراب ان ترتقی اليها و لا يقدر سلطان الفساد ان يتسلط عليها و هي مما بناه شحار بن جعفر مولى ابن زياد صاحب مخلاف جعفر قال اسعد بن شهاب فاستلقیت یوما علی ظهری افکر فی أسری و اقول ان الصلیحی مبجل و قد ولآني زبيد و هو يري مكان قو السلطان اسعد بن عراق أ و عامر بن سليمن النرواحي و فلان و فلان من الملوك تغمرني باحسانها و أن \* ماثلتني بانسابها فوجدت 6 في نفسي غضاضة من الدخول تحت منّة مولاننا اسماء بنت شباب و كرهت أنّ أعدّ يدى الى ظلم احد من الرعايا و العمّال ثم غفوت فاذا انا بتراب ينتثر على وجهى من السقف و هو مقرنس بالذهب فصعدت الى سطوحة و كشفت السطير و السقف فوجدت صفاديقا من المال و فيها من الصامت و الذخائر ما يزيد على ثلثمائة الف دينار فقدمت ثلث تلك الجملة فتصدقت به و صيرت ثلثبا الى مولاتنا و تخلصت من منتها و تاتلت 7 اموالا و املاكا بالثلث الثالث و عاهدت الله تعالى ان لا اظلم احدا من خلقه فاقمت واليا خمس عشرة سنة لم

<sup>?</sup> و مولاننا تغمرني \*

<sup>?</sup> وان مثلنُني باسيابها فوجدتُ "

<sup>؛</sup> سأتّلتُ ا

أ Kan. فوزنت له زوجته اسماء عن

اخيها] يا مولاتما <sup>2</sup>

<sup>?</sup> مكانى كمكان 3

<sup>?</sup> عرّاف '

يتعلّق بذبه تى منها الله ما لا اعلم به قال اسعد بن شهاب و كان مولانا على على بن محمد الصليحى قد ولى معى ثلاثة رجال كا نوا اعوانا لى على اردت أمن الكفاف و العفاف عن اموال الناس فمنهم احمد بن سالم كان اليه أمر العمالة من وادى حرض الى قريب من عدن فكان اليه امر العمالة من الجهات و كان يحمل عن قلبى شغب العمال و استخراج الاموال و لا احصر من احواله الاعلى حساب معمول او مال محمول و منهم القاضى ابو محمد الحسين بن ابى عقامة و هو من ولد محمد بن هرون التغلبي الذي قلّدة المامون بن الرشيد الحكم باليمن مع ابن زياد فكان قائما عنى باموال الشريعة قياما يجهد عيبة و يومن عيبة و منهم ابو الحسن على بن محمد القم و هو والد الحسين بن على بن محمد القم و هو والد الحسين بن على بن محمد القم و هو والد الحسين بن على بن محمد القم الشاعر و كان هذا من اعيان الرجال كرما و رياسة و كفاية في الكفاية و كان مجيد الشعر و هو القايل في كرما و رياسة و كفاية في الكفاية و كان مجيد الشعر و هو القايل في اخية و قد عنفة في شدّة ميلة الى ولدة الحسين من مقطوع

تراه بعین لا نزال تری بها بنیه و ما کل اارجال رجال

قال اسعد بن شهاب فجعله الداعی علی بن محمد الصلیحی معی وزیرا و کاتب انشاء و امرنی هو و مولاندا اسماء ان لا اقطع برای دون رایه و کنت ارسله فی کل سنة وافدا عنی الی صنعآء صحبة المعامل احمد بن سالم عامل تهامة و اتجمل من تهامة فی کل سنة من العین خاصة الف الف دیدار فلا یرجع الی صاحبای فی کل سنة الا بصلة من مولانا و مولاندا مبلغها خمسون الف دیدار فاقسمها بیدی و بین اصحادی و من اخبار الامیر علی بن محمد الصلیحی انه فی سنة ستین و اربعمایه بلغه ان ابن طرف قد اجتمع الیه من ملوك الحبشة

<sup>?</sup> باحوال ? بامور <sup>3</sup>

<sup>?</sup> جيد ا

<sup>?</sup> على ما اردتُ '

<sup>?</sup> laglle ?

و اخلاط السودان فسار اليهم الصليحى في الفي فارس و سبعمائة فارس فالتقوا بالزرايب من اعمال ابن طرف و هو الوطن الذي ولدت فيه و بها اهلى الى اليوم فاستحرّ القتل اوّل يوم بالعرب ثم كانت الدائرة على السودان فلم يبق منهم الا الف احتازهم جدّ احمد بن محمد في حصنه بعكوة و العكوتان جبلان منيعان لا يطمع احد في حصارهما و فيها أ يقول زاجر الحاج اذا نفروا يخاطب عينه ألحد في حصارهما و فيها ألم يقول زاجر الحاج اذا نفروا يخاطب عينه ألم

اذا رایت حبلا<sup>3</sup> عکاد و عکوتین من مکان بادی فابشری یا عین بالرقاد

و جبلا عكاد فوق مدينة الزرايب و اهلها باقون على اللغة العربية من المجاهلية الى اليوم لم تتغيّر لغتهم بحكم انهم لم يختلطوا قط باحد من اهل الحاضرة في مناكحتهم و لا مساكنهم و هم اهل قرار لا يظعنون عنه و لا يخرجون منه ولقد اذكر انى دخلت زبيد في سنة ثلاثين و خمسمائة اطاب الفقه دون العشرين فكان الفقها في جميع المدارس يتعجّبون من كونى لا الحن في شيء من الكلام فاقسم الفقية نصر الله بن سالم الحضرمي بالله تعالى لقد قرأ هذا الصبي في النحو قراءة كثيرة فلما طالت المدّة و الخلية بيني و بينه صرحا اذا لقيته يقول مرحبا بمن حنثت في يميني لأجله و لما زارني والدي و سبعة من اخواني الى زبيد احضرت الفقها فتحدّثوا معهم فلا والله ما لحن احد منهم الالحنة واحدة نقموها عليه و نعود الى ذكر الداعي على بن معمد الصليحي و ادركت العظام و الاظفار في موضع الوقعة تنسفها

جبلَي Read

صار Read

<sup>?</sup> فيهما ١

و قال الراجز للحائج يخاطب اذا Yak. أُنَّهُرَ عينه

الرياج اذا اشتدّت ثم عاد الصليحي الى صنعآء حرسها الله بعد دخوله الى زبيد فاقام بها اثنتى عشرة سنة لا يريم منها و من اخبار أ مقتل الداعي على بن محمد الصليحي و هو في يوم السبت اليوم الثاني عشر من ذي القعدة سنة ثلاث و سبعين و اربعمائة و قيل في سنة تسع و خمسين و اربعمائية و هي رواية صحيحة ثم ولَّى الامير الداعي الاجلَ المظفّر في الدين وليّ امير المومنين عليّ بن محمد الصليحي اعمال الحصون والجبال لقوم يثنق بهم و أخذ الملوك الاكابر في صحبته و أخذ معة زوجته الحرّة اسماء بنت شهاب أمّ الملك المكرّم و عزم على الـ توجه الى مكة حرسها الله تعالى و وآى ابنه المكرم صنعاء و استخلفه و توجّه في الفي فارس من آل الصليحي مائة و ستّون حتى اذا كان بالمججم و نزل في ظاهرها بضيعة يقال لبها أمّ الدهيم و بئر أمَّ معبد و خيّمت عساكره و الملوك الذي معه من حوله مثل \* معن و ابن معن و ابن الكرندى و ابن التبعى و وابل بن عيسى \*الوحاظي و نظراعهم من الملوك الذين أخذهم الصليحي خوفا منهم ان يثوروا بعدة على البلاد ولم يشعر الناس و هم مرتبون في احوالهم متفرَّقون في انديبتهم وانكشف الخبر عن قطع راس الامير عليَّ و اخیه عبد الله بن سحمد الصلیحی و أحیط بالناس فلم ینیم منهم احد و انتـقل<sup>3</sup> الى سعيد بن نجماح الاحول و رصاهم بالبحراب و ابقى على وابِّل بن عيسى الأحاظي و على ابن معن و ابن الكرندى و قتل من بقى و سبى اسماء بنت شهاب أمّ الملك المكرّم فاقبل

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> J. على بن معن ؟ 3 الاخبار أ

من المهجم عائدا الى زبيد و الرأسان ينقلان امام هودجها الى ان ركزهما قبالة الطاقة التى اسكنها بزبيد فيها واقامت اسماء بنت شهاب عند سعيد بن نجاح سنة كاملة في أسرة

اخبار مسير الملك المكرّم عظيم العرب سلطان امير المؤمنين احمد بن على دن محمد الصليحي من صنعاء الى زبيد لاخذ أمّم اسماء بذت شهاب من أسر سعيد بن نجاح الاحول

قالوا لما اعيت الحيلة في ايصال كتاب من اسماء الى المكرّم او مفه اليها احتالت اسماء وكتبت كتابا وجعلته في رغيف و احتالت في ايصاله الى سائـل ضعيف فاوصله الى المكـرّم في شوّال سنة خمس و سبعین و اربع سائه و هی تقول فیه انی قد صرت حبلی من العبد الاحول فإن الدركة نبي قبل إن اضع و الله فهو العار اللذي لا يزول فلما وقدف المكرّم على الكذاب جمع الناس و اوقفهم عليه فضجّوا بالبكاء و ثارت الحفائظ و سار المكرّم من صنعاء في ثلاثة الأف فارس بعد ان حالفهم و خطبهم لنفسه و حرّضهم و استنصرهم و كان فصيحا خطيبا شجاعا مشهورا بالثبات و الاقدام ولم يمكن في زمانه من يتعاطى حمل رصحه وسيفه و قوسه و شدّة قوته و عظيم خلقته ولم يزل في كل منزل يخطب الناس و يقول لهم من كان يرغب في الحيوة فلا يكن معنا الى ان صفا له من الحافا الف و ستمائة أ فارس و عاد عنه الف و اربعمائه و حدثني الشيخ الفقيه المقرى سليمان بن ياسين قال حدَّثني الشيخ الزاهد محمد بن علية قال كنت في مسجد التربيبة يوم الجمعة عند طاوع الفجر و قد دخل اهل

<sup>1</sup> J. ثلثة الاف

البوادي الى زبيد وتحصَّنوا بها من خوف العرب و كنت قد بلغت في المحتمة الى سورة و السماء ذات البروج وام يكن لى شغل في اليلتي تلك الله التلارة الى حيث بلغت من الختمة و المسجد محمول في قفرة من الارض فاذا إذا بفارس يهوّلني و إذا لا اتحققه لغطاط الرض و بقايا الغبش فركز رصحة و اسنده الى الجناح الغربي الذي انا فيه ثم نــزل فصعد اليّ شخيص ما رايت في ولد آدم اتمّ منه خلقة و لا احسن منظرا و روائحه روائع الملوك ثم قام الى جانبي فصلى والم يلبث الصباح ان تجمَّى و اذا رححه انبوبة من اليراع الـكولمي و لا تلتقى عليه من الكفان أو الفرس مثل البعير ثم قال لى اختم حزبك المتعدد عليه من الكفان أو الفرس مثل البعير أم قال المتعدد المتع فتختمت و هو مصغ الى التلاوة و أمرني ان ادعو عند المختم ففعلت و هو يؤمّن على الدعاء و اذا النحيل قد اقبلت عند طلوع الشمس ارسالا و حرفا " من هجول فالك الخبت و كلّ رعيل منهم يسلّم عليه ويقف وكان تحيَّتهم له انعم الله صباحك " مولانا و ادام عزَّه و لا بزيدهم على الرقَّ اكثر من قوله صرحبًا يا وجوه العرب الي ان تكاملواً و صعد اليه من المسجد اقوام لم اعرف مذيم الله اسعد بن شهاب جحكم ولايته علينا اهل زبيد فقلت السعد من هؤلا فقال امّا هذا فالمكرّم الملك السعيد احمد بن عليّ الصليحي و امّا هذا فالكرم الديامي و انّنا هذا فعامر النزواحي اكرم عربي تمشي به النحيل ثم عرضوا على رابع ان يطلع اليهم فلم يفعل و هو عمّ اسعد ابن شهاب و عمّ السيدة اسمآء بذت شهاب و ليس دون الاربعة في شرف و لا حسب ثم قام المكرّم فخطبهم بحيث يسمع وحفظت من كلاءته قوله ايّها المؤءنون أن عزائمكم لو تجسمت جديدًا لكان قد أرهفته

<sup>?</sup> صباح ؟

<sup>?</sup> له من الكفأة ا

<sup>1</sup> Jame !

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> حزقا <sup>2</sup>

وليست اليوم ازيدكم غير ما سمعتمولا منّى بالامس و فيما قبله و فيما قلم الرجوع و في المسافة إمكان فامّا اليوم فقد صار الخيار الى عدوكم لانّكم توغلتم عليه خيسة و أنما هو الموت او العار بفرار لا يجدو ثم انشد قول ابى الطيب المستنبّى

وأورد نفسي و المهنّد في يدى موارِد لا يصدرن من لا يجالدَ و كانت الحبشة يوميِّذ قد صَّفت في عشرين الف راجل و كانيت ميمنة العرب لأسعد بن شهاب و عمَّه أو قال لهما المكرَّم لستما كأحد من هذا الجيش لتَّكما موتوران و مولاتنا أخت أحدكما و ابنة ـُ الاخر و سار المكرَّم في القلب و انطوى العسكرُ و التقي القوم فقاتلت \* العبشه التي كانت في القلب و انطوى جناحها <sup>4</sup> فانكسرت الاجوش ً و قتلوا قتلا ذريعا و هرب سعيد بن نجاح الاحول و من معة الى دهلك و جزائرها ولم يزل القتل في الناس الى صلاة الظهر على باب المدينة ثم كان اوّل فارس وقف تحت الراسين المصلوبين وتحت طاقة اسمآء بنت شهاب ولدها المكرم احمد بن على الصليحي فقال لها المكرّم وليست تعرفه ادام الله عرّب يا مولاتنا فقالت مرحبًا يا وجه العرب فسلم عليها صاحباه مثل سلامه ثم سألته من هو فقال لها انا احمد بن عليّ بن محمد قالت انّ احمد بن على في العرب كثير فاحسر لي عن وجهاك حتى اعرفك فحسر التحديد<sup>6</sup> عن وجه فقالت صرحبًا بمولانا المكرّم و في تلك <sup>ال</sup>تحالـة أصابه البواء فارتعش و احتجلت بشرة وجهه و عاش عدّة سنين

لحيشة قتالا شديدا ساعة من Khi, النهار فانطوى عليهم الجناحان

<sup>?</sup> الاحبش ؟

فرفع المغفر ,Khi ; فحسر عن لنامه لل أ

و الميسرة لعهّه Khi, و الميسرة لعهّه

ابنة اخى Read ابنة ا

قاصطدم لجيس Khi, فاصطدم

و هو ينتفض راسه و تتحرك بشرة وجهه ثم قالت له عن صاحبيك فسمّاهما اها فوهبت لاحدهما ارتفاع عدن في تلك السنة وكان مائة الف دينار و وهبت للاخر حصني كوكبان و حوبان و مخلافيهم و ليسا دون ارتفاع عدن ثم دخل الجيش ارسالا و هي في الطاق لا تستر وجهها و تلك عادتها في ايام زوجها لسمو قدرها عمن يحتجب عنه النساء ثم تقدم المكرم فأمر بانزال الراسين وبني عليهما مشهدا وانا ادركت مشهد الرأسين ويقال أن اسمآء بنت شباب قالت للمكرّم حين سفر عن وجه من كان مجيئه كمجيئاك فما ابطأ و لا اخطأ ولم يكن قولها في كذابها انا حاملة من العبد صحّة و انما ارادت ان تستثیر حفیظته و نادی مذادی المکرم یومئذ برفع السيف بعد الفتم وقال للجيش اعلموا ان عرب هذه البادية يستولدون البجوار السود فالجلدة السوداء تعمّ العبد والبحرّ و لكن اذا سمعتم من یسمی العظم عنرما فهوحبشی فاقتللولا و من سمّاه عظما فهو عربی فاتركوه ثم ولي خاله احمد بن شهاب اعمال تهامة على جاري عادته و ارتحل الى صنعا باسمآء بنت شهاب قرير العين بالظفر و ادركت اهل زبید اذا شقم السوقی صاحبه قیل $^{1}$  له تشقم $^{2}$  الرجل فیقول الشاتم للرجل والله الذي اخذ أمَّه من زبيد و قبتل من الحبشة عشرين الفا دون أمَّه لعمري انّ هذا هو الرجل حقّا ثم ان المكرم اعطى خاله اسعد بن شهاب ولاية زبيد و ما معها شهاب في هذه الكرَّة احمد بن سالم العامل و وافده ارتفاع تهامه ففرقت اسمآء على وفود العرب معظمه فنتف احمد بن سالم المحينة و قال دخلت النار في هذا المال ثم صار الي ما صار اليم

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Lacuna in text.

<sup>?</sup> اسعد بارتافاع

<sup>?</sup> و قبل ا

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Khi, اتشتم

الرجل ' Read "

فقالت اسمآء بنت شهاب إذا المال لم تصرفه أ في مستحقّه فما هو الاحسرة و وبال ثم كتبت الى اخيها اسعد بن شهاب تأمره ان يحتسب لاحمد بن سالم بعشرين الفا من ارتفاع السنة الحاضرة صاة له و برًّا به ولم تلبث اسمآء بنت شهاب ان ماتت بصنعآء سنة سبح و تسعين و اربعمائة و في هذه السنة أسر المكرّم بضرب الدينار الملكي و اليه ينسب و هو دينار اليمن و المكتوب عليه الملك السيّد المكرّم عظيم العرب سلطان امدر المؤمندين و الى الدوم الديذار على هذه السكّة الى أن ولى الداعى عمران بن محمد بن سبا النرريعي ما مثاله اوحد ماوك النرمن ملك العرب و اليمن عمران بن محمد ثم<sup>3</sup> عاد بنونجاج فاخرجوا احمد بن شهاب من زبید و ملکوها سنة تسع و سبعين ثم اخرجهم المكرّم بن على منها و قــقل سعيد بن نجاح الاحول تحت حصن الشعير عميلة من السلطان ابي عبد الله التبعي ياتي شرحها في اخبار الحرّة الملكة السيدة بنت احمد و كان معيد الاحول في سنة احدي و ثمانين و اربعمائة و في هذه السنة خرج جيّاش بن نجاج و الوزير خلف بن ابي الطاهر الاموى الى عدن متنكرين و سافرا الى الهند و اقاما بها ستة اشهر و عادا الى زبيد فملكاها في بقايا تلك السنة و في هذه الكرّة ولي اسعد بن عراف زبید و جعلوا 6 معه علی بن القمّ واد7 التحسین بن عليّ بن القمّ الشاعر وزيرا و كاتبا على جارى عادة جدة مع اسعد

<sup>?</sup> كان مقتل أ

<sup>!</sup> جعل 6

<sup>7</sup> Read والد

ا جورت 🖰

تصرف ا

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> J. and D. 479, Khi, 474.

وفيها J. and Khi, اوفيها

<sup>?</sup> الشعر ا

بن شباب و قوم یزعمون آن علیا ولد التحسین بن علی بن آلقم ولی iبید اسعد بن شباب قبل ولایة اسعد آبن عراف

## اخبار لخرَّة الملكة السيَّدة بذت احمد

اسمها سيدة بنت احمد بن جعفر "بن موسى الصليحي و أمّها الرداج بنت الفارع بن موسى ثم مات عنها احمد ابو الحرّة السيدة فخلف عليها عامر بن سليمن بن عامر بن عبد الله الزواحي فولدت له سليمن بن عاءر بن عبد الله الـزواحي و هو اخو البحرّة العلكة للَّمّها و ولى الدعوة البهاشمية للباعرها ثم قبتله الامير المفضّل بن ابي البركات بن ابي الوليد ً بالسمّ رحمة الله عليه و كان مولدها سنة اربعين و اربعمائة 6 و توآت اسمآء بنت شهاب تاديبها و تهذيبها ويقال انها قالت يوما السمآء رايت البارحة كان بيدي مكنسة و انا اكنس قصر مولانا فقالت لها اسمآء كاتى بك والمله يا حميرا وقد كنست آل الصليحي و ملكت امرهم و اما صفتها فكانت بيضاء حمراء مديدة القامة معتدلة البدن الى السمن اقرب كاملة المحاسل جوهرية ألصوت قارئة كاتبة تحفظ الاخبار و الاشعار و التواريخ و ما احسن مما كانت تلحقه بين سطور المُتاب عنها من اللفظ و المعنى و بني بها المكرّم احمد بن عليّ في ايام ابيه عليّ بن محمد الصليحي علم احدى و ستين و اربعمائة فولدت له اربعة اولاد محمدا و عليا و فاعلمة و أمَّ همدان فامَّا ∞حمد و على فماتا طفلين بصنعآء و امَّا أمَّّ همدان فتنزجها السلطان احمد بن سليمن الزواحي و هو ابن خالها

بن الوليد Read أ

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Khi 444.

<sup>?</sup> جهروية perhaps ; جوهرية Khi

<sup>1</sup> Read والد

<sup>?</sup> مع اسعد بن شهاب "

J. and Khi, بن محمد بن جعفر
 J. and Khi.

فرزقت منه عبد المستعلى و امّا فاطمة بنت الحرّة الملكة من المكرّم بن على فتزوجها شمس المعالى على بن الداعي سبا بن احمد و ماتت أمّ همدان سنة ست عشرة و خمسمائـة أو اما فاطمة فماتت بعد امها بعامين و ذلك في سنة اربع و ثلثين و خمسمائة و سمعت غير واحد من شيوخ ذي جبلة يقول ان الصليحي كان يخصها من الاكرام في حال صغرة في بما لا يماثلها فيه احد و يقول لاسمآء اكرميها فهي والله كافلة ذراريذا وحافظة هذا الامر على من بقى منّا قالوا و سمع غير ذاك منه في غير موطن و امّا سبب انتقال المكرّم بن عليّ من صنعآء الى مدينة ذي جبلة فان المكرّم حين ماتت والدته البحرة اسماء بنت شهاب فوّض الامر الي زوجته هذه الملكة السيّدة بنت احمد و استروح الى السماع و الشراب و استبدّت الملكة السيّدة بنت احمد بالامر ويقال انها استعفته في نفسها و قالت لـه انّ امراة تراد للفراش لا تصلح لـتدبير فدعنى و ما انا بصدده فلم يفعل ثم انها ارتحلت من صنعآء في جيش جرار و تركته في صنعآء و ارتادت ذي جبلة و جبلة كان رجلا يهوديا يبيع الفيّحار في الموضع الذي بنيت فيه دار العنز الآولي وبه سمّيت المدينة و أوّل من اختط ذي جبلة عبد الله بن محمد الصليحي المقدّول بيد الاحول مع اخية الامير على بن محمد الصليحي الداعي يوم المهجم و كان اخوه قد ولاه حصن التعكر و هذا الحصن مطل على نی جبلة و هی فی سفحه و هی مدینة بین نهرین جاریین فی الصيف والشتا واخلطها عبد الله بن مجمد سنة ثمان وخمسين و اربعمائة ثم حشرت الرعايا في مخلاف جعفر تحت ركابها لما $^{\circ}$ 

توفيت قبل أنها سنة ١٠٠ Khi, ٥١٠ | صغرها ١ أوليت قبل أنها سنة ٢٠٠ إو إما ١ أوليت

عادت الى صنعآء وأ قالت للمكرّم ارسل يا مولانا على اهل صنعآء. فليحتشدوا في غد ليحضروا الى هذا الميدان فلما حضروا قالت له اشرف عليهم انظر ما ذا تري فلم يقع طرفه الله على برق السيوف و لعمع البيض و السُّنَّة ثم لما توجيت الى ذى جبلة قالت له احشد اهل ذي جبلة و من حولها فلما اجتمعوا صبيحة اليوم الثاني قالت اشرف يا مولانا انظر هؤلا القوم فلم يقع بصرة الله على رجل يجرّ كبشا او يحمل ظرفا مملوءًا بالسمن او العسل فقالت له العيش بدي هؤلا اصلم فانتقل الامدر المكرّم الى ذى جبلة فاختطّ بها دار العزّ الثاني في فی بور و کان حائطا فیه بستان و اشجار کثیرة و هو مطلّ علی الفهرین و على الدار الاولى و امرت الملكة السيّدة ببناء الدار الاولى مسجدا جامعا و هو <sup>المسج</sup>د <sup>ال</sup>جامع الثاني و بها قبر الملكة السيّدة رحمها الله تعالى الى الآن وكان بناء الدار دار العزّ الثانية الكبيرة سنة احدى و ثمانين و اربعمائة ثم استخلف المكرّم على صنعاء عمران بن الفضل اليامي الهمداني و اسعد بن شهاب و في هذه السنة دبترت الحترة الملكة في قتل سعيد بن نجاج الاحول و ذلك انها امرت التحسين بن التبعي صاحب الشعير " ان يكاتب سعيد الاحول الى زبيد و يقول له أن المكتّرم قد أصابه الفاليج و عكف على اللذات ولم يبق اءرة الا بيد امراته و انت اليوم اقوى صلوك اليمن فان رايت ان تطبق على ذى حبلة انت من تهامة و نحن من الجبل فتسريح منه و ترجع اليكم البلاد باسرها فافعل فدولتكم احبّ الى المسلمين من

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> J. and Khi, الشعر

<sup>?</sup> فيتستر يح

<sup>!</sup> و .in. ا

<sup>?</sup> و انظر '

هؤلا الخوارج قال فلما وقف سعيد بن نجاح على كتاب الحسين بن التبعى حسن موقع ذاك عنده و استحقه الفرح بذلك فخرج من زبید برید نی جبلة فی ثلاثین الف حربة و کان مسیره فی یوم قد وعده التبعي فيه و قد كانت الحرّبة الملكة كتبت الى الملك اسعد بن شهاب و عمران ابن الفضل الى صنعآء ان يخلفوا نجاحا على تهامة في ثلاثة الاف فارس ثم يتبعان اثرة منزل بمنزل ففعلوا و لما نزل سعيد بن نجاح تحت حص الشعير أ اطبق الجيشان عليه فقتل هو و من معه و قيل نجا منهم الفان و نصب راسه تحت الطاقة القى تسكفها الحقرة بدار العثرو كانت أمّ المعارك زوجة سعيد بن نجاج معة وهي التي عرفت راس مولاها في القتلي فصلب بالقرب من طاقتها و كانت الحرّة الملكة تقول عند صلب راس سعيد بن نجام ليت لك عينا يا مولاننا حتى تنظري راس الاحول تحت طاقة أمَّ المعارك و في سنة اربع و ثمانين و اربعمايه مات المكرِّم. بن على و اسند الوصية في الدعوة الى الامير الاجلُّ الاوحد المنصور المظفَّر عمدة الخلافة امير الأمراء ابي حمير سبا بن احمد المظفَّر بن على الصليحي

اخبار الداعى سبا بن احمد بن المطفّر بن على الصليحى اما صفته فكان دهيم النحلق لا يكاد يظهر من السرج \* بطائل و اما هو فكان جوادا كريما شاعرا اديبا فاضلا عالما بالمذهب الطاهر خبيرا

<sup>3</sup> Khi, قصيرا

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Deest in Khi.

الشعر ,Khi

دميم لخلق Khi, "

باقوال الحكماء منشأ بالشعر يثيب بالمدح و يثيب على المدح و من ذلك قول على بن الحسين بن القم فيه

اجاز و کافانی شمای المدح بالمدح نوالا و ذا ربح نوالا فیذا راس مالی و ذا ربح فکنت کمن شق الظلام عن الصبح و ننو ها دهر کان فیه عن السلام القدیم

ولما مدست الهيزرى بن احمد فعوظ ندى شعرا بشرا قو زادنى شققت اليه الناس حتى رايته أ فقهم دهر اليس فيه ابن احمد

و اما مقرّ عرّه فحص يقال له اشيم و كان اشيم حصنا عاليا يماثل مسار و التعكر 12 حدثنى المقرى سليمان بن ياسين و هو من اصحاب ابى حنيفة قال بتّ بحصن اشيم لياليا 13 و انا عند الفجر أرى الشمس تطلع من المشرق و ليس فيها 14 من النور شيء و اذا نظرت الى تهائة رايت عليها من الليل بقايا 15 وطحاً يمنع الماشى ان يعرف صاحبه من قريب و كنت اظنّ ذائت من السحاب او البخار و اذا هو عقائل 16 الليل فاقسمت ان لا اصلى الصبح الا على مذهب الشافعى لان اصحاب ابى حنيفه يؤخّرون الصبح آلا الى ان تكاد الشمس ان تطلع على وهاد تهائة و ما ذلك الا ان الله المشرق مكشوف لاشبح ان تطلع على وهاد تهائة و ما ذلك الا الله المشرق مكشوف لاشبح

نُزهَ J. نُـزهَ

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Khi, من

في العز و المنعة ،Khi أ<sup>12</sup>

ليالي كثيرة . Yak

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Yak. لها

ضبابًا .Yak

عقابيل .Yak

صلاة الصبي . Yak

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Yak. تا ۲

<sup>1</sup> Khi, يمدح مادحه

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> J. and Khi, مدحت

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Khi, جازاني J. كاماني

نعوضني J. and Khi, فعوضني

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> J. and Khi, بشعرى

<sup>6</sup> Khi, آعط

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Khi, لقيقه

s J. and Khi, إلى

ف قَبِّعَ دهر Khi, ف قَبِّعَ دهر

من الجبال و فروته عالية أو كانت حصون بني المظفّر مطنّة على تهامة مصاقبة لاعمال زبيد و هي اقرب الى تهامة من جميع الجبال و من حصونهم مقر و وصاب و قوارير و الظرف و الشرف و من الشرف هذا ثار ابن مهدى و فو الرسة و ظفار و ريمة و صحاليفها و جمكم مصاقبة اعمال سبا لتهامة كان يساقي جيّاش سجال الحرب و ذلك ان العرب كانوا اذا برد النسيم جمعوا و نزلوا الى تهامة فلا يلبث جيّن الله ان يتنزّج من البلاد ولكن غير بعيد و يقيم سبا يجبى خراجها و لا يؤذى احدا من اارعايا بظلم و لا غيرة فكان يحتسب للعمّال بما قبض منهم جياش في اشهر الصيف و الحريف فاذا خرج الشتا و الربيع ارتحات العرب عن تهامة الى الجبال و ملكها حياش فقارة يكون رحيل العرب عنها بالقتال و تارة بالوبا<sup>2</sup> و اذا عاد جياش الى زبيد نشرت المصاحف و ابتهات له الرءايا بالدعاء و حلفت $^{3}$ الفقهاء وتطاولت العلماء واحتسب جياش ايضا للعمّال وجباة الاموال بما قبضة منهم سبا في شهور الشتاء و الربيع و لما طال ذلك من امرهما اشار الوزير خلف بن ابعي الطاهر على ابن جياش بان يعتقله ويقبض على امواله و املاكه ويقيم محمد بن الغفاري وزيرا له فنعل ذالك ثم أن خلفا نقب الحبس و هرب ألى سبا فحسن موضعة منة فلم يزل يحسن لسبا النزول الى تباعة و ضمن لـة من الحديرة 4 و المكايد ما يقطع به دابرة جياش لسبا مالا يقوم به عقام النصف و أن يشترط على سبا أبعاد الوزبر خلف من عندة فلما فعل جياش ما اشار به الوزير استحكمت اطماع العرب في البلاد و إعامانوا ثم أن القائد ريحان الكهلاني مولى سعيد بن نجاح بيّت

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Khi, ظهرت ; perhaps ظهرت ?

لعلوَّ ذروته . Yak

<sup>1 121 ?</sup> 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Khi, بغير قتال

المعرب ليلا و هم صرتبّون على باب زبيد في عشرة الاف و كانوا ثلاثة الاف فارس وعشرة الاف راجل فلم ينيج منهم الاصبابة يسيرة و هلك الجميع قتلا بالحراب و هرب سبا في تلك الليلة راجلا في اغمار الذاس حتى لقية في أخر الليل من حمله فلم تعد العرب الي تبامة بعدها و من اخبار سبا بن احمد الداعي ما حدثني به الفقيم ابو عبد الله الحسين بن على البجلي عن ابيه و كان يسكن بذي جبلة و هو من خواص الداعي سبأ بن احمد قال لما صات المكرم بن على عن الحرِّه الملكة السيَّدة بنت احمد خطبها الداعي سبا بن احمد فكرهت ذلك فجمع العساكر وسارمن اشيع يربد حربها بذى جبلة فجمعت هي ايضا جنودا اعظم من جنودة وتصاف العسكران و شبّ اليحرب بينهما اياما ثم قال له اخوها لأمّها سليمان بن عامر الزواحي والله لا اجابتك الى ما تريد الله بأمر الامام المستنصر بالله اسير المومنين فقرك سبا بن احمد الداعى الاوحد المنصور قدّالها و رجع الى اشيم و سيّر الى الامام المستنصر بالله رسولين هما القاضى حسين  $^{1}$  بن اسمعيل الاصبهاني و ابو عبد الله الطيب فكتب الاسام المستنصر بالله اليها في أثناآء المكاتبات ثلاثة اسطر يأمرها فيها بنكام الداعي سبا بن احمد " أستاذا له يعرف بحاءل المدية " و ينعت بيمن الدعوة برسم الدخول على الحرّة الملكة قال الجبلي و كنت فيمن بعثه الداعى سبا بن احمد من حص اشيع الى ذى جبلة صحبة الرسولين و الأستان الواصلين من القاهرة المعزية فحين دخلنا على الحرّة الملكة| الستِّدة بنت احمد وهي بدار العزُّ من ذي جبلة تكلُّم الأستان و هو واقف بين وزراءها وكتابيا واهل دولتها قيام لقيامه فقال امير المؤمنين

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Khi, المدية, see Makrizi I. 449 | <sup>1</sup> Khi, المدية الدية الدية الدينة الدين

يرد على الحرة الملكة السيّدة الرضية الـزكية وحيدة الـزمن سيّدة ماوك النرمن<sup>2</sup> عمدة الاسلام فخيرة الدين عصمة المسترشدين كيف المستخين<sup>3</sup> ولية امير المومدين و كافلة ارايائه الميامين و يقول لها و ما كان لمؤمن و لا مؤمنة اذا قضى الله و رسوله اصراً ان يكون لهم النحيرة من امرهم و من يعص الله و رسوله فقد ضلّ ضلالا مبينا وقد زوّجك مولانا امير المومنين من الداعي الاوحد المنصور المظفّر عمدة الخلافة امير الأمراء ابي حمير سبا بن احمد بن المظفر عليّ الصليحي على ما حضر من المال و هو مائمة الف دينار عينا و خمسون الفا اصناف من تحف و ألطاف و طيب و كساوى فقالت اما كتاب موانا فاقول فيه اني القي اليُّ كذاب كريم انه من سليمان و انه بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم و لا اقول في أمر مولانا يا ايها الملاِّ افتتوني في امرى ما كنت قاطعةً امرًا حتَّى تشهدون و اما انت يا ابن الاصبهاني فوالله ما جدُت الى مولادا من سيا بنبأ يقين ولقد حرفتم القول عن موضعة و سوّلت لكم انفسكم امراً فصبر جميل و الله المستعان على ما تصفون ثم تقدّم زريع بن ابي الفقيم وزيرها و الاصبهاني و نظرا وُهما فلم ينزالوا يالطفون بها حتى اجابتهم فعقدوا النكاح ولم يلبث سبا بن احمد ان سار في أمم عظيمة الى ذي جبلة فاقام بها شهرا و الضيافات الواسعة على صخيمه و انفق على عساكرة من ماله مثل قدمه اليها من المهر و اتبي الداعي سبا بن احمد من علي همتبا و شرف افعالبا \* و خفا ذكره عنده أو أنّ احدا من الناس لا يعدل بيا احدا أو كلّ

اى Khi, داى

<sup>?</sup> علو ٥

ماحقر نفسه معه ,Klii

Omit last?

<sup>?</sup> السلام 1

الين ,Khi

للمستنجدين Khi, للمستنجدين

بن عل " Khi له

احد يقرل مولاتنا مولاتنا وارسل الداعي سبا بن احمد الي الحرّة الملكة في السرّ يسألها أن تاذن له في الدخول اليها الي دار العزّ لينوهم الذاس انه دخل بها ففعلت ذلك و زعم قوم من أهل ذبي جبلة انه اجتمع بها ليلـة واحدة ثم ارتحل في صبيحتها و قوم يقولون انها بعثت اليه جاريتها فلانة و كانت شبيهة بها و نمى فاك الى الداعي سبا بن احمد فباتت الجارية واقفة على راسه و هو جالس لا يرفع طرفه اليها حتى اذا طلع انفجر صلى و امر بضرب الطبول و قال للجارية اعلمي مولانذا انها نطفة شريفة لا توضع الله في مستحقها ثم سارفلم يجتمعا بعد و يقال أن الداعي سبابن أحمد ما وطيء أممة قط ولا شرب مسكرا وكانت زوجته الجمانة بنت سويد بن يزيد $^{1}$  الصليحي تقول انا لا اغير على مولانا سبا لانه لا يطأ اعة قط و العربيات تقول ما ذا انسلت حوا مثل الجمانة غير اسمام بنت شهاب و دخل في هذه المدّة شجاع الدولية و اغذوه و دفع له شمس المعالى الوفا من المال و كان كريما و هو نرمج فياطمة بذت المكترم من الحرَّة العلمَة ثم تنزوَّج عليها فكتبت الى أمُّها تستنجدها فامدَّتها بالففضل2 بن ابي البركات في عسا كر و لبست فاطمة زي الرجال و فصلت عن حص زوجها في عسكر المفضّل فسيرّها الى أمّها الملكة و ادام الحصار على شمس المعالى حتى اخرجة عن ممليته بإمان على نفسه فوصل الى الافضل مستنجدا به فلم يلتفت الافضل اليه وام يكرمه و حمل اليه العبير شجاع الدوالة الذي كان قد اغذاه في اليمن ثلاثون اردبا من الشعير ولم يطعمه لقمة خبر و لا احسن معه

ت Read المقصّل ا

عشرة و عاد على بن سبا شمس المعالى الى اليمن فملك حصون ابيه و دس عليه الاعير المفضّل عن قتله بالسمّ سنة خمس و تسعين و اربعمائة

## هذه اخبار الملك المفضّل بن ابي اللبركات بن الوليد الحميري صاحب التعكر

لما اختط المكرّم بن علىّ دار العرّ بذى جبلة و انتقل عن صنعاء الى الخلف جعفر قال عبد الله بن يعلى

هبّ النسيم فبت كالمحيراني شوقا الى الاهلين و الجيران ما مصر ما بغداد ما طبرية كمدينة قد حقّها نهران خدد لها شام وحب مشرق و التعكر السامى الرفيع يمان

و كان التعكر يومئذ في يد السلطان اسعد بن عبد الله بن محمد الصليحي ابن عمّ الملك المكرّم الذي قتل مع الداعي على بن محمد اخيه بالعهجم فسأت عشرة شدا اسعد بن عبد الله بن محمد ابن عمّ الملك المكرّم فنقله عن مجاورته و عن التعكر و عوّفه حصون ريمة و اعماله و وولّا اخاه ابا الفت بن الوليد حصن تعز و المفضّل يتوصف للملك المكرّم بذي جبلة و هو عن صغار الدار الذين يدخلون على البحرّة الملكة في رسائل الملك المكرّم و الحواج بينهما و لما مات ابو البركات والد الامير المفضّل بعد الملك المكرّم جعلت ما العرّة ولاية التعكر الى المفضّل بن ابي البركات بعد ابيه و كان التعكر معمّر مقرّر ذخائر بني الصليحي الذي صارت الميم من ملوك اليمن و المحرّة مقرّر ذخائر بني الصليحي الذي صارت الميم من ملوك اليمن و المحرّة

سيرة ،Khi الله والياً في المعكر و اعمالها و ولَّى اخاه

و جعل ابا البركات بن الوليد .Khi <sup>2</sup> Khi العتوم Read

تطلع من ذى جبلة في ايام الصيف فتقيم به و اذا برد الوقت سكنت بذي جبلة و المفضّل يتصرّف عن أوامرها و يدخل عليها مسع خواص وزرائبا و الامراء و الاكابر من عديدها و هو رجل الدولـة و مدبَّرها و المرجوع الى رأيـه و سيفه و الحرَّة لا تقطع أمرا الَّا به فعظم بذلك شانه و علت كلمثه و غزا تهامة \* برارا له و عليه و هبط عدن مراراً ولم يبق باليمن من يسامية ثم قال للحرّة يوما و هو في التعكر انظرى يا مولاتذا الى ما كان في هذا الحصن من ذخائرك فانزلسي به الى دار العزّ او فاعزليه في بعض هذه القصور و اما هذا <sup>الحج</sup>ر يعني التعكر فاتركيه لى فلا طاعة لك على فيه 2 بعد الدوم قالت 3 لو لم تقل هذا القول ما اخرجتك اليه العص حصنك و انت رجل البيت و لا حرب علیك منّی فیما عاد لسموّ قدرك و علوّ أمرك فخجل منها و اطرق و نزات الحرّة الملكة الى ذي جبلة ولم تغيّر من الاحوال شمًا فكان يغزل اليها ثم يترضّاها في طلوع الحصن كعادتها فلا تفعل وهي في 5 ذلك تواصل برَّه بما يحسن عنده موقعه 6 من الجواري المغاني و السكساوي و الطيب و العبيد و الاستاذين و غير ذلك و من لامها فيه و حذرها منه ام تسمع كلامه واله في نصرتها و الذبّ عن اعمال دولتها مواطن حميدة منها انه حارب الداعي سبا بن احمد حين خطب الحرّة فلم تفعل فسار الى سبا في حيوش عديدة و حارب على بن سبا صاحب قيضان مو اخرجه منه و حارب عمرو بن قرمطه الجنذي و غيره من سنجان و عنس و زبيد و استرجع لها نصف عدن

محسن موقعه ,Khi

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Khi, oudle

<sup>?</sup> ارقطة لجنبي \*

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Read العنان

مرارا فنارةً له و تارةً عليه ،Khi

ما فىه <sup>2</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Khi, ها نقالت له

احوجتك Khi, احوجت

<sup>»</sup> Khi, مع

من آل المزريع بمائة الف دينار كل سنة و حدثني الشيم ابو الطاهر القابوني قال اذكر يوما و أنا عند المفضّل بن أبي البركات بالتعكر وقد اتاه ارتفاع نصف عدن خمسين الف دينار فسيرها من وقلته الى الحَوَّة الملكة الى ذي جبلة و لم يتعلُّق منها بشيء فعاتبته على ذلك فقال ليس ينفعني الله ما حصل عندها فلما وصل المال اليها اعادته اليه و قالت ابقه عندك فانت أحوج اليه منّا قال ابو الطاهر ففرّق المفضّل على المحاضرين عشرة اكياس فنالني منها كيس فيم الف دينار وكان المفضّل يحتجب حتى لايرجي لقاؤة ثم يظهر فيغني من اجتمع ببابه من الوفود و يصل اليه الضعيف و القوى فينظر في احوال الاعمّال و العمال و يجيب عن كلُّ كتاب وصل الى الباب ثم يغيب فلا يظهر ولا يوصل اليه و هذه عادته مذ عظم امرة و لما اخرج المنصور بن جيّاش من زبيد باخيه عبد الواحد بن جيّاش هاجر هو و عبيده الى الملك المفضل و التزموا على النصرة ربع البلاد فسار المفضل معهم فاخرج عبد الواحد و ملكهم ثم هم أن يغدر بهم و يملك زبيد عليهم فحين خلى التعكر من المفضّل و طالت اقامتة بتهامة و في التعكر ذايب يقال له الحمل و كان هذا الحمل متقمصا على متمسكا بالدين فصعد اليه الى التعكر سبعة من اخوانه الفقها منهم محمد بن قبس قالوحاظي و منهم عبد الله بن يحدي و منهم ابرهيم بن محمد زيدان و له كانت لبيعة و هو عمّى اخو والدي لابيه و أمَّه و اخذوا العصن من الحمل و كانت الرعايا من السنّة قد قالوا للفقهاء إذا حصلتم في راس الحص فاوقدوا الذار ففيلوا ذلك ليلا فاصبح عندهم على باب الحصن عشرون الفا و استولت الفقهاء على ملك لم يعهد و وعل النحبر الى اللمدير

ا به من المناطق المنا

المفضّل بتهامة فسار لا يلوي على احد حتى وصل الى التعكر أو حصر الفقياء فقامت خولان في نصرة الفقياء و اقام الحصار عليهم ثم رأوا ان خولان خاناليبم فقال لهم ابرهيم بن زيدان لن اموت حتى اقتل المفضَّل ثم اهلاً بالموت فعمد الى حظاياة من السراري فاخرجهن في اکمل زی و احسام و جعل بایدیین الطارات و اطلعین علی سقوف القصور بحيث يشاهدن المفضّل ويسمع هو وجميع من معم في حصن عزان التعكر 3 و كان المفضّل اكثر الناس غيرة و أنفة فقيل انه مات في تلك الليلة وقال آخرون امتصّ خاتما كان في يده معدًّا عنده فاصبح ميتا و المحاتم في فيه فكان موته في رمضان سنة اربع و خمسمائة و لما مات المفضّل طلعت الحرّة الملكة من ذي جبلة و خيمت بالريادي على باب التعكر و كاتبت الفقياء و العلقتهم الى ان كتبت امم خطّها بما اقترحوه من أمان و اموال و اشترطوا عليها ان ترحل هي و جميع المحشود و يصل اليهم من يرضونه واليًا و يقيمون مع الوالى الى ان تصل غذائمهم ما منهم فوفت لهم بذلك و ولت التعكر مولاها فيتم بن مفتاح وحدثني السلطان ناصر بن منصور قال حدثني عمَّك ابرهيم بن زيدان بعد نزوله من التعكر ان نصيبه من العين كان خمسة و عشرين الفا وكانت خرلان قد دخلت منيا الي مخلاف جعفر قبل موت الملك المفضّل ستة الآف برمى الشعر و اكشرها بنو بحر و بنو صنة الو مران و رواح و شعب حي و بنو جماعة ففرَّقهم المفضَّل في الحصون و استحلفهم للملكة فلما صات المفضل وثب من مران رجل يقال له مسلم بن الرر6 على حصن

<sup>?</sup> ضنة 4

<sup>?</sup> رزاح أ

<sup>!</sup> الزرُّ "

فطاع عزان التعكر J. and Khii, فطاع

و سار <sup>مح</sup>اصرًا للمتعكر و سار <sup>مح</sup>اصرًا للمتعكر ? يشاهدهن "

و هو في قبة بعران Khi, "

خدد فاخرج منه السلطان عبد الله بن يعلى الصليحي الشاعر الاديب الفاضل الكامل و ملكـ و كان عبد الله بن يعلى هذا كثير الاموال فانتقلت امواله الى المسلم أبن الرز فقويت شوكته و اتَّصل بالحرّة الملكة و بحواشيها و رجا أن تقيمه الحرّة عوضا عن المفضّل بن أبي البركات و بعث اليها بوادية عمران و سليمان فحسن موقعهما من قبلها و امرت بهما فعلما الخطّ على كبر فلما كان بعد ذلك زوّخت سليمان و عمران بعض ربائبها عندها و صارا يختلفان الى ابيهما بخدد و خولان مستظهرة و لهم صولة و كلمة فلما مات المسلم ملك ولده سليمن حصن خدد و بقى عمران عندها ثم ان عمران حسنت حاله عندها و كان فتم بن مفتاح بعد موت المسلم بن الرز عنالف على الملكة مولاته بحص التعكر و استبد به دونها فتلطف عمران حتى خطب الى القائد فتح بن مفتاح ابنته بعد خلافه و عصيانه عليها بالقعكر فلما كانت ليلَّة الدخول بها دبتر سليمن و عمران على فتح حتى غدرا به و ملكا عليه التعكر فاجاره عمران و اشترط عليهما فتم اشياء وفيا له بها منهما <sup>3</sup> انهما وهبا له حصنا يقال له شار فنقل اليه من الذخائر ما يعزّر عليه فلما حصل التعكر بيد عمران واصل الحرّة الملكة ببذل الطاعة و المحدمة فلم تلتفت اليه و امتدّت ايدى خولان على الرعايا وغيرهم وعاثوا وافسدوا وكانت الليلة التي ملكوا فيها حص التعكر ليلة الاحد الثاني عشر من ربيع الاول سنة خمس و خمسمائة ولم تزل هذه حالة خولان مع <sup>ال</sup>حرّة اذا رأتهم قد طغوا ارسلت الى عمرو بن عرفطة الجبني مسطرا او سطرين بخطَّها فيقبض على بلاد ابني النزر من العساكر<sup>5</sup> الفارس و الراجل فلا يخلصهما منة الا الضراعة اليها

مسلم ! ! منهم " ! منهم " ! النرز " عرقطة الجنبي ! العساكر " ! بالعساكر " ! العساكر " ! ال

و السؤال لها فی صرف العرب عنهما ولقد حکا لی السلطان یزید بن عیسی الوائلی قال اذکر و قد ارسلنی عمران بن الزر الی الحرق الملکة و هو مصاف للعرب یستنجد بالحرق فبعثت الیه بعشرة الاف دینار معونة فردّت بها الیها و قال هل هی تعرف ما ینفعنی قال یزید بن عیسی فکتبت لی بخطها الی عمرو بن عرفطة الجبنی برقعة فیها اذا وقفت علی أمرنا هذا فارتحل عن بلاد بنی الرز شمشکورا فلما وقف عمرو بن عرفطة علیها نادی فی الناس بشعار الرحیل و هو قوله و عمره بن مروح فلم یمض ساعة و بقی منهم احد فقال عمران اخیه و هذا و ربات العرّ و الطاعة

ولما كان في سنة ثلاث عشرة و خمسمائة قدم الى اليمن ابن نجيب الدولة و هذه اخبار الموفق ابن نجيب الدولة منها انه كان في ابتدآء أمرة على خزانة الكتب الافضلية و كان عزيز الحفظ مستبصرا في المذهب الطاهر قايما بتلاوة القرآن العزيز و كان يقرأ على روايات فاما اسمه فهو على بن ابرهيم بن نجيب الدولة و اما نعوته فهو الامير المنتخب عز الخلافة الفاطمية فخر الدولة الموقق في الدين داعي امير المؤمنين سار بمن معه من المحجرية عشرون فارسا مختارة منتقاة و حين وصل ابن نجيب الدولة الى جزيرة دهلك لقيم الكازم الواصل من عدن صحمد بن ابي العرب الداعي من ولد صاعد بن حميد الدين فكشف لابن نجيب الدولة اسرار اليمن واحوال الناس كلهم و اسماءهم و حلاهم و كناهم و تواريخ مواليدهم

<sup>?</sup> قواهم 4

<sup>?</sup> لاخيه 5

<sup>?</sup> الكاظم ؟

<sup>?</sup> فَكُتبت بخطّها <sup>1</sup>

عرقطة الجنبي <sup>2</sup>

الـزرّ 3

و ما تحت ثياب اكـثر من شامة او اثـاول او جراح او اثر نار فكان بن نجيب الدولة اذا سألهم عن غوامض هذه الاشياء اعتقدوا انه يعلم الغيب و اول ما عمل بذي جبلة أن أخذ رجلاً من خولان من بنی عمرو ثم من بنی عم عمران بن الزر یقال له سلیمن بن عبید و هو رجل نبيه القدر عالى الذكر فضربه بالعصاحتي اخذت في ثيابه و رجعت خولان الي <sup>2</sup> ذي جبلة فهجم سليمان بن احمد النرواحي ابن اخي التحرّة الملكة و زوج أمّ همدان بنت المكرّم فاخذ النحولاني من ابن نجيب الدولة بغير اختياره فخلع عليه وارسله الى قومه فانكفّت اكفّ خولان عن ذلك البسط ثم أن أبن نجيب الدولة غزا اهل وادى مسم و زبيد و غزا اهل السهلة فأمنت البلاد و رخصت الاسعار و انكفّ الذعار و قبض يدة عن اموال الناس و عدل فيهم و اقام الحدود و عزَّر به جانب الحرَّة الملكة و انقمع أهل اليمن عن الطمع في اطراف بلادها و استخدم من بني حماس و سنجان 4 ثلثمائة فارس و قوم عليهم الطوق الهمداني و لما مات الافضل سنة خمس عشرة و خمسمائة قوّاه المأمون و شدّ أزره و كتب اليه بالتفويض و بسط يده و لسانه و سيرٌ اليه المأمون اربعمائة قوس ارمن و سبعماية أسود و سكن الجند وهي وطيئة للحافر متوسطة في الاعمال فضاق به الأسر على سلاطين الوقت و هم سليمن و عمران ابنى النرر و منصور بن المفضّل بن ابي البركات و سبا بن ابي السعود و مفضل بن زريع و في سنة ثمان عشرة دخل وبيد و الوزير بها يومئذ من الله الفاتكي و كانت عشرة رماة من اصحاب ابن نجيب الدولة قد

سنحان 4

امرته السيدة ان يسكن الجند Khi, أ

غـزا زبـيد فـقاتل اهلها على ، Khi و الفرتب

<sup>?</sup> تحت ثيابهم من ا

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> عن <sup>4</sup> عن بطرد خولان عن جبلة ,Khi أعن <sup>4</sup>

ەيتم

استأمنوا الى اصحاب زديد و لما تـزاحف الناس في الحرب رمي رجل من العشرة المستامنة بسهم فلم يخط انف الفرس الذي عليه ابن نجيب الدولة فسقط على بن ابرهيم الى الارض حتى شتّ به الفرس فانهزم عسكره فقتل السودان بأسرهم ولم ينبج من الارمن سوى خمسین و کانوا اربعمائة قوس و اما الداعی فقاتلت علیه همدان اشد قتال حتى اردفه منهم رجل يقال له الساعي و جاهدت عنه من همدان خمسة عشر فارسا احدهم الطوق و غاب فرس ابن نجيب الدولة من الوقعة صلاة الظهر يوم الجمعه فاصبح يوم السبت بمدينة التجند و بينها وبين زبيد اربعة ايام او ثلاثة للمجدّ ولم يمس النحبو الله بذي جبلة بان ابن نجيب الدولة قتل بزبيد ثم وصل الداعي من الجند بعد اربعة ايام و ركب الى ذى جبلة و اجتمع بالحرّة فارتاش و عادت حاله فغنزا بلاد سليمان بن ابي النزر اربعة اشهر ثم تهادنا  $^{1}$ و عاد الى الجند ثم غزا آل الزريع الى الجوة فالتقى معمّ ابن المفضّ $^{1}$ بن زريع بالحمة مدى سلمة فطعن ابن نجيب الدولة و كان جعد الفراسة فسقط الى الارض فطعنه عبد لمسعود بن زريع \* يقال له زريع م يقال لـ مسافر وحمل الطوق الهمداني على مسافر فقتله و وقف عند ابن تجيب الدولة حتى ركب و عاد ابن تجيب الدولة الى الجند و كان جَوشنه قد سقط و وقع على الارض في هذه الوقعة فقال مفضل بن زريع في ابن نجيب الدولة لما سقط جوشنه

مضى هاربا ناسيا جوشنه مخافة يام بان تطعنه وليس من الموت يُنْجِى الفرار كذاك ترى الانفس الموقنة

و في سنة تسع عشرة سأت عشرته " على الملكة الحرّة و قال قد

<sup>3</sup> Khi, wiyan

<sup>2</sup> Om. ?

خرفت و استحقت عندى ان يحجر عليها فعند ذاك وصل اليها السلاطين الاربعة سليمن و عمران ابنا النزر و سبا بن ابي السعود و ابو الغارات و اسعد بن ابي الفتوج و المنصور بن المفضّل و استاذنوها في حصار ابن نجيب الدولة بالجند فاذنت لهم و كانت المجند مسورة و معه فيها من همدان اربعمائة فارس منتقاة فجآءته السلاطين في ثـلاثـة الاف فارس و ثلاثـة أ الاف راجل و احاطوا به و كانت مع ابن نجيب الدولة في الجند فرسان كلُّ فارس منهما " يعدّ بمائة فارس منهم الطوق بن عبد الله و محمد بن احمد بن عمران بن الفضل بن على اليامي و عبد الله بن عبد الله الذي ولي الدعوة بعد ابن نجيب الدولة و هو من بني الصليحي و منهم عليّ بن سليمان النرواحي و ابو الغيث بن سامر و محمد بن الاعز و عاش الي ان ذبحة ابن مهدى عذرا 3 و منهم الفريدين ولما اشدَّد الحصار على ابن نجيب الدولة و هو في اشد التعب كتبت الحرة الملكة على جاري العادة منها الى عمرو ابن عرفطة الجبيني<sup>4</sup> فاتاهم <sup>5</sup> فخيّم  $^6$ بذی جبلة و بعثت الی وجوه القبائل ففرّقت فیهم عشرة الاف مصرية و قالت للرسل اشيعوا في العسكر ان ابن تحيب الدولة فرق في الفاس عشرة الأف $^{6}$  مصربه \* فان انفق السلاطين $^{7}$  شيئا من الذهب المصرى و الله ارتحلنا فلما خوطب السلاطين بذلك وعدوا الناس فلما كان من الليل ارتحل السلاطين. كل واحد منهم الى بلده و اصبحت الحشود من كل بلد بلا رأس فانقض الناس عن الجند فقيل البن نجيب الدولة هل ابصرت هذا التدبير الذي 8 قلت انها

<sup>?</sup> فأتاها ٥

دينار مصرية ,Khi أ

قط لبت العداكر من Khi, قط لبت قط بيت ... سلاطينهم ان ينفقوا عليهم ... للتي \*

نلثين ,Khi نلثين

منهم

<sup>!</sup> صبرا or عدراً 3

<sup>?</sup> عرقطة الجنبي \*

قد خرفت فركب الى ذي جبلة و تنصّل و اعتذر و كانت الملكة حجّة الامام عليه السلام و كان سبب هذا القبض على ابن نجيب الدولة 1 الفقيم ابو عبد الله الحسين بن على الحلبي2 أن المأمون في وزارته سيّر رسولا الى اليمن كان يحمل السيف ويسمّى الاعمير الكذاب فلما وحل و" اجتمع بابن نجيب الدولة في ذي حبلة في مجلس حافل ولم يكن ابن نجيب الدوامة اكرمة و لا اضافة و لا عنى به و قصد ان يغضٌ منه فقال له ابن تجيب الدولة انت والى الشرطة بالقاهرة فقال بل الذي الطم خيار من فيها عشرة الأف بعل فغض من ذلك ابن نجيب الدولة و التصق اعداء ابن نجيب الدولة الى هذا الرسول و اكثروا بـرُّه و حمل الهدايا اليهم و ضمن لـهم هلاك على بن ابرهيم بفصلين امّا احدهما فقال اكتبوا على يدى الى مولانا الأمر كتبا تذكرون فيها انه دعاكم الى نزار و راودكم على ذلك فامتنعتم و الفصل الثاني اضربوا سكَّة نـزاريه و انا اوصلها الى مولانا الأَمر بـاحـكام الله ففعلوا ذالك و وافق وعوله من اليمن القبض على المأمون فاوصل الكتب و السكّة الى مولانا فقضى ذلك بتسيير الامير الموقق ابن المحيّاط للقبض على ابن نجيب الدرلة و سار معه من الباب مائـة فارس من التحجرية المفظعين و ممن كان في صحبة هذا ابن الخيّاط عز الدين و سار مع ابن النحيّاط ابنه سعد الملك فلما وصل النحبر بان الرسول في دهلك توجه ابن نجيب الدولة الى بلاد زبيد بعد امتناع و كراهته لذلك و كان يقول داع لا ينافق و الموت اصلح من النفاق ودخل اعداوة الى الحرّة الملكةً و قالوا لها احتفظى يا مولاتنا بابن نجيب الدولة فان الامام لا يطلبه الا منك فتمارضت الملكة و ارسلت

³ От. е

<sup>?</sup> على ماحدّث <sup>1</sup> البجلق <sup>2</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> يُعَل <sup>4</sup>

اليه الشريف اسعد بن عبد الصمد بن محمد الحوالي و كان اصدق الناس اليه فادركم من الجند على ليله فقال له هذه الحرّة الملكة حجة مولانا مشرفة على الموت وليست تثق باحد الابك فارجع اليها فرجع فاحتفظت به على كرامة وقيدته بقيد فضة فيه خمسون اوقية و وصل الرسول من عدن يطلبه فامتنعت الحرّة الملكة عليه و قالت له انت حامل كتاب مولانا فخذ جوابه و اللا فاقعد حقى اكتب الى مولانا و يعود الجواب فدخل السلطانان سليمان و عمران ابنا النرر و بذلا لعبد الله بن المهدى المعمري عشرة الاف دينار و حصنين باعمالها و كانت الحرّة الملكة الى راية فخوّفها سؤ السمعة بالنزارية و أمر الرسول و من معه ان يشيعوا بذلك ولم يزل بها حتى استوثقت لابن نجيب الدولة من ابن الخيّاط باربعين يمينا و كتبت الى مولانا الأمر باحكام الله امير المؤمنين وسيرت رسولا هو كاتبها محمد بن الازرقي وكان اديبا منشيا للديوان بليغا مجيد الالفاظ باهر الاحسان ثم سيرّت الحرة الملكة في الهدايا بدنة قيمة الجواهر الذي فيها اربعون الف دينار و شفعت فيه فما هو الله ان خرج من فى جبلة بقفص خشب و الناس ينظرون اليه فقال ابهم ما تنظرون أسد في قفص ثم ساروا به الي ان فارقوا ذي جبلة بليلة حتى جعلوا فی رجله طوبهٔ <sup>2</sup> من مائمة رطل حدید و شتموه واهانوه و بات فی الدهليز عريانا في الشتا و بادروا به 3 من عدن في جلبة سواكنيه و اخروا رسولها صحمد بن الازرقي بعدها بخمسة ايام مشفووه و تقدّموا على

الازدى ،Khi ا و بادروا به الى عدن و سفروه ،Khi <sup>\*</sup> الى مصر لبنة ،Khi <sup>\*</sup> الى مصر بعده بخمسة عشر يوما ،Khi <sup>4</sup>

ربّان المركب ان يغطيه أنغرق بما فيه على باب المندب و مات ابن الازرقى غريقا فجزءت الحرة على ذلك حيث لا ينفعها ذلك و دخلا عليها سليمان و عمران ابنا الزر شامتين بابن نجيب الدولة و خرجا من عندها و هم يقولان صدق الفقيه في قوله قال عبد الله بن عباس كنّا ندخل نسمع الحديث عن عائشة فلا نخرج حتى نعلم انها امراة فكان اخر دخولهما عليها

## اخبار الـزريع بن العباس بن الـكزم اليامي اهل عدن

اما نسبتهم فمن همدان ثم من جشم بن يام ابن اصبا و كانت لجدهم ابن العباس بن الكنزم سابقة محمودة و بلاء حسن في قيام الدعوة المستنصرية مع الداعي على بن محمد الصليحي ثم مع ولده الداعي المكرم بن على عند نبلزوله الى زبيد واخذ أمّة الحرة اسماء بنت شباب من الاحول سعيد بن نجاح و كان السبب في ملكهم لعدن ان الصليحي على بن محمد لما فتحها و فيها و بنو معن في عدن فسار اليهم الملك المكرم ففتحها و ازال بنو معن منها و ولاها العباس و مسعود ابني الكزم و جعل مستقر العباس بعكر عدن وهو يجاور الباب و ما حصل من السبر و جعل المسعود حصن الخضرا \* وهو الساحل و المراكب و يحكم على المدينة و استحلفهما

<sup>6</sup> Read كان فيها الح. See note 57.

حصن التعكر على باب عدن .J.

<sup>?</sup> جعل له "

المستولى على الب**ج**رّ .J. °

يغرقه .Kh

أصغا Read أ

الكرم ,Kdn ; المكرم ,Khi

<sup>4</sup> Khi, X.

هن اسر ،Khi

للحرّة الملكة السيّدة بنت احمد لأنّ الصليحي كان اصدقها عدن حين زوجها من ولده المكرم سنة احدى و ستين و اربعمائة ولم يزل ارتفاع عدن من سنة احدى و ستين يرفع الى الملكة السيّدة وهو مائة الف \* يزيد و ينقص الى المكوم فلما صات المكوم وفا على العباس بعد موت المكرم و مسعود ابنى الكرم فلما ماتا تغلب على عدن زريع بن العباس و ابو الغارات بن مسعود فسار المفضّل بن ابي البركات الى عدن و جرت بينه و بينهما حروب كان آخرها المصالحة على نصف ارتفاع عدن و لما صات المفضل بن ابي البركات تغلب اهل عدن على النصف الثاني فسار اليهم اسعد بن ابي الفتوم \*عمّ ' الملك المظفر وصالحهم على ربع الارتفاع للحرّة فلما ثـارت بغو الزر في التعكر تغلّب اهل عدن على الربع الذي للملكة ولم يبق لها شيء في عدن لموت رجالها ولم يقلد ابن نجيب الدولة في ذلك على شيء فهذه احوال صلكهم لعدن واما اخبارهم فيما شجر بدينهم فان المفتضل بن ابي البركات نزل في بعض غزواته الى زبيد و كان معة زريع بن العباس و عمَّة مسعود بن الكزم و هما يومئنذ صاحبا عدن فقتلا جميعا على باب زبيد ثم ولى الامر بعدهما ابو السعود بن زريع و ابو الغارات بن مسعود ثم ولى الامر من بعدهما بعدن الداعي سبا بن ابـي السعود و محمد بن ابي الغارات ثم ولده ً عليّ الاعزر المرتضى \* ثم على بن ابي البركات<sup>6</sup> ثم الداعي محمد بن سبا \* وهو اخر بنی زریع  $^7$  و علی بن ابی الغارات اخر بنی مسعود  $^7$  و علی بعد الداعی

ابن عمّ المفضل Read

ثم ولد سبا واسمه Read ه

مع على بن ابي الغارات Read مع

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Om. See note 59.

دينار وقد يزيد وقد ينقص ،Khi الى وفاة العباس بن المكرم

وفيا <sup>2</sup>

الكرم ،Khi, المكرم ; Kdn

محمد بن سبا ولدة عمران ثم نفي و صفت عدد الل زريع الى ان اخرجهم منها السلطان المعظم شمس الدولة توران شاه ابس ابى ايوب في ذي القعدة وكانت بيد محمد و ابي السعود ابني عمران بن محمد بن سبا و قد كان ابن $^{8}$  حرابة في عدن نصيب لا اقوم على حفظه و لا على تاريخ وقته و ليس في آل المكنزم اكرم من عمران بن حرابة 6 و من مفضل بن زريع و دون كرمهما ينقطع الوصف و بنو الكـزم ُ يعرفون بآل الذيب وهم بعد بني الصليحي بقيَّة العرب باليمن ولما صات محمد بن ابي الغارات بن مسعود بن المكزم ولى الامر من بعدة اخوة عليَّ بن ابي الغارات وهو صاحب حصن الخضرا المستولى على البحر وعلى المراكب و المدينة و الداعي الاوحد المظَّفر مجد الملك شرف الخلافة عضد الدولة سيف الامام تاج العرب و مقدّمها داعي المير المومنين سبا بن ابي السعود بن زريع بن العباس بن الكـزم اليامي شريك السلطان على بن ابي الغارات في عدن و هو مالك لبابها ولما يدخل من البرّ و له معقل الدملوة و السرما و سامع و مطران و ذبحان و بعض المعافر و بعــض الجـند و اعماله في الجبال واسعة و له من الاولاد الاعز على و محمد و المفضل وزیاد و روح

ذکر السبب فی زوال علی بن ابی الغارات من عدن و حصولها للداعی سبا

حدثنی الداعی محمد بن سبا و جماعة من مشایع عدن قالوا كنّا نعرف ابن الحزری ابا القاسم ذائبا لعلیّ بن ابی الغارات فی نصف عدن

الحكرم .Kdn ; المكرم , Kdn

<sup>5</sup> Jago ?

<sup>?</sup> نوفی ا

ا و صفّت البلاد بعده °

لابن <sup>3</sup>

و الشيخ احمد بن عقاب الهذاي نائبا لسبا بن ابي السعود في نصف عدن فانبسط ابن المخررى في قسمة الارتفاع على احمد بن عتاب و امتدت ايدى اصحاب على بن ابي الغارات الى ظلم الناس و عاثوا في البلد و افسدوا و اطلقوا الاقوال بمذمّة الداعي سبا و قالوا من ذاك مما يوجب الغيظ و يثير الحفيظة و الداعي في ذلك <sup>1</sup> مهتمّ بجمع الاموال و الغلّات سرًّا شَرًا و <sup>2</sup> كُلّ من يلوذ بالداعي \* في ذلك<sup>3</sup> يضام و يهتضم و الصولة الصحاب على و الداعى فى ذاك يحتمل وحين كاد احتمالة أن يخرج الأمر من يدة عزم على مناجزة القوم و قدّم قائدة الشيئ السعيد الموقّق بلال بن جرير فولّاة عدن و امرة ان يهاييم القوم و يحرَّك القتال بعدن ففعل بلال ذالك و كان شهما 11 ان جمع جموعا من همدان و جنب بن اسعد ً و عنبس و خولان و حمير ومذحج و غيرهم و هبط من الجبال في نازل القوم بوادى لحم و الداعى سبا بقرية ° فى هذا الوادى مسوّرة يقال لها بنى ابّه فننزلها ببنى عمم آل النرريع ولبني عمم مسعود بهذا الوادي مدينة ا خرى كبيرة يقال لها النزعازع مسورة ايضا فخيّم كلّ منهم بمدينة ثم اقتتلوا اشد القدال

و ظلم ذى القربى اشد مضافة على المرء من وقع السهام المهدو و حدثنى الداعى محمد بن سبا قال كنت فى طلايع الداعى فظهر لفا على بن ابى الغارات و عمّه منيع بن مسعود ولم تحمل الخيل افرس من الاثنين و لا اشجع فانهزمنا فادركنا منيع بن مسعود فقال

<sup>6</sup> Om. Khi. Read عنس

فلم يقف .آ. ; من دماوه ،Khi الداعى بالدملوة حتى نزل الى لحج

قنازل Khi, فنازل

و الداعي سبا قرية Read °

اثنا ذلك , Khi

سرا فکان کل Khi, سرا فکان

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> D. in Khi.

و لم يلبث سبا ان جمع Khi, و

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>٩</sup> بن حرب <sup>٥</sup>

لى يا صبى قل لابيك يثبت فلا بدّ اليوم عشية من بعدل البحشميات اللوانى فى مضاربه فلما اخبرت والدى بذلك ركب بنفسه و قال لمن حضر من آل الذيب وهم بنو عمّه الادنون ان العرب المستاجرة لا تقدر على حرّ الطعان و لا يمسك \* النور الابموقده قلقوا بنى عمّكم فاصطلوها بنفسكم و الآفهى الهزيمة و العار فالتقى القوم فحمل منّا فارس على منيع بن مسعود فطعنه طعنة شرم بها شفته العليا و ارنبة انفه و كثر الطعن بين الفريقين و الجلاد بالسيوف و عقر الخيل و العرب المحشودة قنظارة ثم حملت همدان ففرقت بين الناس و تحاجز القوم لان وادى لحم اقبل دافعا بالسيل فاوقفوا على عدوتى و تحاجز القوم لان وادى لحم اقبل دافعا بالسيل فاوقفوا على عدوتى الوادى يتحدثون فقال الداعى سبا او غيرة لمنبع بن مسعود كيف رايت تقتيل البحثميات \* يا ابا المدافع قى هذه العشية فقال رايت تقتيل المدافع فى هذه العشية فقال المدافع وجدته كما قال المتنبى

## و الطعن عند مجيهن كالقبل

فلم يزل الفاس يستحسنون هذا الجواب لمنيع لان الشاهد وافق الحال و حدثنى الداعى صحمد بن سبا قال اقامت فتنة الزعازع سنتين و كان على بن صحمد بن ابى الغارات فى اوّل الامر ينفق الاموال جزافا و الداعى يمسك فكاد الناس ان يميلوا علينا فلما تضعضعت حال على بذل الداعى ما لم يخطر بالبال ان يبذله و لقد اذكر يوما ان رجلا من همدان دخل على الداعى سبا و هو صحيم فى الحيمة 10 ان رجلا من همدان دخل على الداعى سبا و هو صحيم فى الحيمة 10

فوقمفوا ,Khi

تقبيل Read

يا ابا رافع ,Khi

محمد بن or omit , أخو

وهو في الخيمة ,Khi أ

تقبيل Read

الحشمات ,Khi

النار perhaps ; الثور الاقيدة , Khi

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> D. in Khi,

الاموقدة]

الحمودة ,Khi أ

فقال اجلني أيا با حمير فلم يبق عندهما غيري فقال انَّك تعلم ان الحرب نار حطبها الرجال و الخيل و انا اريد مذك ان تدفع لى ديتي و هي الف دينار ففعل الداعي ذلك ثم قال و دية ولدي فلان و اخيه فاخذ عنهما الفي دينار ثم قال دفع الله عنك يا ابا حمير و بقى على الخيل ان عقرت فقال له الداعي حتى تعقر الخيل قال الهمداني قدم لنا ثمنها كما قدمت لنا الدية فدفع له الداعي كيسا فيه خمسمائة دينار فلما قبض المال قال و بقيت خصلة ما اظر كرمك یا ابا حمیر بردنی فیها قال و ما هی قال انی عزمت علی ان اتنزوج فلانة ابنة فلان و انت تعرف شرف قومها و ايس الى من المال ما يليق ان اقابلهم به فدفع له الداعي مائة دينار ثم قال انعمت و تفضَّلت ولم يبق شيء الَّا انه قبيح بمثلي ان اتـزوَّج و ولدَّى بلا رواج فدفع له مائتي دينار لكل واحد عمائة ثم قام الهمداني فلما بلسغ باب الحديمة رجع فقال للداعي سبا والله لا اسالنك حاجة بعد الحاجة التي رجعت لها و هي ان لي بنتما لا زوج لها و قبيم بنا ان اتنزوج أنا و اخوتها و تبقى ارملة قال له فما ذا يكون فقال تدفع لي مالا ازوَّجها به فدفع له مائة دبدار اخرى ثم تمثَّل الداعي بقول الراجز استنتف لحيم زيد فانتف° وحدثني الداعي محمد بن سبا و بلال بن جرير المحمدي قالا انفق الداعي سبا بن ابي سعود على حرب السلطان على بن ابى الغارات ثلثمائة الف دينار ثم افلس و اقترض من تجار عدن الذين يتوالونه مثل الشريف ابي الحسن محمد بن ابي العمري من ولد عمر بن الخطاب و الشيم ابي الحس على بن محمد و ابن اعين و ظافر بن فراج و غيرهم مالاً ثم مات الداعي

اجْالُنی Cr استنتفت لحیة زید Read منهما ( Cr منهما Khi, استنتفت استفت

سبا بعد فتحه الزعازع بعدن لسبعة اشهر و بقى من المال القرض ثلثون الف دينار و قضاها عنه الاعنر ولدة علىّ بن سبا و حدثني الشيخ السعيد بلال بن جرير المحمدى قال لما ملكت حصن الخضرا و اخذت التحتّرة بهجة أمّ السلطان علىّ بن ابي الغارات وجدت عندها من الذخائر ما لم اقدر على مثلة و عدن كلها بيدى في مدّة متطاولة قال بلال و بین عدن و لحم مسیر لیلة فاذکر انی کتبت من عدن بخبر الفتم و اخذى الخضراء و سيرت رسولا بالبشرى الى مولانا الداعى سبا بن ابي السعود و في اليوم الذي كان فية فـتحي للخضراء فتـم مولانا مدینة الزعازع فالتقی رسولی و رسوله بالبشری و ذاک من اعجب التاريح و التجأ عليّ بن ابي الغارات الي حصنين يقال لهما منيف و الحدلة و هما السبا صمروا أ عالى لحج و قتله محمد بن سبا في لحم هو و محمد بن منبع بن مسعود و رعية أبن ابي الغارات في سنة خمس واربعين و امّا الداعي سبا فدخل مدينه عدن و لم يقم بها الله سبعة اشهر كما قدمناه و دفن بها في سفح التعكر من داخل البلد و اوصى بالامر لولدة على الاعز و كان موت الداعى سبا سنة تلاث و ثلثين بعد موت الحرّة الملكة بسنة و كان الامدر الاعز المرتـضي على بن سبا مقيما بالدملوة وهم أن يقتل بلالا بعدن فمات مسلولا و اوصى الاعـز بالامر لاولادة و هم حاتم و عباس و منصور و مفضّل و كانوا صغارا فجعل كـفالـنهم الى الانيس الاعزّى و الى يحيـى بن على العامل و كان وزيرة و كاتبه و كان محمد بن سبا قد هرب من اخيه فاستجار بالامدر منصور بن مفضّل بن ابي البركات بتعزّ و صبر فاجارة و حين مات على بالدملوة سيّر بلال من عدن رجالا من همدان فاخذوا صحمد بن سبا من جوار المنصور بن المفضّل و نزلوا به

<sup>2</sup> J. a.sl

الى عدن فملَّكه بلال و استحلف له الفاس و الديوان وزوّجه بلال بابنته و جهزة باحس جهاز فحاصر انيسا و يحيى بن على العامل على الدملوة ثم ملكها و اطاعته البلاد كافة و قال انيس وقد لمته في التسليم للدملوة و الدملوة حصينة او لم استامن قتلى قتلني الجوار و النساء بالقباقب الله في صدّة الحصار اسمعمن يقلن لعن الله هذا العبد الذي يحدّاج مثل ما نحدّاجه كيف يمنع من هو خير لنا منه يعنين اخا مولاهن محمد بن سبا و كان القاضي الرشيد احمد بن الزبير قد خرج من الابواب المقدّسة بتقليد الدعوة المجيدية الاعتر المرتضى على بن سبا سنة اربع و ثلثين و خمسمائة فوجد عليًا قد مات فقلَّد الدعوة ° محمد بن سبا و نعته المعظم المتوَّج المكين و نعت وزيرة بلال بن جرير بالشيخ السعيد الموَّفق السديد و كان الداعي صحمد بن سبا كريما ممدّحا يثيب على المدح و يفرح به ويقترحه ويكرم اهل الادب و الفضل و ربما قل البيت الشعر و الابيات و رايته في يوم عيد و قد احرقته الشمس في المصلَّى بظاهر مدينه الحدوة و الشعراء يتسابقون بالنشيد فقال لى قل لهم و ارفع صودك لا يتزاحموا فلست اقوم حتى يفرغوا و كانوا ثلثين شاعرا ثم اثابهم جميعا و اذكر ليلة و انا عنده في قصر بالجوه اريد النيزول الي عدن و عنده القاضيان ابو بكر بن محمد اليانعي الجندي و ابو الفتي بن السهل و جماعة من خواصّه الاعيان مثل ابنى قاسم سبا و محمد و هما و نيران و احدهما طبمب و منجم و هو محمد و كان قد اجتمع على بابه اصحاب هذه المدايع وهم عشرة ثم اخرج القصائد و قال ما ذا ترون في ثوابهم وقدّر الجماعة فلم يزيدوا على مائة

<sup>?</sup> لو لم استلم قتلتنبي للجوار ' و وصفه بالمتوج Khi، ' اخاه Khi، ' و هم نَيِّرَان ' الحاه عَلَيْرَان '

دينار فقال اجعلوها ثلثمائة دينار وهي قليل ثم نهض و تولّينا قسمتها بینهم و حضرنا یوما عنده بقصر <sup>الحج</sup>ر فی موضع یعرف بالجنّات و عنده من الشعراء صفى الدولة احمد بن عليّ الحقلي و القاضي ابو بكر بن محمد الدافعي الجندي قاضي القضاة و هو مجيد وله بديهة لافضل في الروية عليها و القاضي يحيى بن احمد و ابي يحيى قاضي صنعآء و هو في الشعراء عند اهل اليمن في طبقة ابن القمّ فاقترح الداعي بیتی شعر علی وزن قام علی خاطره و شرط لمن سبق مالا و ثیابا كانت عليه فنسأ الجماعة فسبقهم القاضي ابو بكر بن محمد اليافعي و كان قريبا منى فسرقت الورقة من يده فجعلتها في فمي° و انتحلت بيتيه و قمت فانشدتها الداعي و اخذت خصله و سلبته و سلبته نصله 3 و فنزت بالمال و الثياب ثم فاضت يذابيع كرمة على الجماعة فما منهم الا من خلع عليه واجزل صلته و لما كان في شهور سنة تسع و اربعين ابتاع الداعي محمد بن سبا من الامير منصور بن المفضّل جميع المعاقل التي كانت لبني الصليحي و هي ثمانية و عشرون<sup>4</sup> حصنا و مدائن منها مدينة ذي جبلة و ذي اشرق واب فاخذها منه بمائة الف دينار و نيزل منصور الى حصنية صبر و تعتر و طلق زوجته الصليحية و هي اروى بنت على بن عبد الله الصليحي و صعد الداعي الى المخلاف فسكن بذي جبلة و تزوّج امراة الامدر منصور بن المفضّل و تنروّج ايضا بنت السلطان اسعد بن وائل بن عيسى الحرّة الوحاظية واسكنها بدار ابن سباع بعد الصريحين واكثر الشعراء تهنية و مدحة بالمعاقل و العقائل النروجات المذكورين و طاش فرحا لما صار اليه و بسط يده بالعطايا حتى اذكر يوما وقد طلعت صبيحة انا

و الشييخ ابو الحسن بن على بن محمد الصليحي و الشييخ المرجّى الحراني الى ذى جبلة و من ذى جبلة الى حص حبّ و كل من رفع اليه رقعة وقدع له فيها بما مثاله العزّة لله وحده فلما انتهينا الى الحصن احصينا الرقاع التي بايدى الناس و كان خازن ماله الشيخان احمد بن موسى ابن ابى الزر العامل و الشيخ ريحان المحمدى فجاء مبلغ الرقاع خمسة الاف دينار فاستكثرها الشيئ احمد بن موسى فقال نشاوره على ذلك و قال الشيخ ريحان اما أنا فما اكره التحيوة فوالله لئن شاورته على ذاك لا سلمت منه فدفع له أ المال في ذاك اليوم باسرة و مدحة في ذي جبلة القاضي يحيى بن احمد بن ابي يحيى بقصيدة فاثابه عليها بخمسمائه دينار و خلعة و قدمت من تهامة وله بيدى مال كان قد دفعه الى في بعض اغراضه و جاءني كتابة الى زبيد من ذي جبلة يستدعيني اليه فوصلته فعند مثولي بين يدية قال ما اهديت لي قلت كذا و كذا من اشياء كنت قمه اعده تها له قال ما اريد الّا الشعر قلت والله ما علمت $^{\circ}$  كلمة و لا اقدر اعلمها \* خوفا من اهل زبيد النَّهم ينقمون عليٌّ في عملة فلم يزل يسألني والله حتى اخجلني و اقترج ملى الوزن الذي عمل القاضي یحیمی بن احمد بن ابی یحیمی علیه فلما انشدته قال قد کنت اثبت القاضي بخمسمائة دينار و خلعة و انا اثيبك مما تحت يدك بمثل ذاك و اميزك عنه في الخلعة بثيابي التي على فقبضت المال و الثياب و كان ذلك احد الاسباب التي نقمها على الحبشة و همُّوا من قتلي بما وقي الله عنزّ و جلّ و مكارم الداعي محمد بن سبا اكثر من أن تحصى و مات في سنة ثمان و اربعين وخمسمائة

<sup>?</sup> اعملها \*

<sup>?</sup> افترحتُ 👵

<sup>?</sup> الدر" 1

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> لهم <sup>3</sup>

علت 🖔

و ملك بعدة ولدة عمران بن محمد بن سبا فمنعنى اهل زبيد من السفر الية و قضى الله بتوجهى الى ديار مصر رسولا للمير الحرمين المعظمين سنة احدى و خمسين و خمسمائة فاخذت كتابا من الملك الصالح الى الداعى عمران بن محمد اسأله عن تقسيط المال الذى مات ابوة محمد الداعى و هو عندى له و هو ثلاثة الاف دينار فقال لى الداعى عمران بن محمد ما مضمون كتاب الملك الصالح في المال قال له القاضى الرشيد تقسيط قال الداعى بل يقدم بيتين يقسط على النقاف فية فيقسط ثم تعذاول ورقة و كتب بيتين يقسط على النقاف فية فيقسط ثم تعذاول ورقة و كتب فيها ما مثالة

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم اقول و انا عمران بن الداعى المعظم محمد بن الداعى الاجلّ سبا بن ابي سعود بن زريع بن العباس اليامى ان الفقية عمارة بن الحسن الحكمى بوع الذعة من المال الذى درج من يدة لمولانا الداعى محمد بن سبا وهو الفان و سبعمائة دينار ملكية ثم فارقت البلاد سنة اثنتين و خمسين و خمسمائة و المسافرون من اليمن الى الديار المصرية يحكون من مكارمة و شدّة عزايمة ما يخمل الدهر اذا كاد و الغيث اذا جاد ثم مات في سنة ستين و خمسمائة عن اولاد هما محمد و ابو السعود و منصور و ما منهم الا من ادرك عن البحم الى هذه التاريخ المذكور وهو المحرّم سنة اربع و ستين و خمسمائة من البحرة صلوات الله و سلامة على صاحبيا و هذه نبذة حقيرة و معرق الى التفصيل فقيرة في اخبار الشيئ السعيد الموفّق السديد ابي الندى جرير بن بلال المحمدي وقد قدمنا انه ولى عهدة ألمولاء سبا ثم ابقاء

<sup>4</sup> Om. VI?

<sup>?</sup> قعر 5

بلال بن جرير Read "

<sup>?</sup> عدن ؟

<sup>?</sup> مقال الداعي 1

<sup>?</sup> يُقْسِط على القافيه فَيُقَسِّط ﴿

<sup>?</sup> درج

على الاعزبها و بقيت في يده من سنة اربع و ثلاثين الى عام ست او سبع و اربعین ثم مات ثم ملك عقیم مدثنی الشيخ معمر بن احمد بن عتاب و الاديب الفاضل ابو بكر بن احمد العبدى و كانا خصيصين بحاله قالا مات بلال عن مال من العين المكي2 ستمائة الف و خمسين الفا و من العين المصرى عن ثلثمائة الف و نيف وعن ابهرة من الفضة المصاغ حلى و مراكب خيل و بغال و سيوف و رماح و اoاوی کتاب $\ddot{s}$  و طشوت و اباریـق و سمعدیات $^{c}$  و معاش $^{t}$ و مذافل و سطول و طاسات و حرابيات 5 و قصب من الفضة و آلات مرسه <sup>6</sup> بالذهب و سكاكين صليحية و كيزان فضة و بعليات ما مقداره خمسة ابهرة و مائدًا رطل فاما الملبوس و البضايع فخزائس و مخازن وكذلك الطيب واصنافه والعدد والسلاح وتحف الهند والطاف الصين و المغرب و العراق و دنانير تمصر و ارض عمان و كرمان ما لا يدخل تحت حصر وانتقل الجميع بوصية الى مولاة الداعي محمد بن سبا ففرق ذلك في مدّة سنتين في سبيل المروة و المعروف و صات بلال عن اولاد رجال منهم الشيخ مدافع بن بلال و وزر بعدة ثم مات و اقعام بكفالة الاصر الاصيرين الطفلين ولدى عمران بن محمد و اخيهما \* منصور و الوزيسر و لها ابو الفرج 10 ياسر بن بالل المحمّدي وليس دون ابية في حزم و لا عزم و لا اقدام فاما الكرم فهو مشهور عنة مذكور به منسوب اليه

<sup>?</sup> جرابيات <sup>5</sup>

<sup>?</sup> مرصعة <sup>6</sup>

<sup>?</sup> تفانين ?

<sup>?</sup> بكفالة الاميرين \*

<sup>?</sup> منصور الوزير ابو °

الفتوح Khi, الفتوح

<sup>?</sup> ثم مات والملك عقيم ا

<sup>2</sup> الملك<sub>ي</sub> 2

<sup>?</sup> شمعدانات ?

in Dozy's Dict., also معشش in Dozy's Dict., also Bul. Ed. of Mac. H. 1200, where علامات is suggested instead of علامات

## وهذه اخبار آل مجاح ملوك زبـيد من الحبشة

لم يزل المؤيّد نصير الدين نجام مالكا لتهامة من اعمال ابن طرف الى عدن و ملوك الجبال تعظم دولته و تتقى صولته الى ان قتله الداعى على بن محمد الصليحي مع جارية اهداها اليه سنة اثنتين و خمسين و اربعمائة و تماسك بنو نجاح بتهامة بعد ابيهم سنتين و الاسر لمولى لهم يقال له كهلان وهم في حدّ عزم الكمال و بعضهم دون البلوغ ولم يلبث الداعي على بن محمد الصليحي ان ازالهم و افترق آل نجاح بعد حصولهم في جزيرة دهلك فاصا معارك الاكبر فقتل نفسه غبنا  $^{1}$ و اما الذخيرة فـكانت حالفة و اما سعيد الاحول وهو قاتل الصليحي $^{1}$ فكانا رجلي البيت ما منهما الله من تأدّب و عاش و كاثر و لكن اباهما نجاحا كان يرشم اخاهما الاكبر للأمر وهو معارك واما جيّاش فانه تنكّر و دخل الى زبيد فاستخرج وديعة كانت له عند عبد الرحمن بن طاهر القيبي و عاد الى دهلك مدّة ايام الصليحي عاكفا على العلم حتى برع و اما سعيد الاحول وهو اكبر من جيّاش وهما شقيقان فكان أُمرة من اعجب ما ذكر و ذلك انه خرج من دهلك الى زبيد مغاضبًا لاخيم جيّاش حين نهاه جيّاش عن الغدر بصاحب دهلك و استتر سعيد بزبيد عند الرئيس ملاعب الخولاني وهو سوقه <sup>2</sup> الَّا انَّه كان اكثر الناس حبًّا لآل نجاح و احتفر سعيد بن نجاح نفقا بين دور ملاعب كان يسكنه اكثر الاوقات ثم كتب سعيد من زبيد الى اخيه حبّياش بدهلك يأمره بالقدوم إلى زبيد و يبشره بانقضاء دولة الصليحي و اقبال دولتهم فلما قدم جياش الّي سعيد ظهر سعيد من زبيد في سبعين رجلا لا فرس مع واحد منهم و لاسلاح الا مسامير من

<sup>?</sup> و جياش <sup>1</sup>

المحديد مركّبة في الجريد وحدثني احمد بن فلاح صاحب ديوان التحقيق بزبيد قال لما خرج سعيد بن نجاح الاحول من زبيد \* قتل جدی فرسا کان تحته فرکبه و کان خروج سعید من زبید برید الصليحي في آخر اليوم التاسع من ذي القعدة سنة ثلاث و سبعين و اربعمائة قال جيَّاش بن نجاش فخرجنا في طريق الساحل و تركنا الجاتة السلطانية مخافة العساكر أن تلقانا وبيننا وبين المهجم مسيرة ثـالثـة ايام للمجدّة وكانت الاخبار قـد سبقتنا الـي الصليحي بخـروجنا و الاسماع يومئذ قد امتلَات في الجبال و التهايم ثم ان هذا وقت ظهور الاحول سعيد بن نحاج حتى لا تكاه المساجد و المجالس و المدارس و الاسواق و الطرقات تتخلو من النحوض في ذكر ذلك و كنّا نكتم هذا الامر صخافة على نفوسنا و سعيد يقسم بالله تعالى اتّى قاتله و اتّى صاحب الوقت و يتحدث بذلك مع اكثر الناس فلما سمع الصليحي بخروجنا سيرّ من ركابه خمسة الاف حرية من الحبشة و اكثرهم مماليكنا و بذو عمنا و قال خذوا راس هذا الاحول و راس اخيه و من معه و كنّا قد سلكنا يد البحر فخالفناهم ولقد اذكر أن أظلم علينا الليل ونحن بالمراوعة من اعمال الكدرا فخرج عليفا رجل من اتلال الوادى و قال اظـنّكم عريتم الطريق فقلنا نعم فقال اتبعوني فما زال بين ايدينا حتى طلع الفجر ففقدناه و نالنا تعب و مسّنا ضرّ من تعب الجع من بين مسير النهار و الليل رجَّالة حفاة و سعيد بن نجاح راجل بيننا و الفرس يجنب وهو يقول يا صباح <sup>ال</sup>خير و الظفر و السرور وهو يقول باردوا <sup>3</sup> الانسان قبل ان يموت بغير ايدينا في غد فوالله لا طلعت شمس غد وهو في الدنيا ولم يزل بعد<sup>4</sup> السير على الوحي و الياس<sup>5</sup> من الرجال

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> بادروا <sup>3</sup>

<sup>?</sup> لم يزل السير 4

<sup>?</sup> اليس or الياس 5

فوجدوا جنديا على فرس فقتلوه ،Khi ا و اخذوا الفرس

تعب للجوع Possibly . تعب ولخماء . Ran

الى ان دخلنا طريـق المخيـم و الناس يعتقدون انّا من جملة عبيد الصليحتي و حواشيه ولم يشعر بـأمـرنـا الاعبد الله بن محمد اخي مُ الصليحي فانه ركب وقال لاخيه يا مولانا اركب فبذا والله هو الاحول بن نجالے و العدد الذي جاءنا به كتاب اسعد بن شهاب من زبيد فقال الصليحي لاخيه عبد الله اتى لا اموت الا بالدهيم وبئر أم معبد معتقدا انها بئر أمّ معبد التي نزل بها رسول الله صلّى الله عليه و سلّم حين هاجر و معه ابو بكر قال مشغل ابن فلان العكّي قاتل عن نفسك فيذة والله بئر الدهيم بن عبس و هذا المسجد موضع خيمة أمّ معبد بن التحرث العبسى قال جيَّاش فاركَّه اليأس من التحيوة فاراق الماع في قبّ درقته ولم يرم من مكانه حتى قطعنا راسه بسيفه و كنت اوّل من طعنه و شركه فيه عبد فلتحاج هو الذي يطعنه و إنا الذي جززت راسه بیدی و نصبته علی عود المظلّة و أمرت بضرب الطبول و الابواق و ركبت فرسه الحضرمي المسمّى بالدبال و اصا عبد الله بن محمد الصليحي و كان فارس العرب فحمل فينا وقتل منّا رجالا ثم اعتنقه رجل منّا و سقطا الى الارض و نادى صاحبنا اقتلوني انا و الرجل فان اعز قومي رخيص يقتلني والله فشكيما سعيد بحربة واحدة وجنر راس عبد الله بن محمد وهو يعتقده الصليحي ثم ركب سعيد فرس عبد الله بن محمد و الرأسان منصوبان امامه على مباب المسجد الذي فيه السيَّدة اسماء بنت شهاب زوجة الصليحي فقال لها اخرجي فصيحي ملى الساط نين فقالت لا صبّحك البله يا احبول بخير ثم انشدت و وجبها مكشوف قول امرىء القيس الكندى

عبد الملك بن نجاح بطعنة ،Khi قادري و جززت

<sup>9</sup> فانه اعزّ على قومي لا رخيض يقتلني 6 . 9 الى 7 و صبّحي Khi,

طرف .Kan

اخو Read اخو

<sup>!</sup> جبّه ? فباء درعه °

شركني Khi, شركني

فانك لم تفخر علينا كفاخر صعيف ولم يغلبك مثل مغلب ثم ان سعيدا انفذ رسولا الى الخمسة الالاف التي قد كان الصليحي بعثها من الليل تقدل سعيدا يقول لهم ان الصليحي قد قدل و انا رجل منكم و العز عزكم و لم يبرج سعيد على باب المسجد و الرأسان منصوبان معه و الطبول تضرب حتى قدمت العبيد عليهم فسلمت علیه و بهم استطار علی عسکر الصلیحی قتلًا و أسَّرًا و نهبًا قال جدّّاش و عنزت نفس اخِي سعيد من ذلك المقام و شمنح بانفه حتى علىّ و انى لاخود ابن أمه و ابيه و ذلك انى اشرت عليه أن يحسن الى السيدة اسماء ويعفو عن من معها من بنبي الصليحسي وهم مائلة و سبعون سلطانا كان الصليحيي يخاف معهم¹ ان يذافقوا بعد² و يعفو عمن معها من ملوك تحطان وهم خمسة و ثلاثون سلطانا و ان يكتب على يديها الى ولدها المكرّم بن على الصليحي أنّا ادركنا ثارنا و استرجعنا ملكنا و قد احسنًا اليك و حملنا اليك أمك بصيانة و العفو عن بني عمَّك و قلت له والله يا مولانا لئن فعلت ذلك لا نازعتك قحطان في ملك تهامة و لئن كرهت ذلك ليهيجسّ حفائظها و لتطلبن دخولها فاجابني سعيد بقول الاوّل من الشعراء

لا تقطعن ذنب الافعى و تقركها ان كنت شهما فاتبع راسها الذنبا ثم أمر بالصليحيين فقتلوا عن آخرهم رحمة الله عليهم اجمعين و لقد رايت شيخا منهم اتقى الحربة بولده فنفذت منهما جميعا نعوذ بالله من جهد البلاء قال جيّاش لا انسى راس الصليحي في عود المظلّة و قراءة المقرئ قبل اللهم مالك الملك توقيى الملك من تشاء و تنزع الملك من تشاء و تنزع الملك من تشاء و تنزع الملك من تشاء و يدرّ

النحير آنك على كل شيء قدير و لا انسى قول الشاعر العثماني من قصيدة و ارتجابا في ذلك المقام يصف العظلة

ما كان اقبح وجهه في ظلَّها ما كان احسن راسه في عودها ثـم ارتحـل سعيد الـي زبيد و الـرأسان معه بعد ثـلاثـة ايام من الوقعة و قد حاز من الغنائم ملكا عظيما و مغنما جسيما و مما غنم الفي فرس بعددها و ثلاثة الاف جمل بعددها و دخل زبيد يوم السادس عشر من ذي القعدة سنة ثلاث و سبعين و رأس الصليحي و اخيه امام هودج الحرّرة اسماء بنت شهاب حتى انزلها بدار شحار و نصب الرأسين قبالة طاقتها و هرب اسعد بن شهاب من زبيد الى المكرّم بصنعاء و امتلاً صدور الناس شيبة من سعيد بن نجاح بعد مقتل الصليحي و تغلّب ولاة الحصون على ما في ايديها من المعاقل و كاد أمر المكرّم ان يتضعضع و استوثق الأمر بتهامه لسعيد و بعث بالاموال الى بلاد الحبشة من يشترى له عشرين حربة 3 و انقطعت الاخبار بين المكرم و بين والدته الحرة اسماء بنت شهاب حتى كان من نزوله و اخذها من زبيد ما قدّمنا ذكرة ثم عاد سعيد الي زبيد فملكها و اخرج منها ولاة المكرم ولم يزل صالكا لها حتى كان ما قدّمنا ذكرة من قتله في وقعة حص الشعير التدبير الحرّة الملكة السيّدة بنت احمد زوجة الملك المكرّم سنة احدى و ثمانين و اربعمائة

ذکر دخول جیّاش بن نجاح الی الهند و معه الوزیر قسیم الملك ابو سعید خلف بن ابی الطاهر الاموی من ولد سلیمان بن هشام بن عبد الملك

فقال جیّاش ثـم تذکیّرت و دخلت الـی عدن و معی الوزیمر خلف

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Khi, عشرين الفا Read ; عبد ?

<sup>1</sup> Kan. عقیما

<sup>?</sup> الشعر 4

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Khi, العرب

بن اببی طاهر و دخلنا الهند فی سنة احدی و ثمانین فاقمنا بها ستة اشهر ثم رجعنا الى اليمن في تلك السنة بعينها قال و من أعجب ما رايت في الهند ان انسانا قدم من سرنديب ولم يبق احد الا فرح به و زعموا أنَّه عالم باخبار المستـقبلات فسألناه عن حالنا فبشَّرنا بامور لم يخرم من قوله منها شيئًا و اشتربت جارية هندية فعلقت منّى بالهند و دخلت بها اليمن وهي في خمسة اشهر و حين وصلنا الي عدن قدّمت الوزيـر خلف الى زبيد الى $^2$  طريق الساحل و امرته ان يشيع موتى في الهند و إن يستأمن لنفسه و يكشف لي عن حقيقة احوالنا و من بقى من قومنا بالحبشة و صعدت الى ذي جبلة فكشفت احوال المكرّم بن عليّ و ما هو عليه من العكوف على لذاته و اضطراب جسمة و تفويض الامر الى زوجته الحرّة الملكة السيّدة بنت احمد ثم انحدرت من الجبال الى زبيد فاجتمعت بالوزير ابن خلف و اخبرتی عن احوال طابت بها نفسی عن اولیائذا و بنی عمّنا و عبیدنا و انهم في البلاد كثيرون و انما يعدمون رأسا يثورون معه قال جيّاش و جریت علی عادة الهند فاخرجت شعر وجهی و طوّلت اظفاری و شعرى و سترت عينى الواحدة بخرقة سوداء و كنت قريبا من الدار السلطانية و اذا افترقت الناس من الصباح قصدت مصطبة على بن القم و هو وزير ااوالي من قبل الملك المكرّم بن على فسمعته يقول يـومـا والله لـو وجدت كلبا من آل نجـاج الملكته زبـيـد و ذلك لشرّ حدث بینه و بین الوالی اسعد بن شهاب قال جیّاش و خرج التحسين بن على القمّى الشاعر و هو يومئذ رأس طبقة اهل زبيد في الشطرني فقال لى يا هندى تحسن تلعب بالشطرنج فقلت نعم فتلاعبنا فغلبته فكاد أن يسطو على ثم دخل على أبيه فقال لـ غلبت في

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Khi, يخرم من قوله شيء <sup>1</sup> إلى يخرم من قوله شيء <sup>1</sup>

الشطرنج فقال له والده ما هذا من يغلبك الله جيّاش بن نجاح وقد مات في البند ثم خرج على والد الحسين وهو طبقة عالية فلعبت معة فكرهت عليه أفخرج الدست مايعا أفاغتبط بي و خلطني بنفسة وهو في كلُّ يوم و ليلة يقول عجل الله علينا بكم يآل نجام فإذا كان الليل اجتمعت انا و الوزير خلف ثم نفترق بالنبار و انا في اثناء ذلك اكاتب الحبشة المتفرقين في الاعمال و آمرهم بالاستعداد قال جيَّاش وحين حصلت حول المدينة خمسة الاف حربة متفرقة في الحارات و داخل البلد قلت الموزير خلف ان لي عند عمر بن سحيم مالاً فخذ منه عشرة الاف دينار و انفقها في الرجال الذين قد اجتمعوا ففعل ذلك ثم لقيت الوزير ليلة فقلت له \* يا مولاي القايد اتاني ٤ حسين ابن سلامة في النوم و قال لي يعود اليك الامر الذي تحاوله ليلة ولادة هذه الجارية الهندية ثم التفت الحسين الى جانبه الايمن فقال لرجل معه اليس كذلك بيا امير المؤمنين قال بليي و يبقى الامر في ولد هذا لمولود برهة من الدهر قال جيّاش و لقد اذكر يوما أن علي بن القم عاد يوما من دار السلطان الى دارة وهو مغتاظ فلما سكن غيظه قال لى اصعد يا هندى حتى العب معك فلما أن لعبنا جاء الحسين أبنه فضرب عبدا لمه بالسوط فذالني طرفة و انا غافل فاعتربیت<sup>6</sup> و کانت عادة لی اقولها عند کل مهم یبغتنی و قلت أنا أبو الطامي فقال لي الشيخ ما اسمك يا هندي فتملت يحرفقال بحر والله يصلم ان يتكنى ابا الطامى قال جيّاش و ندمت و ساءت ظنونى بالقوم قال جّياش فلما اراد الله رجوع هذا الأمر الينا تلاعبت أنا و الحسين الشاءر أبن القمّ الشطرنج و ليس معنا اللَّا

اتانى مولاى القائد حسين
 اذكر ان

<sup>?</sup> فتعثرت ? فتعاررت "

ان اغليه ,Khi

کلی Khi, کلی

ابوه على على سرير وهو يعلم ولده قال له ابوه ان غلبت الهندى اوفدتك على المكرم و السيدة بارتفاع هذه السنة و دفعت لك الوفادة التي يدفعونها لعامل تهامة وهي الوف من الدنانير فتراخيت له حتى غلبني قصدا في التقرّب الى قلب ابيه فطاش الهسين من الفرج فسفه على بلسانه فاحتملته لابيه فمدّ يده الى الخرقة التي كانت على عيني فاختطفها فقام ابوه فقبح عليه وقمت من الغيظ  $^2$ فعثرت $^1$  فقلت انا جیّاش علی جاری عادتی ولم یسعنی سوی فوثب على بن النقم خلفي حافيا يجرّ رداه حتى ادركني فامسكني فاخرج المصحف فحلف لي بما طابت به النفس فحلفت له وليس معنا احد ثم امر باخلا دار الاغر بن الصليحي و فرشت و علقت ستورها و نقلت الجارية الهندية اليها \* الوصائف و الوصف $^{4}$  و ما عون $^{5}$ و اثاث و عاقني عنده الى ان امسى الليل ثم أذن لى في الانصراف فدخلت فوجدت الجارية قد وضعت<sup>6</sup> بين المغرب و العشا ولدى الفاتك ثم اتاني على بن القم ليلا فقال أن خبرنا لا يحفى على اسعد بن شهاب قلت أنّ معى في البلد خمسة الاف حربة فقال ابن القم لجياش قد ملكت فاكشف امرك قال جياش فانَّى اكرة قتل اسعد بن شهاب فانّه طال ما قدر على اهلنا و ذرارينا فعفى عنهم و احسن اليهم فقال لـه م ابن الـقم فافعل ما تـراه فضرب جيّاش الابواق و الطبول فثارت معم عامّة المدينة و خمسة الاف من الحبشة و أسر ابن شهاب فقال اله ابن شهاب ما يؤمنّا منكم يآل نجاح و الايام سجال بين الناس و مثلى لا يسأل العفو فقال الم جيّاش و مثلك

<sup>?</sup> معون \*

ويها بين Khi, ويها

<sup>1</sup> 

فامر جياش بضرب Khi, فامر جياش

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See supra.

Read زلم يسمعنى الا الشيخ ،Khi <sup>2</sup> إلم يسعني سوى الانصراف

<sup>?</sup> دار العزّ دار <sup>الصلي</sup>عي <sup>3</sup>

حمل اليها وصائف و وصفان ،Khi

لا يقتل يا ابا حسان ثم احسن جيّاش اليه و الى اولاده خيرا و سيّرة بجميع ما ملك من أهل و مال قال جيّاش و تسلّمت دار الامارة بما فيه صبيحة الليلة التى ولد فيها ولدى فاتك وصع ما كان اخبرنى به الحسين ابن سلامة من رجوع الامر الىّ عند ولادة الحامل التى كانت عندى ثم لم يمض شهر حتى صرت اركب في عشرين الف حربة من عبيدنا وبنى عمّنا الذين كانوا مستضعفين في البلاد فسبحان من عبيدنا وبنى عمّنا الذين كانوا مستضعفين في البلاد فسبحان المعزّ بعد الذلّة و المكثر بعد القلّة ولم يكن من المكرّم بعد ذلك كثير نكاية في جيّاش اكثر من غارات على اعمال زبيد و في هذا الحال يقول الحسين بن القمّ يخاطب جيّاشا حين قتل قاضي القضاة الحس بن ابي عقامة

اتمفر اذ جر المكرم رصحه وتشجع فيمن ليس يحلى و لا يمرى 2 و فيه ايضا من قصيدة يقولها ياتي ذكرها

اخطأت یاجیّاش فی قتل الحسن فنقأت معتدیا به قعین الزمن ولم یزل جیّاش مالکا لتهامة من سنة اثنتین و ثمانین و اربعمائة الی سنة ثمان و تسعین و اربعمائة ثم مات فی ذی الحجة منها و تبرك من الاولاد الفاتك بس الهندیة و منصورا و ابرهییم و عبد الواحد و الذخیرة و معارکا و قیل مات جیّاش سنة خمسمائة فی شهر رمضان منها و الارّل اظهر و ولی بعده ابنه الفاتك و خالف علیه اخوه ابرهیم بن جیّاش و کان ابرهیم فارسا جوادا متأدّبا فاضلا و خالف علیه ایضا ایضا اخره عبد الواحد بن جیّاش و کان العسکر تحبّه و تأمنه و جرت بینهم وقایع و حروب و اقتسمت عبید ابیهم علیهم و آلت الحال الی ان ظفر فاتك بن جیّاش باخیه عبد الواحد فعغی عنه و اکرمه الی ان ظفر فاتك بن جیّاش باخیه عبد الواحد فعغی عنه و اکرمه

أ مستضافين أ المُعْلَى عُرِّ وَ لاَيْعُلَى اللهِ اللهِ إلى اللهِ إلى اللهِ اللهِ J. and Khi, وقات والله به

و اغذاه و ارضاه و اما ابرهیم بن جیّاش فذزل باسعد بن وائل بن عيسى الوحاظى ففعل معه من الاكرام ما لم يسبقه اليه احد وكانت عبید فاتك بن جیّاش قد عظمت و كثرت و اشتدّت شوكتها ثم مات فاتك بن جيّاش سنة ثلاث و خمسمائة و ترك ولده المنصور بن فاتك صغيرا دون البلوغ فملكته عبيد ابيه و حشد ابرهيم بن جيّاش بعد موت اخيم فاتك و هبط الى تهامة فالتقى هو و عبيد و حين خلت فاتك فتواقفوا على قرية يقال لها زبید من عمّال فاتك و استقلّوا بابرهیم بن جیّاش ثار عبد الواحد بن جيّاش في زبيد فملكها وحاز دار الا مارة و خرج الا ستاذون و الوصفان بمولاهم منصور بن فاتك ادلوه من سور البلد ليلا خوفا عليه من عبد الواحد و لحق منصور بعبید ابیه فاتك و تسلّل الناس عنه و عنهم الى عبد الواحد بن جيّاش حين ملك زبيد و كانت العسكر تحبّه ولما راى ابرهيم بن جيّاش انّ اخاه عبد الواحد قد سبقه الي الأمر و الى الحصون بزبيد توجه الى الحسين ابن ابي الحفاظ الحجوروي 4 و هو يومئذ بالجريب و بنو ابي الحفاط من بني جريب بن شراحبيل و هم يعودون الى همدان و اما عبيد فاتك بن جيّاش و مولاهم المنصور بن فاتك فانهم نـزلـوا بالملك المفضّل بن ابـي البركات السميري صاحب التعكر و بالحرّة السيّدة الملكة بنت احمد الصليحي بذي جلبلة فاكروت مثواهم ثم التنووت عبيد فاتك المفضّل بن ابي البركات بربع البلاد على نصرتهم على عبد الواحد بن جياش فاخرجة من زبيد و ملكها لهم وهم المفضّل ان يغدر بآل فاتك و يملك

و ادلوة ,Khi

الحجوري Khi, الحجوري

و ذلك في سنمة اربع ، Khi و ذلك في سنمة اربع و خمسائة

هويب من Lac. in MS. Khi, هويب من ربيد فلما خرج الخ

هاما خرج عبيد فاتك من Khi, و زبيد الى هويب لقنال ابرهيم و خلت زبيد منهم ثار

البلاد عليهم حتى بلغه ان حص النعكر قد ملكه جماعة من الفقهاء و استواوا على ملك لا ينبغي مثله لاحد ففارق المفضّل زبيد لا يلوي على احد حتى كان ما قدّمنا ذكره من قبتله نفسه بالسمّ اما نظر الى حظاياة بين الرجال وهرِّ في المصبّغات و الطارات بايديين وهنّ يغنّدِن ثـم ان الامـر استقرّ لمنصور بن فاتك و لعديد ابيه فمن اولاد فاتك الامراء و من عديده الوزراء فاما الامراء فمنهم المفصور بن فاتك ثم فاتك بن المنصور وهو ابن الحرّة الصالحة الحاجّة ثم لما مات فاتك و ولده منصور 3 انتقل الامر الي ابن عمّه و اسمه ايضا الفاتك بن ∞حمد بن منصور بن فاتك ً بن جياش و انتقل الامر الى فاتك ابن محمد هذا 6 سنة ثلاث و خمسين و خمسمائة و عنهم زالت الدولة و انتقلت الى على بن مهدى الخارج باليمن سنة اربع و خمسين و خمسمائة ولم يكن لاولاد فاتك بن جيّاش من الأُمر سوى النواميس الظاهـرة سوى ً الخطبة لهـم بعد بني العباس و السكّة و الركوب بالمطلَّة في ايام المواسم و عقد الأرآء في صجالسهم و اما الأُمر و النهى و التدبير و اقامة الحدود و اجازة الوفود فلعبـيدهم الوزراء فهم عبيد فاتك بن جياش و عبيد منصور ابنه وهم و ان كانوا حبشة فلم تكن ملوك العرب تفوّقهم في الحسب الا بالنسب و الله فلهم الكوم الباهر و العتر الظاهر و الجمع بين الوقايع المشهورة و الصفايع المذكدورة و أوّل من وزر منهم انيس الفاتكي و كان من بطن في الحبشة يقال لهم الجزايون و ملوك بنى نجاح من هذا البطن و كان انيس هذا جبّارا غشوما مهابا شجاعا مشبورا جوادا و له في العرب

محمد بن فاتك Read محمد

والم ينزل الى ان قتلوه عبيده ،Khi

**می سنة ۵۵۳ و عنه** 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Khi, من

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> يعهد !

ءلم ,Khi

<sup>?</sup> فاتك ولد منصور Read 3

ولم يكن له عقب Khi, ولم يكن

وقعات تحاموا بتهامة من اجلها ثم طغمي انيس هذا و بنسي دارا و اسعة رصية عرض كل قاعة منها ثلثون ذراعا و عرض كل مجلس اربعون و هي قصور واسعة و عمل لنفسه مظلة للركوب و<sup>2</sup> سكّة باسمه و همّ أن يفدّك بمولاة المنصور فاشتهر الامر و النهبي و التدبيز من ندمائه $^{\circ}$ لعبيد فاتك فدبّروا عليه الرأى حتى عمل منصور بن فاتك مولاهم أ لهم ولئه واليمة فسى قصر الأمارة واستدعني انيسا اليه فلما حصل عنده قطـع راسة و اصطفى اموالـة و حريمة فممن صار الية بالانتتاء $^{ ext{0}}$ من ورثة انيس جارية مغنّية يقال لها علم و استوادها منصور ولدا يدعى فاتكا وهي البحرّة الصالحة التي كانت تحتّج باهل اليمن برا و بحرًا فى خفارتها فى $^6$  الاخطار و المكوس و من جملة الوزراء بعد انيس هذا الشيم مَنّ الله الفاتكي وهو الذي سوّر زبيد بعد الحسين ابن **سلا**مة و افعائه مستوسقة له و عليه فاما الذي له فالكرم الباهر و<sup>الش</sup>جاعة و الهيبة وهـو الذي كسر ابس نجيب الدولة على باب زبيد و قتل من اصحابه مائة من العرب و ثلثمائة ارمني رماة و خمسمائة اسو $^7$ وله وقعة اخرى صع اسعد بن ابني الفتوم و قتل فيها من العرب ما يندف على الالف<sup>8</sup> وهو الذي تصدّق على مدارس الفقها <sup>ال</sup>حنفية و الشافعية بما اغذاهم ممن سواهم من الاراضي و المرافق و الرباع و كان يثيب على المدح ثوابا جزيلا حتى قال لى الفقية ابو عبد الله محمد بن على السهامي رحمة الله عليه و كان يؤدب اولاد الوزير منَّ الله قال اذكر انَّى جلدت مما مدح به القائد الوزير عشرة

بالابتياع 5

<sup>6</sup> Khi, من

و ذلك في اخرسنة ١٨ Khi, و ذلك الله الخرسنة ٥١٨

تحاموا تهامة ,Khi

و ضرب Khi, و ضرب

<sup>?</sup> الأمر من ندمائه Read أ

وقد بلغ مبلغ الرجال ,J. and Khi

اجزاء كبار من شعر<sup>1</sup> المجيدين المشهورين المشاهير و هو الذي اخرج احمد بن مسعود الجزلي و مفلح الفائكي و كانا كبشي الكتيبة و صاحبي الحمل و العقد بربيد فشردهما خوفه في2 الجبال كل مشرد و بخروجهما دانت له الدنيا و علت كلمته و اما الذي عليه من افعاله فانه لما وزر بعد قتل انيس 3 المنصور بن فاتك بن جياش سنة سبع عشرة و خمسمائة فلم يقدم شيئا على أن قتل منصورا مولاه بالسم و ملك ابنه فاتك بن منصور و هو يومئد طفل صغير و مات منصور بن فاتك وابوه فاتك بن جيّاش وغيرهما من آل نجاح عن اكثر من الف سرّية ما منهن احد مسلم من الوزير منّ الله الا عشر نسآء من حظايا منصور بن فاتك منهن الحرة الملكة أمّ فاتك بن منصور ف انها اعتزلت القصر و خرجت خارج المدينة و بنت لها <sup>6</sup> دارا لا يتطرّق اليها الوزير بعذر و لا سبب هذا و الملك ولدها و لكنها حسمت المادة بالبعد عن قصر ولدها و وكلت كفالته الى عبيد ابيه الاستاذين و منهن أمّ ابي الجيش وهي ولده و كانت لها بيت ابن م منصور بن فاتلك و سميّت الحيرّة ايضا أمّ ابي لجيش بسبب هذه الفتنه وكانت فائقة بالجمال وحسن الغنآء وانا ادركتها وكنت الدخل اليها و اقعد بين يديها في رسائل كانت تجرى بينها وبين السلطان عبد الله بن اسعد بن وائل الوحاظي لانه كان تــزوّج بنتها التي كانت درقةها <sup>8</sup> من منصور بن فاتك و منهن الحرة رياض و منهن الحرّة أمّ ابيها و منهن جنان الكبرى و منهن تمنّى و لم يكن

موآدة ,Khi

وكانت لها بنت من منصور ،Khi ت بن فاتك فلهذا قيل لها للحرة بسبب هذه البنت

<sup>?</sup> رزقتها أ

<sup>?</sup> الشعراء 1

الى Khi, الى

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> عن يد <sup>9</sup>

<sup>?</sup> تسلم 4

<sup>9</sup> به 5

لأم فاتك ضرّة سواها ولما اراد الله هلاك من الله الفاتكي ما حاول بنت معارک بن جیّاس و راودها و کانت موصوفهٔ بالجمال فافتدت نفسها منه باربعين بكرا من جوارها فأبي فكشفت أمره الى عبيد، عمّها فاتك و عبيد ابن عمّها منصور بن فاتك فهابولا ولم يقدروا على شيء فقالت لهم أم الحرّة أمّ ابي الجيش¹ انا اكفيكم أمرة ثم استخرجت ابنة معارك بن جياش من قصرها قصر الأمارة الى قصرها ثم ارسلت الى من الله تقول له أنَّك اسأت السمعة عليك و علينا فيما تقدّم و لو كنت اعلمتنى خدمتك اتم خدمة ولم يعلم بك احد ففرج الوزير بذلك و تواترت الرسائل بينه و بينها حتى قال فاتى ازورك في هذه الليلة الى دارك متنكّرا قالت لرسوله انّ الله قد اجلّ قدر الوزير عن ذلك بل انا ازورة في دارة فلما امسى الليل جاءت اليه فغنَّت له و شرب و طرب و مكنته من نفسها ثم وقع عليها و مسحت ذكره عند الفراغ بخرقة فيها سمّ قاتل فتهرّأ و مات من ليلته فدفنه ولد منصور في اصطبله و سوى به الارض فلم يعرف له قبر الى الدوم و كانت وفاتمه ليلمة السبت الخامس عشر من جمادي الاولى سنة اربع و عشرين و خمسمائة ثم وزر بعده لفاتك بن منصور رزيق الفاتكي  $^{3}$ و كان شجاعا كريما المّا شجاعته فقال لى صحمد بن عبد الله اليانعي ثم الحميري و كان كاتب رزيق قال رزيقا 4 الفاتكي \*يوم الجمعة و كان لمفلح على أهل زبيد 5 وقد اشتجرت فيه سبعة أرماح و هو مضاعف  $oldsymbol{\omega}$ درعین فحصد اکثرها بسیفه واندق فیه منها ر $oldsymbol{\omega}$  و هو ثابت $oldsymbol{\omega}$  فی

يوم الحسعة وكان بوما مشهودًا ،Khi أن بينه و بين القايد ابى محمد مفلح و قد استخرجت منه تسعة ارماح ،Khi أو هو مضاعف بين درعين فحمل اكثرهما سيفه و اندق منها فيه رمحان و هو ثابت

نقالت لخرّة أمّ ابي لجيش Khi, نقالت لحرّة

رُريق .Khi and J

الشافعي ,Khi

رايت زريقا ،Khi

سرجه و مفلم يذادى به اعقروا صاحب الفرس و الا فما يسقط على الارض أثم حمل على مفلح فضربه ضربة على مقعد الرديف في فرس مفلم فقسمت مفرس نصفين و سقط مفلم و ردّت عنه بنو مشعل و هم عرب و امّا كرمه فكان اكثرة على الشعراء ولم يكن في زمانة من يقدر على ما يقدر عليه من الأكل حتى كان يضرب به المثل فكان له بين ذكور و اناث ثلثون ولدا و3 تناسخت فريضته و فريضة من مات من اولاده و اولادهم قبل القسمة فانتشرت و اتسعت حتى لم يقدر احد من العلماء على قسمتها وكان الوزير مفلح و الوزير اقبال و الوزير مسعود و الفاتكيين لله قد أراد كلّ منهم ان يبداع منهم من ورثمة الوزير رزيق اراضي و رباعا فلم يصلوا على ذلك لعدم القدرة على صحة سهام كل وارث ولما كان في سنة تسع و ثلثين وجدت في عدن شيخا من اهل حضرموت يسمّى احمد بن محمد الحاسب وكان حاسبا فرضيا قد جاوز الثمذين و هو يريد <sup>ال</sup>حيّم و كان ذا ضرورة و **لم** يملك منذ خلقه الله عشرة دنانير و لا يصدّق من يقول رايت الف دينار لانه كان ناشيا في بلاد كندة فيما يلي الرمل فانكسر صركب في ساحل البحر <sup>المج</sup>اور فوقع منهم الى رصل كنده رجل عالم زاهد و هذا الشيم احمد هو الفرضي فاخذت هذا الفقيم الي مغزليي بعدن فكسوته و أمرت من كان معى باكرامة و اطعامه و تنظيفه من فنضلات وخضاب لحيته واطرافه بالحنّا فلما حسنت حاله عادلني فی ∞حمل من عدن الی زبید و وعدته انی احج به معی و اکفیه

فلما توفي Khi, فلما

القايد اقبال و القايد مسعود Khi, الفاتكيون

يبتاع من ورثمة ،Khi

اعقروا به الـفرس يسقط الى Khi, الارض الارض

نحمل على مفلح فضربه ضربة وقعت ,Khi محمل على مقعد الردف من الفرس فقسمت

ففرح بذلك و وثبق به و سكن اليه و فاكرته ليلة و نحن على الجمل فريضة بني رزيق و هي احدى و خمسون بطنا فاندفع فيها كانّه يحفظها غيبا حتى طلع الفجر ولم يأخذني نوم لفرط المسرّة بعلمه ثم قال ان شئت ان تترك السفر هذا اليوح و تقيم على هذه البئر ولم اصلَّى صلاة الظهر حتى قد صححت المفريضة و عرف تلك سهام كل واحد من الورثة على الانفراد ففعلت ذلك فذاولني الفريضة مكتوبة بخطّه عند الغدآء و والله لقد طال ما اجتمع عليها عثمان بن الصفار و محمد بن على السهامي و نظراؤهما من الفرضيين و ما منهم الا من يرى ان ابن اللبان من اتباعة في الفرائض و الوصايا و الدور و البجبر و المقابلة و في السزمان المتطاول كانت تصنع الوزراء لهم الولائم و يوسعون لهم في الصلات يفترقون فيها أعلى غير شيء و لما وصلت الى زبيد اسكنت الفقية في آخر الدار بحيث لا يراه احد غيرى و كنت بالليل اقرأ عليه الفرائض و بالنهار اقرأ عليه حرف اببي عموو بن العلاء في القرآن العظيم و كان فيما يقرئه الـقراءات السبع ثم اخذت اكور المسئلة التي لاولان رزيق الى أن صرت اتحدّث بها مع نفسي غيبا ثم تقدّمت الى القائد سرور الفاتكي فادّعيت عنده معرفتها و هو من اشد الناس حرصا على الابتياع من آل رزيق و قال أن صحت دعواك دفعت لك كذا و كذا مبلغا قد انسيته فلما صحّت احضر المال فدفعة الى الفقية ابي محمد عبد الله بن القاسم الابار فهو رأس الشافعية يومئذ بزبيد و عليه قرأت المذهب الشافعي ثم جمع الفقهاء الى قاعات ارضية صفروشة حرا الرمل و جلس كل قوم يضربون في الرمل ناحية عن غيرهم فالااصم لهم

الأعراد المعراد المعرد المعرد المعرد المعراد المعرد المعراد المعراد المعراد المعراد المعراد المعراد المعراد ال

بطن نقلوه من الرصل الى الاوراق الى ان صحّت لهم الفريضة جميعا ولم يبرح من هذالك حتى قسم المال بين الفقهاء و اجزل نصيبى منه و رجعت الى منزلى فاحضرت المال الى الفقيه المحضرصى فقال استغفر الله يا ولدى قد كنت اكذّب من يقول انه رأى مائة ديئار ثم دفيع المال الى و قال لا حاجة لى به و انت تكفينى فحملته و مات رحمة الله عليه بعد ان قضى الحج و لما همّت المحبشة بزديد بقتلى سنة خمسين قال لهم القائد سرور اليس هو صاحب مسئلة رزيق والله لا يقتل و اما رزيق فلم يكن له نفاذ في سياسة العسكر و لا خبرة باقامة نواميس السلطنة فلم يلبث في الوزارة مدّة حتى استقال من الوزارة و استدعى لها الوزير ابو منصور مفلح الفاتكى و كان غائبا في الجبال الوزارة و استدعى لها الوزير ابو منصور مفلح الفاتكى و كان غائبا في الجبال

## وزارة مفلح الفاتكى

امّا جنسه فبطن من الحبشة يقال امم سحرت و كان يكنى ابا المنصور و منصور ولد له و كان منصور هذا رشيدا من الاعيان اهل الخبرة و الفقه و الأدب و الصباحة و الشجاعة و السماحة و الرياسة الكاملة و كان الناس يقولون لوكان له نسب من قريش كملت له شروط الخلافة و كان عبيد فاتك و هم ينبزون مفلحا بالبغل فكان يقال له مفلم البغل و لا يغضب من فالك و حدثنى كاتبه حمير بن اسعد قال انّما سمّى البغل لانه كان يدلى آلة مثل التي يدليها البغل و كان مع فالك عفيف الذيل لم يعلم له صبوة في صغر و لا كبر قال حمير ولقد فاكر يوما من عفاقه انه دعاني وهو وزير فقال مذ كان تنكّد على العيش اذكر يوما من عفاقه انه دعاني وهو وزير فقال مذ كان تنكّد على العيش

بسبب ما اسمعه كل حين من غنآء وردة جارية الممير عثمان الغزّى و يوصف 1 لبي من جمالها و لـقد اسندت على ابواب الحيلة فـي حصولها عندى قلت ان كنت تريدها سفاحا بذلت وسعى في خدمة الوزير فقال والله ما عصيت الله تعالى بفرجي منذ خلقت قلت فبكم يشتريها الوزير قال بكلُّ ما يقترح مولاها وكان مولاها اماما $^{2}$ جليلًا كبير القدر له وجاهة و منزلة في الدولة ثم هو مقدم الغرّر الذين استدعاهم الملك جيّاش الجارية "سبا بن احمد الصليحي وعثمان هذا اميرهم و شيخهم وهم اربعمائة فارس رماة وبهم امتنعت دولة الحبشة عن العرب و كان الملك جيَّاش استدعى منهم ثلاثة الاف قوس فلما فصلت عن مكة منهم الفان الى زبيد ندم جياش على رايه وعلم انهم يخرجونه من البلاد ويستولون عليها فتقدّم جياش على ولاية 4 الذين أسرهم على الغرّر بمكة عليهم الي أن يطرحوا لهم السموم فيما ياكلونه ويشربون ويلبسون فمات منهم بشركثير وخلص منهم الى زبيد الف فارس او دونها فجهز منهم خمسمائة الى الجبال ففتحوا منها منا <sup>6</sup> وطي الحافر و لما حصلوا في بول <sup>7</sup> صنعا دسّ عليهم جيّاش من قتلهم بالسمّ و مزق كلمتهم بالحروب و الاموال ً و بقيت عنده بتهامة اربعمائية و خمسون فارسا فاقطعهم من واسع الاعمال الي واد يقال لم ذوال و رعيته على و الاشاعر و عرضه يوم و طوله من البجبل الى البحر يومان او دونهما و بينه وبين مدينة زبيد يـوم واحد ولم يزل الغنر يستأدون خراج هذا الوادى من سنة ست و ثمانين

<sup>?</sup> عليهم الى . Om. ؟ ! ممّا :

الكور أ

<sup>?</sup> الاحوالُ

و ما يوصف Khi, و ما

امیرا ,Khi

<sup>?</sup> اهڪاربة 🤚

<sup>1</sup> llekis 1

و اربعهائة الى سنة اربع و عشرين و خمسمائة فاثرت الغرّ و حسنت  $^{1}$ حالهم و تملّکوا و ریاستهم تنتهی الی شاة و الی طیطایس و هذا عثمان ثم مات الاثنان و بقى عثمان هذا والم يبق في الغزّر الله مائة فارس شيوخ و اما اولادهم المولودون بزبيد فلم يفلحوا و لا جاء منهم بأس يتقى و لا معروف يرتجى قال الشيخ حمير بن اسعد كاتب الوزير ففكرت في حيلة اتوصّل بها الى غرضه فوجدتها وهي اني قلت للوزير بأسر ينقض قسمة الاعمال القديمة فان الرجال التي كانت تنفع ماتت و بقیت الاقطاع الجیّدة فی ایدی اولادهم الذین لا ینفعون و تصلّب في ذلك و تقدم على الغاس بالحشود، من الاعمال الى زبيد و \*تنقل يومين الى عملين اخرين3 قال حمير فلما فعل ذلك الوزير ضاق الأمر على جماعة من اكابر الدولة و لا كضيقه على عثمان الغيّري فان اموال الغيّر الذين ماتوا من رفاقته صارت اليه فلما كاد عثمان ان يخرج من زبيد فيمن معه من قومه و يشقّ العصا دخلت اليه $^st$ و شربت عنده و غنّت له وردة و غيرها ممن عنده ولم يكن احد من اهل تهامة يحجب عن حمير لا مغنّية ولا أمّ ولد لان اكثر سرايرهم و مغانیهم من تخریجه و تربیته فی داره و خدم جماعة من ملوك الجبال ثم نزل الى تهامة فاختص بصحبة احمد بن مسعود بن فرج المؤتمن صاحب حيس ثم كتب بعدة للشيخ منّ الله الفاتكي ثم كتب للشيخ ابي منصور مفلم الفاتكي و من عند حمير هذا يبتاع السمّ الذي يقتل به الملوك لنّ لنه اخوة و اعماما في بلاد بكيل

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Khi, بالحشور

كل قوم الى عمل اخرغير عملهم ، Khi

عليه ا

وکانت ریاستهم تنتهی الی Khi, ا ثـلاثـة نفر وهم سـولی و طیطاس وعثمان هذا

و حاشد ينبت $^{1}$  هذا الشجر $^{2}$  في بقعة من الارض لبيت هناك الا $^{8}$ لهم و هي من حصونهم و هم يحتفظون بها كما يحتفظ بالديار المصرية بالشجر الذي فيه دهن البيلسان و اوفي و كلّ من مات من بني نجاح و وزرائهم فمن عند حمير بن اسعد حتى كانوا اذا نادموه قالوا له يا باسنا ً ناكل و نشرب و نحن في حبسك فيضحك و يقول نعم و كان حلو المحاضرة كثير المحفوظات حسن الذادرة كثير البذل في ذات الله و في سبيل المعروف يترسّل بين الماوك من الحبشة فيرقع الخلل و يهون الجلل ثم سكن الكدرا عند القائد اسحق بن مرزوق السحرتي فاكرمه و خلطه بنفسه وبها مات سنة ثلاث و خمسين و قد جاوز السبعين و كان ينزل عندى اذا دخل زبيد و عند غيرى من اصدقائه ولم يكن بها اهله و بهذا السبب يسترسل معى قال حمير فلما اخذت النشوة من عثمان مأخذها قال لى كنت حربصا على لقائك طمعا في صلاح احوالنا صع هذا العبد الطاغي و تركنا على اقطاعنا و املاكفا التي لم يشهدها <sup>6</sup> في ايامه و لا من انعامه قلت نعم مع $^7$  ما فيه من الاعجاب و التكبّر حسن الباطن قريب الرجوع و انا اجتهد في غد أن شا الله تعالى أذا عاد من الصباح على مولانا ان بطل $^{8}$  صنعا عندك و انا اعلم انه اذا أكل طعامك و شرابك $^{0}$ و غنّی له حریمك 10 استحی منك و خجل و عاد عمّا فی نفسه فكان عثمان أن يطير فرحا ولم يصدّق أن الوزير وزيره 11 و أشرت على

قلت له انه مع Khi, فقلت له

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> ان يطيب <sup>8</sup>

هرب شرابك ، Khi

بواريك ,<sup>10</sup> Khi

يزوره ,Khi

الانت الميا

الاّ في ²

<sup>3</sup> Om. الا

البلسان 4

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> يابا سبا <sup>9</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Khi, نستفدها

عثمان أن يتطفّل في الليل على الوزير و يركب الى دارة و يقول ضيف يشتهي أن يتشرّف بالسماع و الشراب فلما أمسي¹ و وصل عثمان الينا اشرت على الوزير ان يخرج المغاني° و الوصائف الساقيات علينا ففعل ذاك و وعدة الوزير انه في غد ضيفه " فحمل الي عثمان  $^{4}$ في تلك الليلة مالا جزيلا و عدنا من الركوب من  $^{6}$  مولانا الي  $^{4}$  دار عثمان فوجدنا اسمطة واسعة عددت في واحد ثلاثون مروفا مشوية و ثلثين جاما من الحلوة و اما الذي جلس عليه الوزير فكان في طول قاعة البستان الذي لعثمان وهي خمسون ذراعا فلما رأي الوزير ذلك امتعص حسدا لعثمان على همّته و سرعة ما تأتى له من تلك الاسمطة و كانت اربعة ثم فرق عثمان على حواشي الوزير \* خمسمائة  $^{6}$ خروف و انهب العسكر تلك الاسمطة و فرق على حواشي الوزير ثلاثة ابهرة سكروهي تسعة قناطير ثم انتقلنا الى مجلس الوزير 7 و كنّا سبعة فلما انصوفوا قلت لعثمان انَّك بهيمة لا عقل لك ارى8 الوزير انما زارك لاكلة او شربة ما اقصر همدك و اعمى بصيرتك قال فدبرني قلت اعرض على ما عندك فذكر النحيل و العدد و الجمال و الالطاف و الذخائر فاظهرت له في كل شيء نقيصة 10 و قبحته عليه قال فما تري قلت انظر هدية لا تخبأ في الخزائن و لا تغيب عن عينه فال المقصود أن يكون 11 يذكرك بهديتك فلما 12 نظر اليها قال ما عندي

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Deest in Khi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Khi, الشراب; see note 84.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Khi, اترى

<sup>9</sup> Khi, الهال

نقصا ,<sup>16</sup> Khi

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Khi, D. يكون

اء Khi, لهلا

<sup>1</sup> Khi, limal

المغنيات 2

ان يكون ضيفه في غد ،Khi

و لما عدنا من الركوب الى Khi، ا دار السلطان سرنا الى دار عثمان

مي قود واحد منها ثلثين Khi. ق

سوی وردة وهی روحی فان كانت تصلح له نزات عنها و ان اموت قلت ان قبلها فهي ممّا تصلح له قال فتحدّث معه فيها فان قبلها فلك عندى الف دينار ثم أمرنا باحضارها عاشرة عشر فقبلن يد الوزير ثم اندفعن يغنّين بين يديه مكشوفات الوجوه و اوصيت الوزير ان يعرض عن وردة و يستحسن غيرها ففعل ذلك صمّا قوى عزيمة مولاها في قبولها منه فلمّا سكر عثمان و نام و سكـر النسوة الّا وردة فائى كنت اريد صحوها قمت الى المستراح فاستدعيت وردة فاعلمتها القصة فقالت لا اغب<sup>2</sup> الله في مولاي فاستدعيت الوزير الي مجلس و دخلت انا و وردة عليه فوعدها و متّاها و هممت بالخروج عنهما فامسكني و قال لي والله لا يكون هذا ابدًا ثم عدنا جميعا الي المجلس و والله ما ملاً عينه منها و لا مكَّنها يده 3 عند السلام فلما صحا مولاها استاذناه في الخروج و كان<sup>4</sup> عند العشاء الاخرة فلم تخرج الّا و وردة بين ايدينا فاصّا عثمان فاصحت فاعدت عليه الالف الدينار التي كان دفعها الى و سألته في ضيعة ذوال و امّا الوزير فاحضرني ليلة و خلع على و قال أن بنتك وردة اقسمت على لا دنوت منها حتى ترضى حمير فما الذي يرضيك قلت ضيعة العبادي بما فيها من زروع و ما لها<sup>6</sup> من ابقار فوقّع لي بها و هي الضيعة التي لا ضيعة على $^7$  مالكها و نعو $^6$  الى اخبار الوزير مفلم فمنها ما حدثنى به الشيخ \* ابو الطامى جياش بن اسمعيل ابن البوقا 8 قال قدم علينا الى

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Khi, فلما اصبح الخ; see note 85.

هَا فيها , Khi

على من ,Khi

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Deest in Khi.

ولو اتى Khi, ولو ا

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> ارغب <sup>2</sup>

من تقبيل يده ،Khi

کان ذلك Khi, کان

زبيد في اوّل وزارة الشيخ القائد مفلح ابو المعالى بن الحلما صلى الديار المصرية فابتاع وصيفا حبشيا برسم الخدمة ثم هرب الوصيف بسبب غلامة بيتين من الشعر هما

و عاقته عن سقياى احد عوائقه أ فلا تَدُنُ مِنِّى صحرقات صواعقه أ و انت سحاب طبق الارض صوبه فان اـم تُجُدَّنی هـاطـلات غمامه

فلمّا وقف مفلح على البيتين عثر بهما و تنبّه على فضل ابى المعالى و استدعى الغلام فردّه اليه خامس خمسة من جنسه ثم استدعى ابا المعالى و امرة ان يمدح الوزير بقصيدة ففعل ذلك ثم احضرة اليه حتى انشدة و دفع له خمسمائة دينار و وصله ايضا منصور بن مفلح من عندة بثلثمائة دينار ثوابا على قصيدة اخرى مدحه يها و حمله الى مكّة حرسها الله تعالى و امّا احوال مفلح مع العسكر فان قصر الملك فاتك بن منصور نشأت به رجال من عبيد الحرّة الملكة أمّ فاتك بن منصور و هم صواب و ريحان و يمن و عزر و ريحان الاكبر هؤلا الازمة اعيان اكابر و من الفحول اقبال و مسرور و دارة و سرور و هو امير الفريقين مكانة و عنى آ و كان هؤلا الجماعة هم الذين يتكلمون على لسان السلطان و صار الوزير في امور السلطان و الراجل ثم دبروا حيلة يخرجون المحرّة و استمالوا كثيرا من الفارس و الراجل ثم دبروا حيلة يخرجون بيا مفلحا من زبيد فقال لهم سرور ما عندكم حيلة احسن من المخاطبة على حيّ مولاتنا الى مكّة و تجهيزها بثلاثين الف دينار فلمّا

<sup>5</sup> Khi and D., عنبر

اقبال و برهان و سرور و داره Khi, آ

غنا ,Khi

<sup>\*</sup> aikl...!! ?

الحياب .D

<sup>;</sup> فهرب الوصيف وتعلق السخ Khi,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Khi, العوائق [see note 86.

الصواعق ,Khi

ارسلوا اليه في ذلك المقنع و قال صرف المال الي العداء الدولة اولى من هذه الخرافات و لمولانفا بالمغزل و لنرومها كسر بيتها شغل شاغل $^{2}$ ولم يزالوا يراجعون في ذلك الى ان قال مولاتنا الى غير هذا محتاجة فانظروا لها فيم فانه يسليها قالوا و ما هو قال شيء في طول هذا وقبض كفّه و مدّ ذراعه فحدث في النفوس من هذه الكلمة شرّ لم يستدركه مفلم الا بالأذن لها في التحمِّ و تجهزها " بثلاثين الف دينار و تسيير ولده منصور معها الى مكّة ثم كان من تدبير سرور على خروج مفلم تسییره الی عدن لمحاربة سبأ بن ابی السعود و علی بن ابی الغارت الزريعيين فلما خرج مفلح من زبيد على ليلة ثار محمد بن فانك من زبيد على الحرّة و ولدها فقضى ذلك برجوع مفلم الى زىيد ثم دبر سرور على خروج مفلح انه كاتب عرب الزعلى و العمراني بالاتفاق على اعمال المهجم و فيها يومئذ القايد مسعود الزيدى وهي من زبيد على المهجم وهي من زبيد على ثلاثة ايام 6 فما هو الا أن خرج مفلح من زبيد مسير ليلة من البلد حتى تسلل الناس عنه و رجعوا الـي المدينة و بقى فـي خاصةً ً و توجه الى جبال برع و ملك حصن المكرشة 8 و رواح ° تهامة و غاداها بالغارات و عبيد فاتك تقابله 10 بالمراكسر \* و الاسوال 11 ثم انتقل من الحص و ترك به حريمه $^{12}$  الى عرب المهجم وهم بنو مشغل $^{13}$ 

<sup>7</sup> Khi, خاصته

الكرش ,Khi

راَوح ،Khi

يقاتله ,<sup>10</sup> Khi

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Deest in Khi.

و سار ,Khi <sup>12</sup>

في محاربة ,Khi

عن الحر Khi, عن الحر

تجهيزها ,Khi

بن جياش ,Khi

سرور الكرىدى Khi, سرور الكرىدى

من الناحية الشمالية ,Khi

<sup>18</sup> Khi, Jema

و عمران و زعل و هم الفرسان و الأبجاد فاسكنوه حصنا لهم يقال له دبسان وبينة وبين المُبْجِم نصف يـوم او دونة \* فشنّ الغارات على اعمال المنجم<sup>1</sup> ثم كاتب اللمير الشريف غانم بن يحيى السليماني ثم المحسنى وهو يومئذ ملك مخلاف بن طرف² و اشترط مفلم للشريف و لبنى عمّه اسقاط الاتاوة عنهم المستقرّة لصاحب زبيد على غانم في كل سنة و مبلغها ستون الفا<sup>3</sup> و ان يضيف لهم مفلم الى ذلك اعمال الواديين وهي واسعة فسار الشريف في الف فارس و عشرة الاف راجل ناصرا لمفلح على اهل زبيد فلقيهم القائد سرور فكسر مفلحا وكسر الاشراف وكسر العرب على <sup>المهج</sup>م و خرج الية من زبين و هو مقيم بالمهجم تقليد باعمال المهجم و ما معها من الاعمال وهو مور و الواديان فاستفرّ سرور فيها وعاد مفلح الى حص الكرش فمات بها سنة تسع و عشرين و خمسمائة فاما 4 واده منصور بعد ابيه فناوشهم حربا و اذاقهم من الشرّ ضروبا ثم خذنه اصحابه و تقللوا أ عنه و سأم الذاس عض الحديد و فراق الاوطان فاستأمن على منصور و انزل في دار ابية فلما كان من الغد قبض علية و قتل ليلا بدار الوزير اقبال  $^{\circ}$ فانكر الملك فاتك $^{\circ}$  ذلك وهمّ باقبال $^{\circ}$  ثـم ابقا $^{\circ}$  على دخن قال لى حمير بن اسعد فابتاع منى رسول الوزير اتبال سمّا والله ما علمت لمن هو و تلطَّف اقبال حتى سقى مولاه فاتكا ولد الحبرَّة ذلك السمَّ فمات فاتك بن منصور في شعبان<sup>10</sup> قالت وردة جارية الوزير مفلم

على يد القائد سرور و دخل Khi، همه زبيد و الوزير يومئذ اقبال <sup>فخلع</sup>

على منصور و انزله] بيد ,Khi

و القائد سرور J. و

بالوزير اقبال ،Khi °

سنة ا<sup>۱۸</sup> J. ما

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> D. in Khi.

صاحب مخلاف سليمان بن Khi, طرف طرف

ستون الف دينار, Khi 3

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>غ</sup>خلفه ,Khi

تفللوا ,Khi <sup>5</sup>

و لما مات مولاي في الجبال جحصن الكرش او مكرشة خطبني الوزير اقبال و القايد سرور و القايد اسحق بن صرزوق و القايد على بن مسعود صاحب حيس فوعدت رسول كل واحد منهم وعدا جميلا و شاورت مولای منصور بن مولای مفلم فی رسائل القوم فاشار سرور و قال استظهري بمشورة الشيخ حمير بن اسعد قالت فاستدعيته من تهامة الى الجبال فقال المّا عليّ بن مسعود فعنده تسعون سريّة و اربع زوجات و امّا اقبال فعنده عشرون مغنّية ثم هو عند ناحر و تربية التجار و نجلها منصور بين عينيه الى هذه الغاية و امّا القائد اسحق بن مرزوق فعنده ابنة عويد أمّ ولدة فرج و عندة ابنة عمّة احدولا والله ما تمشى بارض تهاءة مثلها ولكنمي اشير عليك بالقائد ابي محمد سرور الفاتكي فانة واسع المقمه° ثم هو تربية الملك فاتك بن منصور و تربية مولاتنا أمّ فاتك بن منصور قالت فتسزوجني القايد ابو محمد سرور الفاتكي فوجدت 4 رجلا مشغولا عن الدنيا و عن النساء و التنعم بالنظر في معالى الامور فلم ازل به حتى حللته $^{5}$  و تدرّجت في عشرته حتى ملكته فكان على خشونته و يبسه و هيبته و انقباض جواريه منه لا يخالفني فيما أراه و اذا غضبت عليه كاد ان يفارق المحيوة و دليل ذاك ما حدثني به الشيخ مسلم بن يشجب وزير الامير الشريف غانم بن يحيي الحسنى قال قدمت من بلادي رسولا الى القائد سرور الفاتكي في عقد هدنة بيننا و بينة فقال لي وزيرة عبيد بن بحرايت قدوسك تقدّم او تأخّر فانّك صادفت القائد مشغولا خاطره فاقمت يومين او ثلاثة ايام و لما لم اجتمع بالقايد قدم علينا حمير بن اسعد فقال

لى عبيد بن بحر وزير القايد سرور الآن انحلّت عقدتك بعد قدوم حمير قلت فكيف ذلك قال ان أم عمرو وردة ساخطة عليه و اقسمت لا تكامه و لا تأنن له في الدخول عليها حتى يأتي ابوها و هو الشيخ حمير بن اسعد قال مسلم و لما كان في تلك الليلة دعينا الى صجلس فيه شراب و غناء وطيب فجلسنا و اذا القايد قد طلع علينا فسلمنا عليه ثم سمعنا من خلف الستارة جلبة و جرس حلى لم يكن و اذا هي وردة اصلح حمير بينها و بين القائد فجاءت لتغلّي له فوقع في قلبي من تعجيز القايد سرور وضعف عزيمته بعض ما يقع فكانه توحى بما في نفسي فاقترح عليها قول الشاعر

نحن قوم تذيبنا الحدق النجل مع انّنا نذيب الحديد

و من عبيد فاتك من جعلت ذكرة ختامهم و أخرته و ان كان المامهم و هو القايد الاجلّ ايو محمد سرور المحرة الفاتكي و جنسه من الحبشة المحرة و كلمّا اوردة عنه نقطة من بحر فضله فمن مبادى امرة ان منصور بن فاتك لما قتل الوزير انيسا و ابتاع من ورثته الحرّة الصالحة حرّة زبيد الحاجّة و استولدها ولدا سمّاة فاتكا بن منصور ابتاعت لوادها من الحبشة وصفانا صغارا كان هذا سرور احدهم و ربّي ابتاعت لوادها ولم يلبث أن ترعرع و برغ و ولته زمّ المماليك و صوفت في حجرها ولم يلبث أن ترعرع و برغ و ولته زمّ المماليك و صوفت اليه الرياسة على كلّ من في انقصر فساد و سدد و ليّن و شدّد ثم ولي العرافة على طأمة من الجند فملكم بالاحسان و الصفح عنهم ثم ترقت به الحال الى ان ولى الخطابة بين السلطان و بين الوزاء ترقت به الحال الى ان ولى الخطابة بين السلطان و بين الوزاء

الينراسل .proh ; التنرسل .<sup>1</sup>

الكابر و استغفى به عن الازمّة و كان النرمام الناظر ُ يو، لمَذ هو و ُ الشييرِ صواب و كان يميل الى الدين و التخلّي للعبادة فاذا عوتب على  $^4$  فالک قال القائد ابو محمد سرور و هو $^6$  صاحب الامر و اانهی علی و على مولاتفا و ليس مخرج عن امرة و هو اهل أن يتقلَّد امور الذلس في الـثواب و العقاب و الحمَّل و العقد و ترقت اليحال بسرور حتی اخرج الوزیر مفلم من زبید و لم یزل سرور یحارب مفلحا حتی مات مفلح في الجبال بعد ان جرت بينهم وقايم يموت في كل واحدة منها العدد الكثير من الفريقين و كانت العاقبة و الدولـة 6 لسرور و حدثني الشيخ عبد، المحسن بن اسمعيل و كان كاتب القائد سرور و وزيره  $^7$  قال اذكر و قد سار الامدر الشريف غانم بن يحديي المحسني في نصرة الوزير مفلح على سرور و مع غانم الف فارس و من الرجال عشرة الاف و انضاف ذلك الى عسكر مفلح و انضمت اليهما من العرب بنو اسمعيل و هم احلاس النحيل و فرسان الليل و بنو عمران و بنو زعل و بنو حرام و الحكميون في ضموم و زحفوا الينا و نحن في عدد كثير $^{10}$  و قد كتب القائد سرور الى اهل زىيد يستنف الغاس و كانت الوقعة على المهجم أو بعدها من زبيد ثلاثة ايام قال فقلت للقائد انّ هذا تهور و انّما نحن في هؤلاء كقطرة في اليمّ او لقمة في الفم فقال امسك عليك فوالله ان الموت عندى اهون

<sup>6</sup> Khi, D. و الدولة

و وزيره .Khi, D

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>\*</sup> Khi, مشعل

<sup>?</sup> جموع 🤚

يسير ,<sup>10</sup> Khi

زمام الدار .J. <sup>1</sup>

هو و .J. om و J. om و و .Khi

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> J. and Khi om.

و عليكم و على J. and Khi, و عليكم

و ليس شي Khi, و

بالمهجـم Khi, بالمهجـم

من البزيمة ثم التقى الناس فكانت الدائرة على مفلم و غانم و من معيماً و تضاعف حظ أ القايد سرور في نفس الموالف و المخالف و قبل ذلك ما كان من خروج الوزير مفلح طالبا لعدن الى ان حصل من زبید علی نصف مرحلة و ثار محمد بن فاتك بن جیاش فی زبید حین خلت من العسکر و ملك² هذا ∞حمد بن فاتك دار الامارة° و وقف الـقتراء بين يدية ففاضت البلد عليه بالتهنية و وزيره منصور بن الوزير منّ الله الفاتكي واستعصمت الحـرّة و ولدها بعلو الدار و نمى النحبر الى القايد سرور و هو في ساقة العسكر فانثني راجعا و تسوّر الحيص، و دخل المدينة و نادي الى مولاته من خلف دار الملك ارموا الى الحبل انا فلان و رفعه الاستاذين و النساء بالحبال حتى وصل الى مولاته فسلم عليها و سكّن روعها وقال هذه العساكر خلفی متراصلة ثم اخذ مائة جارية و خمسين استاذا فالبسهم زتّ الرجال من الدروع والسلاح و فدّح الطبيقان 4 و صاح الجميع صيحة واحدة يا فاتك بن منصور هذا و محمد بن فاتك جالس على سرير تحت طیقان الدار و ان⁵ القائد رمی بحجر فلم یخط وجه ∞حمد بن فاتك فهشمت وجهه عند تلك الصيحة العظيمة فانهزم هو و وزيرة في تلك الساعة و من معهما و خرجوا من باب البلد ليلا ولم يصل العسكر الى البلد الَّا في الظهر من صبيحة تلك الليلة فهذه بعض المقدّمات الموجبة لتقدّم سرور على كافة أهل الدولة ثم ولي المهجم و هو کرسی ملك كبير ثم تشاعب العرب و بنو عمران و بنو زعل

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Khi, كيا

الطبقات ,Khi

خطر ,Khi خطر

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Khi, عاز

تم رماه Khi, ثم رماه

و تشاعب الحكميّة و تشاعب الأمير غانم بن يحيى الحسني و دولته ظاهرة و كان هذا القائد مقيما في زبيد من هلال ذي القعدة الي آخر يوم من شعبان ثم يخرج من زبيد فيصوم رعضان في المهجم و يصليم احوال تلك الاعمال و تتسع نفقائه و صلاته في شهر رمضان حتى قال لى الشيخ عبيد بن بحر وزيرة كانت وظيفة مطبخه مدّة شهر رمضان في كل يوم الف دينار و كنت اشاهده عدّة سنين اذا جاء من المهجم يربد زبيد احتفل الذاس بالخروج للقائة على اختلاف طبقاتهم و يقف الناس على تلُّ عال فاول طائفة تسلُّم عليه الفقها المالكيه و الحنفية و الشافعية و كان يترجّل لهم و لا يترجّل لاحد قبلهم و لا بعدهم ثم ينصرفون و يجيء بعدهم التجار فاذا انصرفوا جاءت العسكرية افواجا و اذا دخل المدينة و قضى حتّى السلام على السلطان مضى الى دار مولاته الحرّة فاذا دخل عليها انفضّ الناس من عندها الصغير و الكبير و لا يبقى عندها الله غزال جاريتها وهي أخت زوجته و جاريتا مولاها منصور بن فاتلك و هؤلاء النسوة يمشين في النحير على منوالها و يتشبهن في الصلاح بافعالها فاذا وصل اليها نـزلت عن سريرها اكراما له منها و تبجيلا $^{1}$  لقدره و قالت له انت يايا صحمّد وزيرنا بل مولانا بل رجلنا الذي لا يحلّ لنا ان نخرج عن طاعتك في شيء فيض بالبكاءبين يديها و يعفر خدّه بالارض الي ان تتولَّى رفعه بيدها عن الارض ثم تستأخر النسوة 2 في طرف المجلس غير بعيد بحيث يفضى اليها بما حسن عندة أن يفعله من التدبير في تلك السنة من ولاية و عزل و انعام  $^{3}$  لا يزال جالسا بين

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> J. الثلاث النسوة J. الثلاث النسوة <sup>1</sup> J. عجليلا و قتل ثم Blank in MS., Khi, و

يديها و النسوة الثلاث واقفة على راسة حتى يقوم الى صلوة الظهر فيعود الى مسجدة و هو على باب دارة فيجدة لا يتبع من كثرة الناس الذين لا يستطيعون المخروج في لقائه

#### فصل فيما شاهدت بخط كتابه

رايت جريدة الصدقات التي يدفعياً عند دخوله الى زبيد للفقهاء و القضاة و المتصدرين في المحديث و النحو و اللغة و علم الكلام و الفروع اثمنى عشر الدف قلى كلّ سنة خارج عن صلة العسكرية مع كثرتهم و حكا لى عبيد بن بحر وغيرة ان الهدايا التي يدفعها في كلّ سنة برسم حواشي السلطان من الجهات و الازمّة و وصفان المخاص عشرون الف دينار هذه وصلة خارجة عن ارزاقهم المستقرة و حدث في غيرهم ان المحمول من اعماله الى بيت ماله في في كلّ سنة ستّون الف دينار و ان المحمول الى بيت مولاته الحرة و حواشيها و ترايبها و من يهون بيا على جهة الهدية خمسة عشر الف دينار

فصل كان القائد ابو محمد سرور الفاتكى رحمه الله يخرج الى مسجدة بعد نصف الليل او ثلثه و كان اعلم الناس جميعا بالمنازل \* و بالانوا أو يقول انا الخرج في هذا الوقت لعل احدا من اهل البيوتات و ارباب الستر لا يقدرون على الوصول الى عندى بالنهار اما لكثرة الناس او لفرط الحياء فاذا صلى الصبح ركب اما الى فقية يزورة او مريض يعودة او صبحة وميت يحضرها الو وليمة او عقد نكاح 11

اثني Khi, خمسة J. خمسة

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Om. J.

<sup>8</sup> J. and Khi, انها

و ميت J. and Khi, او ميت

یحضر دفنه ,<sup>10</sup> Khi

الصدقة المعتاد ,Khi

و المدرسين و المفتينين J.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Khi, دينار

المستمرة ١٠٠٠

<sup>5</sup> Khi, مولاه

یـشـهـده .J

و ما يخصّ بذلك اكابر الجند و العلماء و التجار دون اصاغرهم بل من دعاه اجابه و كان المتظلم من الرعية يجفو عليه ويفحش له في القول وهو آمن من حميته  $^{1}$  و عزه  $^{2}$  و غضبه و كان يدعي الى  $^{1}$ حاكم  $^{3}$ فيحضر ولا يوكّل \* و يقعد بين يدى الحاكم تواضعا \* لا وضاعة 5 و دخولا الوامر الشرع تحت الطاعة "ثم \* يعود بعد ركوبه بالغدات فيسلّم على السلطان و يستعمل الاشتغال بتدبير الاصور العسكرية الي وقت الغدا ثم م يبخرج الى المسجد في فروال الظل فلا يشتغل بشيء سوى المسندات الصحيحة عن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم الى صلة العصر ثم يدخل داره و يخرج قبل المغرب الى المسجد فاذا صلى المغرب تناظر الفقها بين يديه الي<sup>9</sup> العشا الاخرة و ربّما تطول المناظرة في بعض الليالي و ركب حمارا و أخذ وصيفا واحدا بين يديه حتى يجتمع بالحرّة الملكة للمشورة و لم يزل هذه حاله من سنة تسع و عشرين و خمسمائة الى ان قتل في مسجده هذه رحمه الله بزبيد  $^{10}$ في الركعة الثالثة من صلاة العصر يوم الجمعة الثاني عشر من رجب قتله رجل يقال له مجرم من اصحاب على بن مهدى ثم قتل قاتله في تلك العشية بعد ان قتل جماعة صن الناس ولم تلبث الدولة بعد قتله الا يسيرا حقيى ازالها على بن مهدى و ملك زبید و اعمالها فـی سنة اربـع و خمسین و خمسمائه و عـلـی $^{11}$ 

في اوّل زوال Khi, في اوّل

وقت صاوة ,Khi ا

من سنة J. and Khi, وور من سنة ا

<sup>11</sup> Om. Je?

<sup>1</sup> J. and Khi om. حميته و

<sup>2</sup> Khi, aija

و متى استدعى الى <sup>مج</sup>لس الحاكم .آ. <sup>\*</sup>

ڪما يفعل للجبابرة و ان کانـوا .J. ا اصاغـر

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Deest in J. and Khi,

ليقتدي به سواه . آ. "

اذكر على بن مهدى باليمن هذا فصل اشير فيه الى جمل من بدايته و غايته

### ذکر خروج علیّ بن مهدی بالیمن

امّا نسبه فمن حمير و امّا اسمه فعليّ بن مهدى من أهل قـريــة يقال لها العنبرة من سواحل زبيد كان ابوة رجلا صالحا سليم القلب  $^{1}$ و نشأ ولده علىّ بن مهدى هذا على طريقة ابيه في العزلة و التمسّك  $^{1}$ و الصلاح ثم حمّم و زار و لقى حاجّ العراق و علماءها و وتماظها و تضلّع من معارفهم \* و عاد الى اليمن فاعتزل مو اظهر الوعظ و اطلاق التحذير من صحبة العسكرية و كان فصيحا صبيحا اخضر اللون ملوّم الخدين الحي طويل القامة مخروط الجسم بين عينيه سجّادة 4 حسن الصوت طيب النغمة حلو الايران غزير المحفوظات قائما بالوعظ و التفسير و طريقة الصوفية أ اتم قيام و كان ينحدت بشيء من احوالم المستقبلات فيصدق فكان ذلك من أقوى عددة في استمالة قلوب العالم وظهر امره بساحل زبيد بقربه العنبرة وقرية واسطو قرية القصب " و الاهواب و المعدمي \* و ساحل الفاره 7 و كان ينتقل منها و كانت عبرته لا ترقى<sup>8</sup> على ممرّ الاوقات و كنت يومئذ منقطعا اليه ملازما له في اكثر الاوقات مدّة سنة ثم علم والدي اني تركت التفقه ولنرءت طريقة النسك فجاء من بلدة مسافرا حتى احذني من عنده و اعادني الي المدرسة بزبيد و كنت ازوره في كل شهر زورة

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> J. and Khi, سجدة

<sup>5</sup> Khi, لتصوف

القضيب والاهواب و المعملي . آ. 6

<sup>7</sup> Deest, J. and Khi.

بالعبادة ,Khi

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Deest in Khi.

الملوك و حــواشيـهـم ،J. and Khi . وكان ظهوره في سمة ٥٣١

<sup>?</sup> لترقى read ; لاترقى Khi،

فلما استفحل أمرة انقطعت عنه خوفا من أهل زبید ولم یزل من سنة احدی و ثلثین یعظ الناس فی البوادی فافا دنا موسم مكة خرج حاجًا علی نجیب الی سنة ست و ثلثین ثم اطلقت الحرّة أمّ فاتك بن منصور له و لاخوته و لاصهاره ثم لمن یلوف به خراج املاکهم فلم یمض بهم هنیّة حتی اثروا و اتسعت بهم الحال و رکبوا النجیل فكانا كما قال المتنبی

# فكانمًا نتجت قياما تحقهم وكانمًا ولدوا على صبواتها

ثم أتى بقوم من اهل الجبال حالفوه على النصرة فخرج اليهم سنة ثمان و ثلثين و جمع جموعا تبلغ اربعين الفا و قصد يهم مدينة الكدرا فلقاه المقائد استحق بن مرزوق السحرتى فى قومه فهزموا اصحابه و قتلوا خلقا من جموعه و عفوا عن اكثرهم و عاد ابن مهدى الى الجبال فاقام بيا شنة احدى و اربعين ثم كاتب الى زبيد و سأليا فى ذمة لمه و لمن يلوذ به ويعود الى وطنه ففعلت الحرقة لمه ذاك على كره من أهل دولتها و من فقهاء عصرها ليقضى الله اصرا كان مفعولا و اقام على بن مهدى يشتغل املاكه عدة سنين وهى مطلقة من الخراج و اجتمع لمه من ذلك مال جزيل و كان يقول فى وعظم ايها الناس دنا الوقت أزف الأمر كانكم بما اقرل لكم و قد رايتموه عيانا فما هو الا ان ماتت الحرة فى سنة خمس و اربعين حتى اصبح عيانا فما هو الا ان ماتت الحرة فى سنة خمس و اربعين حتى اصبح فى الجبال فى موضع \* يقال له الشرف من بلد خولان ثم ارتفع منه الى حصن يقال له الشرف وهو لبطن من خولان يقال اهم بنو حيوان

<sup>?</sup> فكانسوا <sup>1</sup> مروان Khi, الله عليها التي سنة J. and Khi. <sup>4</sup>

بالسكان اليا أو سمّاهم الانتصار و سمّى كلّ من صعد من تهامة المهاجرين ثم ساءطنَّه بكلُّ احد ممن هو في صحبته خوفا منهم على نفسه فاقام للانصار رجلا من خولان يسمّى سبا بن يوسف و كذاه بشيئ الاسلام و للمهاجرين رجلا" يسمّى الدودي تعته ايضا بشيئ الاسلام و جعلهما نقيبين على الطائفتين فلا يخاطبه و لا يصل اليه سواهما و ربمًا احتجب فلا يرونه و هم يقصرّفون في الغنزو فلم يزل يغادى الغارات و يىراوحها على اهل تهاءة حتّى اخرب التحدود. ً المصاقبه للجيال و الحيشة يومئذ تنعش بالاموال في المراكنر فلا يغذون شئا لوجوه كثيرة منها أن الموضع الذي هو حصن الشرف حصن منيع بنفسه و بكثرة خولان و منها ان الانسان اذا أراد ان يصل الى حصن الشرف مشى في والا ضيق بين جبلين مسافة يوم كامل او بعض يوم فاذا وصل الى أصل الجبل الذي فيه الحصن احتاج في طلوع النقيل الى نصف يـوم حتى يقطع العقبة و منها ان الوادى يتصل مسيله من تهامة بخراج تطيمة اذا كمنت فيها الجيوش العظيمة الجرّارة شهرًا لـم يعلم بها احد و كانت غوازي ابن مهدى اذا غارت على بعض اعمال تهامة و نهبت و احرقت <sup>8</sup> و ادركها الفجر تعدل الي البجبال الذي في الوادى الذي فيه النحواج فمكثت° فيه فلا يوصل اليها و لا يقدر عليها و لم يزل ذلك من فعله مع اهل زبيد الى ان

<sup>4</sup> Khi, الثومي ; I. Wardi II., 61

التويتي] لحواز ,Khi ق

آ Khi, تبعث الابذال

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Khi, بشقاب

اخربت ،Khi

<sup>ُ</sup> كَمِنت في بعض تلك الشعاب ،Khi

يقال لـ الداشر لبث به مدة ثم J. أ ارتفع عنه الى حصن يقال له الشرف لبطن من خولان يقال ا-هـم حيوان حالفهم وسماهم Khi, محمد

من العمرانييين Khi. العمرانييين

أخلى جميع اهل البوادى و قطع الحريث و القوافل و كان يأمر اصحابه أن يسوقوا الانعام و الرقيق و ما عجز عن المسير عقرود ففعلوا من ذلك ما ارغب و ارهب و قضى بخراب الاعمال ثم لقيت هذا على بن مهدى عند الداعى صحمد بن سبا صاحب عدن بمدينة ذي جبلة سنة تسع و اربعين يستنجده على اهل زبيد فلم يحبه الداعى الى ذلك و عرض صحبته و عقد لى ان يقدّمني على كل احد من اصحابه و الما عاد ابن مهدى من ذى جبلة سنة تسع الى حصن الشرف دبير على القائد سرور الفاتكي فقتل في رجب سنة احدى و خمسين و خمسمائة و كان ممن أعان ابن مهدى على اهل زبيد اشتغال روسائها بالتنافس و التحاسد على رتبة 4 القايد سرور و فقيم على الدولة ً بعده ابواب الشرّ المسدود و انحلّ عقدها المشدود و فارق ابن مهدى حص الشرف و هبط الى الداشر بينة و بين زبيد اقلّ من نصف يوم و تقرّب الرعايا اليه و عرب البلاد هم ً كانوا رعايا الحبشة و كان الرجل من اصحاب ابن مهدى يلقى اخاه او قریبه وهو منع الحبشة اتما صزارع و اتما جمّال و اتما راعی ماشیة اهم فيفسدوه ولم يزل الأمر كذلك حتى زحف ابن مهدى لهم الى باب المدينة في عوالم لا تحصى وحدثني غير واحد من اهل اليمن ممن ادركه الحصار بزبيد قالوا لم تصبر أمّة على الحصار و القدّال ما صبر أشل زبيد و ذاك انهم قاتلوا ابن مهدى اثنين و سبعين

هم الذين Khi, هم

<sup>7</sup> Khi, مهن

ادرك Khi, ادرك

<sup>&</sup>quot; Khi, ade

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Khi, قالی ا

و اربعین Khi, و اربعین

على قتل ,Khi

مرتبة ،Khi ا

على اهل الدولة ,Khi

زحفا يقتل منهم ما يقتل و نالهم الجوع حتى اكلوا الميتة من شدّة الجهد و البلاء ثم استنجدوا بالشريف الزيدي ثم الرسي احمد بن سليمان أصاحب صعدة فانجدهم طمعا في الملك و شرطوا له ان يملكوه عليهم فقال لهم الشريف أن تقتلوا مولاكم فأتكا حلفت لكم فوثب عبید فاتك مرجان بن نجاح و مرجان مولى مرجان و مرجان مولى ابى عبد الله الحسين ابن سلامة و الحسين ابن سلامة مولي رشد النرمام و رشد مولي \* زياد ابن ابرهيم بن ابي الجيش  $^{6}$ اسحتی بن محمد بن $^{5}$  ابرهیم بن عبد الله ابن $^{6}$  زیاد فقتلو $^{5}$  فی شهور سنة ثلاث و خمسين ثم عجر الشريف عن نصرهم على ابن مهدى و جرت بینهم بعد ذلك و بین ابن مهدی مصافات یتحصنون منه بالمدينة الى ان كان فتحه لها و زوال دولتهم و استقراره بدار الملك في يوم الجمعة الرابع عشر من رجب سنة اربع و خمسين و خمسمائة و اقام على بن مهدى بقية رجب و شعبان و رمضان و مات في شوّال من السنة فكانت مدّة ملكة شهريس و احدا و عشرين يوما ثم انتقل الامرالي ولدة المهدى ثم الى ولدة عبد النبي و خلع ثم الى ولدة عبد الله ثم عادت الى عبد النبي كرَّة ثانية و الأُمر اليوم في اليمن بأسرة الية ما عدا عدن فان اهلها هادنوة عليها بمال في كلّ سنة و اجتمع لهذا عبد النبي ملك الجبال و التهايم و انتقل اليه ملك جميع ملوك اليمن و فخايرها و حدثني محمد بن على من اهل ذي جبلة انه حصل في خزائن ابن مهدي ملك خمس

زیاد بن ابرهیم بن Om.

<sup>?</sup> محمد بن .Om

ا برهبم بن محمد بن زباد Read

الهروى Khi. ا

<sup>?</sup> على مولاهم وهم عبيد فاتك 2

و نجاح Read

و عشرين دولة من دول اهل اليمن فمنها اموال أهل زبيد و ما من عبيد فاتك و جهاته و اعيان دولته الا من مات عن اموال جليلة من العين جزيلة 1 لاتم ملك الذراري و النساء فاظهروا له كنوز ، واليهم و كذلك المصوغ و اللؤاؤ و الجوهر و اليواقيت الفاخرة و الملابس الجليلة على اختلاف اصنافها وكانوا كما قال الله تعالى كم تركوا من جدَّاتٍ و عيونٍ وزروعٍ و مقام ٍكريم و نعمةٍ كانوا فيها فاكهين كذلك و اورثناها قومًا اخرين و انتقل اليهم ملك بني سليمان الشرفا و انتقل اليهم ملك بني وايل سلاطين وحاظة وهم أهل دولة متاتَّلة و كذلك معاقل من \* بقى من 2 بنى الصليحي كلّ معقل منها له اعمال واسعة و الارتفاعات الكثيرة فامّا ملك الملك منصور بن المفضّل بن ابي البركات ابن الوايد الحميري فانه حان جميع حصونه وهي ما هي و جميع ذخائره و انمّا هي جميع ذخائر الداعي عليّ بن محمد الصليحيي و ذخائر المكرّم عليّ ° بن عليّ زوج البحرّة الملكة السيدة و ذخائر التحرّة الملكة زوجته و ذلك ان التحميع انتقل الى الحرّة و اودعته في حص التعكر و تغلّب عليه المفضّل بن ابي البركات و على ما فيه و انتقل التعكر و ما فيه من الممالك 4 بأسرها الى ولده منصور ابن المفضّل النّهم يزعمون إن الأمير منصور بن المفضّل عمر في الملك ثلاثين سنة و مات في عشر المائة او التسعين و سمّا انتقل الى ابن مهدى حص المجمعة و امواله و حص التعكر و امواله على ما قيل و مدينة ذي جبلة وهي مقرّ الدعوة الفاطمية و كرسي الملك لبني الصليحي وكذلك مدينة الجند و اعمالها وكذلك ثـالـثــة

<sup>3</sup> Read Jas

<sup>?</sup> الملك ؟

مار جميع ذاك اليه ،Khi

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Om. Khi.

و شریاق و ذخر <sup>۱</sup> و اعمالها \* و لیس ملك هذا علیّ بن محمد صاحب ذخر دون ملك منصور بن المفضّل ثم ملك بني النرّر و مدينة ذي جبلة² و مدينة ذي اشرق و مدينة اب و حصون خولان و بلادها و حصون بني ربيعة وهي عزان حبُّ و الشماخي و \* أخذ السلطان ابا النورين ابي الضنَّم فبقي $^{4}$  حصن السوا لابن السباى ثم استولى ابن مهدى على معاقل الداعى عمران بن محمد التي صارت لابن مهدى وهي حصن سامع و مطران $^{5}$  و هذه  $^{-1}$ حصون  $^{-1}$ اليم المعافر و انتقل اليم معقل اليمن الذي ليس بعد التعكر و حب سواه و هو حصن السمدان و به يضرب المثل و هو الذي ليس لمخلوق عليه اقتدار ما لم يعنه النحالق بماضيات الاقدار وهذا الذي سميته نقطة من بحر ما ملك ابن مهدى هذا و لم يذكرُ بلاد بني المظفّر مبا بن احمد الصليحي و لا اقليم حران ً و لا برع و لا بلاه بكيل و لا حاشد \* و لا جبلة و حصونها و اعمالها و لا وادى عنه  $^{0}$  و لا وادى زبيد و لا غير ذلك من $^{10}$  وادى رمسع و ريمة و الاشاعر و حصونها و معاقلها و قراها 11 و مذيخرة و اعمالها و هي مسيرة ايام و *دمت و وادي تح*لة 12 فاما المذهب الذي كان عليه ابن مهدى و ما يعتقده فكان خفى الورع 13 ثم اضاف الى عقيدته في الاصول التكفير بالمعاصي و القتل بها و قتل من خالف اعتقاده

<sup>\*</sup> Khi, حراز

و لا حلمه و لا وادی نحلة و لا Khi, ا

من جبال وادى رمع و ريمة ,Khi أنه الاشاء.

و لا وحاَّطة واعمالها وهومسيرة ،Klıi <sup>11</sup> ايام و دمت و اعمالها و لا غير ذلك

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> غلغ ?

حنفي المذهب في الفروع ,Khi

ىالىھ و سرىاق وصبر و اعمالھ ،Khi و ھو <sup>م</sup>خلاف واسع

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Deest in Khi.

وهی عران و حب و السماحی ،Khi و حصن السوا لابن السای لخولانی

<sup>&#</sup>x27; Deest in Khi.

و ىمىر ,Khi

اذكر, Khi

يني .om ; المظفرين ,Khi

ص اهل القبلة و استباحة الوطقي لسباياهـم و استرقاق ذراريهم و جعل دارهم دار الحرب و حكى لي عنه و العهدة على البحاكي الله لم يكن يثـق بايمَان احد من العباجرين حتى يذبح ولدُّ او اباهُ او اخاهُ ويقرأُ عليه لا تجد قومًا يوءنمون بالله و اليوم الآخر يوادّون من حآل الله و رسولـــــة و لــــو كانوا ابآءَهـــم او ابنآءَهــم او اخوانهم او عشيرتهم اولئك كتب في قلوبهم الايمان وايدهم بروح منه و اعرف صبيا منهم كان جارا ليي و كان يتفقه راحت والدته اليه تنزوره فذبحها و امّا اعتقاد اصحابه فيه فهو فيق ما يعتقده الذاس في الأنبياء صلوات الله و سلامه عليهم و ذلك أن الواحد من آل أبن مهدى هولاء يحسن عندة أن يقتل جماعة من عسكرة ثم اذا قدروا عليه لم يقتلوه دينا و عقيدة و اذا غضب على رجل من الابرهـم و اعيانهم حبس نفسة في الشمس و لم يطعم و لم يشرب و لم يصل اليه ولدة و لا زوجته و لا يقدر احد أن يشفع فيه حتى يرضى عنه ابتدآء من نفسه و من طاعتهم لم أن كل واحد منهم يحمل ما تعزله زوجته و بذاته الى بیت المال و یکون ابن مهدی هو الذی یکسو الواحد منهم و یکسو اهله من عنده و ليس لاحد من العسكرية فرس يملكه و لا يرتبطه في فاره و لا عدّة من سلاح و لا غيرها بل "نحيل في اصطبلانه و السلاح في خنراينه فاذا عبّر له أمر دفع اليهم من <sup>ال</sup>خيل و العدّة ما يحدّاجون اليه و من سيرته أن المنهزم من عسكرة يضرب رقبته و لا سبيل الى حيوته و من سيرته قتل من شرب المسكر و قتل من سمع الغذاء و قتل من زنـي و قتل من تاخّر عن صلة "جمعة او عن مجلسي وعظه و هما يوم الخميس و ينوم الاثنين و فتل من ناخّر فيهما عن

زیارة ابیه مقبورا و هذه الرسوم انمّا هی فی العسکریة و امّا الرعایا فالاً مر فیهم الطف من أمر العسکریة و قد بلغنی فی هذا الرقت و هو سنمّ ثلاث و خمسین و خمسمائة ان الأمر قد هان علی ما کان علیه من الشدّة

#### فصل فيمن ولى الدعوة الفاطميم باليمن

فمن ذاك الداعى على بن صحمد الصليحى جمع بين الدعوة و الملك ثم ولدة المكرّم احمد بن على الصليحى جمع بين الدعوة و الملك ثم السلطان سليمان النزواحى ولى الدعوة دون ذلك ثم القاضى ثم السلطان سليمان النزواحى ولى الدعوة و الحكم دون القاضى ثم على بن ابرهيم الموقّق فى الدين ابن نجيب الدولة ولى الدعوة و ملك بأمر الحرّة الملكة بعض اعمالها ثم نما وصل سجل مولانا الامام الآمر باحكام الله امير المومنين عليه السلام بالبشارة بولادة مولانا الامام الطيب ابى القاسم بن الامام الآمر بالنصّ عليه بالامامة الى حجته بهذه الجزيرة اليمنيه بما مثاله

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم من عبد الله و وليه المنصور ابي على الآمر باحكام الله احير المؤمنين الى الحرة الملكة السيدة الرضية الطاهرة الزكية وحيدة الدون و سيدة ملوك اليمن عمدة الاسلام خاصة الاحام ذخيرة الدين عمدة المومنين كهف المستجيبين وعصمة المسترشدين و ولية احير المؤمنين و كافلة اوليائه الميامين ادام الله تمكينها و نعمتها و احسن توفيقها و حعونتها سلام عليك فال احير المؤمنين يحمد الله الذي لا اله الا هو ويسأله ان يصلى على جدّ،

ن المستنجدين ألمستنجدين ألمستنج ألمستنجدين ألمستنجدين ألمستنجدين ألمستنجدين ألمستنج ألمستنجدين ألمستنج ألمستنح ألمستنح ألمستنج ألمستنح ألمستنح ألمست ألمستنح ألمستنح ألمستنح ألمستنح ألمستنح ألمستنح ألمستنح ألمستنح

محمد خاتم النبيدين و سيّد المرسلين صلّى الله عليه و على آله الطاهرين الائمَّة المهتدين و سلَّم تسليما اما بعد فانَّ نعم الله عند أمير المومنين لا تحصى لها بعد و لا تقف عند امد و لا حد و لا تنتهى الى الاحاطة بها الظنون لكونها كالسجاب الذي كلَّما انقضى سحاب أعقبها سحاب هتون فهي كالشمس الساطعة الاشراق الدائمة الانتظام و الاتساق و العيوث المتتابعة الاتصال المتوالية بالغدو و الاصال و من اشرفها لديم قدرا و اعظمها صيتا و ذكرا و اسناها جلالا و فخرا الموهبة بما جدده الآن بان رزقه مولودا زكيا مرضيا برّرا تقيا و ذلك في الليلة المصبحة بيوم الاحد الرابع من شهر ربيع الاخر سنة اربع و عشرين و خمسمائة ارتاحت الى طيب ذكرة اسرة المنابر و تطلعت الى مواهبه امال كل باله و حاضر و اضاعت بانوار عثَّرته و بهجة طلعته ظلم الدياجر و انتظمت به للدولة النزاهرة الفاطمية عقود المفاصل و المفاخر استخرجه من سلالة النبوة كما يستخرج النور من النور و منم امير المومنين منه بما قدم زناد السرور و سمّاه الطيب لطيب عنصرة وكناه ابا القاسم كنية جدة نبى الهدى المستخرج جوهره من جوهره و امير المؤمنين يشكر الله تعالى على ما من به من اطلاعه كوكبا مندرا في سماء دولته و شهابا مضلًا في فلك جلالته و رفعته شكرا يقضى باستدامة نعمته و ادرار سحائب طوله و رأفـته و نساله أن يبلغه فيه كنه الامال و يصل به حبل الامامة ما اتصات الايام بالليال و يجعله عصمة للمسترشدين و حجّة على الجاحدين و عونا للمضطرين و غوثا للمنتجعين و وزرا للخائفين و سعادة للعارفين

يساًله Read

لتنال الدنيا بسعادته اوفي حظوظها و قسمها و تصبح الايام مفترة عن ناجذ مبسمها و لمكانك عن حضرة امير المؤمنين المكين و محلك الذي امتنع عن المماثل و القرين اشعرك هذه البشري الجليل قدرها العظيم فخرها المنتشر صيتها و ذكرها لـتاخذي عن المسرّة بها باوفي نصيب و تذبعها فيمن قبلك من الاوليا و المستجديبين اذاعة يتساوى في المعرفة بها كلّ بعيد منها و قريب لينتظم بها عقد السرور و يتضوع عرفها تضوع المندل الرطب منها و الحضورا فاعلمي هذا و اعلمي به ان شا الله تعالى و كتب بالتاريخ المذكور و صلّى الله على رسولة سيّدنا محمد و على آله الائمة الطاهرين و سلّم و شرّف و كرّم الى يوم الدين

ثم انتقل الى مولانا الآمر و ولى الحافظ فكان اوّل سجل وصل منه الى الحرقة الملكة من ولى عهد المسلمين و فى السنة الثانية من أمير المؤمنين فاقامت الحرقة الملكة الداعى الاجلّ ابرهيم بن الحسين الحامدى ثم نقلت دعوة الحافظ الى آل زريع و قال حسب بنى الصليحى ما علمولا من أمر مولانا الطيب ثم صارت الدعوة فى ولده حاتم بن ابرهيم بن الحسين الحامدى الى هذه المدّة فانتقلت من ولاية الحافظ آل زريع فمنهم الامير الاوحد سبا بن فانتقلت من زريع بن العبّاس اليامى جمع بين الدعوة و الملك شم ولده الداعى المعظم المتوج المكين داعى امير المؤمنين محمد بن سبا جمع بين الدعوة و الملك بن سبا جمع بين الدعوة و الملك قد اتينا فى هذا المختصر على جمل من اخبار الملوك فى جزيرة اليمن و الدعاة

تم التاريخ المبارك فالحمد لله الذي بنعمته تتم الصالحات

a J. aples

<sup>?</sup> في ۶

الى أل ،

<sup>?</sup> البخور ? الكافور 1

<sup>?</sup> الامر عن مولانا 2

قالت J. قالت

# و هذا تأريخ اليمن المنقول من كتاب العبر للعلّامة عدد الرحمن ابن خلدون المغربي

اخبار اليمن و الـدول الاسلاميّة الـتـى كانت فيه للعباسيّـين و للعبيديّين و سائر ملوك العرب و ابتداء ذلك و تصاريفه على للجملة ثم تفصيل ذلك على مدنه و ممالكه واحدة بعد واحدة

قد تقدم لنا في اخر السير النبوية كيف صار اليمن في ملكة الاسلام بدخول عاملة في الدعوة الاسلامية و هو باذان عامل كسرى و أسلم معه أهل اليمن وأمَّره النبـيّ صلى الله عليه و ســــم على جميــع مخاليفها وكان منزله صنعاء كرسي التبابعة وانه مات بعد حجة الوداع فقسم النبيّ صلى الله عليه و سلم اليمن على عمال من قبله و جعل صنعاء لابنه شهر بن باذان و ذكرنا خبر الاسود العَنْسي و كيف أخرج عمال النبيّ صلى الله عليه و سلم من اليمن و زحف الى صنعاء فملكها و قتل شهر بن باذان و تنزوّج اصراته و استولى على أكثر اليمن و ارتد أكثر أهله و كتب النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم الى أصحابه و عماله و الى من ثبت على اسلامه فداخلوا زوجة شهر بن باذان اللهي تنزوَّجها في أمره على يد ابن عمها فيروز و تولي كبر ذاك قیس بن عبد یغوث المرادی فبیته هو و فیروز و داذویه باذن زوجته و قتلوه و رجع عمال النبيُّ صلى الله عليه و سلم الى أعمالهم و ذاك قبيل الوفاة و استبد قيس بصنعاء و جمع الفل من جند الأسود فولى أبو بكر على اليمن فيروز فيمن اليه من الابذاء و أسر الذاس بطاعتة

فقاتل قيس بن مكشوح و هزموه ثم ولي أبو بكر المهاجر بن أبي أمية على قدّال اهل الردة باليمن و كذلك عكرمة بن أبي جهل و امره ان يبدأ بالمرتدة من أهل عمان و يلحق بالمهاجر ثم استقر اليمن في ولاية يعلى بن منتبه أو لقى عايشة بمكة فسار معها و حضر حرب الجمل و ولى على على اليمن عبيد الله بن عباس ثم أخالا عبد الله ثم ولى معاوية على صنعاء فيروز الديلمي و مات سنة ثلاث و خمسين ثم جعل عبد الملك اليمن في ولاية الحجاج لما بعثه لحرب ابن الزبير سنة ثنتين و سبعين و الما جاءت دولة بني العباس ولي السفاح على اليمن عمة داورد بن على حتى اذا تونى سنة ثلاث و ثلاثين ولى مكانه محمد ابن خاله يزيد عبيد الله بن عبد المدان ثم تعاقب الولاة على اليمن و كانوا ينزلون صنعاء حتى انتهت الخلافة الى المأمون و ظهرت دعاة الطالبين بالنواحي و بايع أبو السرايا من بني شيبان بالعراق لمحمد بن ابراهيم طباطبا بن اسمعيل بن ابراهيم و ابراهيم اخو المهدى النفس الزكيّة محمد بن عبد الله بن حسن و كثر الهرج و فرق عماله في الجهات ثم قدل و بويع صحمد بن جعفر الصادق بالحجاز و ظهر باليمن ابراهيم بن موسى الكاظم سنة مائتين و لم يقم أمرة وكان يعرف بالجزار اسفكه الدماء و بعث المأمون عساكوة الى اليمن فدوّخوا نواحية وحملوا كثيرا من وجوه الناس فاستقام أمرا اليمن كما نذكره

دولة بنى زياد بالدعوة العباسية

و اما وفد وجود أهل اليمن على المأمون كان فيهم محمد بن زياد من ولد عبيد الله بن زياد بن ابي سفيان فاستعطف المامون و ضمن

<sup>1</sup> Read ais

له حداطة الدمن من العلويدين فوصله و ولاه على الدمن و قدمها سنة ثلاث و مائتين و فتح تهامة اليمن و هي البلد الذي على ساحل البحر الغربي و اختط بها مدينة زبيد و نزلها و أصارها كرسيا لتلك المملكة و ولى على الجبال مولاه جعفرا و فتسم تهامة بعد حروب مسع العرب و اشترط على عرب تهامة أن لا يركبوا الخيل و استولى على اليمن أجمع و دخلت في طاعته أعمال حضرموت و الشحر و ديار كندة وصارفي مرتبة التبابعة وكان في صنعاء قاعدة اليمن بنو يعفر من حمير بقية الملوك التبابعة استبدوا بها مقيمين للدعوة العباسية و اهم مع صنعاء بسيحان و نجران و جرش و كان اخرهم اسعد بن يعفر ثم اخوه محمد فدخلوا في طاعة ابن زياد و كان في عَثر من ممالك اليمن ايضا سليمان ابن طرف فدخل في طاعته ثم هلك محمد بن زیاد و ولی بعده ابنه ابراهیم شم ابنه زیاد بن ابراهیم شم اخوه أبو الجيش اسحق بن ابراهيم و طالت مدته الي ان أسنّ و بلغ الثمانين و قال عمارة ملك ثمانين سنة باليمن و حضرموت و الجزائر البحرية و لما بلغه قتل المتوكل و خلع المستعين و استبداد الموالي على الخلفاء منع ارتفاع اليمن و ركب بالمظلة شأن سلاطين العجم المستبدين و في ايامه خرج باليمن يحيى بن الحسين ابن القاسم الرسّى ابن ابراهيم طباطبا بدعوة الزيدية جاء اليها من السند و كان جدّه القاسم قد فتر الى السند بعد خروج أخيه محمد مع أبي السرايا و مهلكه كما مرّ فلحق القاسم بالسند و أعقب بها الحسين ثـم ابنه يحيى بن الحسين فظهر يحيى باليمن سنة ثمان و ثمانين و نزل

تعراب .P

صعدة و اظهر دعوة الزيدية و زحف الى صفعاء فعلكها عن يد أسعد بن يعفر ثم استردها عنه بنو أسعد و رجع الى صعدة و كان شيعته يسمونه الامام و عقبه الآن بها و قد تقدّم خبرهم و في أيام أبي الجيش بن زياد أيضا ظهرت دعوة العبيديين باليمن فقام بها محمد بن الفضل بعدن لاعة و جبال اليمن الى جبل المذيخرة سنة اربعين و ثلثمائة و بقى له باليمن من الشَّرْجَةِ الى عدن عشرون مرحلة و من مخلافه الى صنعاء خمس مراحل و لما غلبه محمد بن الفضل بهذه الدعوة امتنع أصحاب الاطراف عليه مثل بني اسعد بن يعفر بصنعاء و سليمان بن طرف بعُثْر و الامام الرسى بصعدة فسلك معهم طريق المهادنة ثم هلك أبو الجيش سنة احدى و سبعين و ثلثمائة بعد ان اتسعت جبايته وعظم ملكه قال ابن سعيد رأيت مبلغ ارتفاع جبايته و هو ألف ألف مكررة صرتين و ثلثمائة ألف و ستة و ستون ألفا من الدنانير العشرية أما عدا ضرايبه على مراكب السند و على العنبر الواصل بباب المندب و عدن ابين و على مغائص اللؤلؤ و على جزيرة **د**هلك و من بعضها الف راس وصائف و كانت ملوك ا<del>لح</del>بشة من وراء البحر يهادونه و يخطبون مواصلته و لما مات خلف صبيا صغيرا اسمة عبد الله و قيل ابراهيم و قيل زياد و كفلته اخته و مولاه رشيد الحبشي و ولي رشيد على الجبال مملوكة الحسن بن سلامة النوبي وآل الامر في دواتهم بتوالي الوزارة في موالي الحبشة والنوبة و استبدادهم عليهم الى أن انقرضت دولتهم سنة سبع و أربعمائة ثم هلك هذا الطفل فولى طفل آخر من بني زياد أصغر منه قال ابن سعيد لم

العشرية Read

يعرف عمارة اسمه لتوالي الحجبة عليه ويعنى عمارة مؤرخ اليمن و قيل اسم هذا الطفل الاخير ابراهيم و كفلته عمته و مرجان من موالى الحسن بن سلامة و استبد بأمرهم و دولتهم و كان له موليان اسم احدهما قيس و الأخر بجام فجعل الطفل المملك في كفالة قيس و أنزله معه بزبيد و ولى نجاحا على سائر الاعمال خارج زبيد و منها الكذَّراءَ والمهجَم وكان يؤثر قيسا على نجاح و وقع بينهما تنافس و رفع لقيس ان عمة الطفل تميل الى نجام و تكاتبه دونه فقبض عليها بانن مولاه مرجان و دفنهما حيَّين و استبد و ركب بالمظلة و ضرب السكة و امتعض نجاح لذلك فنرحف في العساكر وبرز قيس للقائد فكانت بينهما حروب و وقائع انهزم قيس في آخرها و قتل في خمسة الاف من عسكره و ملك نجاح زبيد سنة ثنتي عشرة و أربعمائة و دفن قيسا و مولاه صرجانا مكان الطفل و العمة و استبدّ و ضرب السكة باسمة و كاتب ديوان الخلافة ببغداد فعقد له على اليمن و لم ينرل مالكا لقهامة قاهرا لاهل الجبال و انتزع الجبال كلها من ولاة الحسن بن سلامة ولم تزل الملوك تتقى صولته الى أن قتله على الصَّليحي القائم مدعوة العبيديين بالسم على يد جارية بعث بها اليه سنة ثنتين و خمسين و أربعمائة فقام بالامو بعده بزبيد مولاه كهلان ثم استولى الصليحي على زبيد و ملكها من يده كما يذكر

الخبر عن بنى الصليحي القائمين مدعوة العبيديين باليمن

كان القاضى محمد بن على الهمدانى ثم الصليحى رئيس حراز من بلاد همدان و ينتسب فى بنى يام و نشأ له ولد اسمه على و كان صاحب الدعوة يومئذ عامر بن عبد الله الزواحى نسبة الى قربة من

قرى حراز و يقال انه كان عنده كتاب الجفر من فاخائر ائمتهم بزعمهم فنزعموا انّ عليا ابن القاضي محمد مذكور فيه فقرأ على على عامل الداعي وأخذ عنه و اما توسم فيه الاهلية أراه مكان اسمه في الجفر و أوصافه و قال البيه القاضي احتفظ بابنك فسيملك جميع اليمن فنشا فقيها صالحا و جعل يحتج بالناس على طريق الطائف و السروات خمس عشرة سنة فطار ذكره وعظمت شهرته وألقى على ألسنة الناس انه سلطان اليمن و مات الداعي عامر الزواحي فاوصى له بكتبه و عهد اليه بالدعوة ثم حج بالناس سنة ثمان و عشرين و اربعمائة على عادته و اجتمع في الموسم بجماعة من قومه همدان كانوا معه فدعاهم الى النصرة و القيام معه فاجابوه و بايعوه و كانوا ستين رجلا من رجالات قوعهم فلما عادوا قام في مسار و هو حصن بذروة جبل حراز وحصّ ذاك العصن و الم ينزل امرة ينمي و كتب الى المستنصر صاحب هصر يسأله الاذن في اظهار الدعوة فأذن له و اظهرها و ملك اليمن كله و ننزل صنعاء و اختط بها القصور و أسكن عندة ملوك اليمن الذين غلب عليهم و هزم بنى طرف ملوك عَثَّر و تهامة و أعمل الحيلة فی قتل نجاح مولی بنی زیاد ملك زبید حتی تم له ذلك علی يد جارية أهداها اليه كما ذكرناه سنة ثنتين و خمسين ثم سار الى مكة بأمر المستنصر صاحب مصر ليمجو منها الدعوة العباسية والامارة الحسنية و استخلف على صنعاء ابنه المكرّم أحدد و حمل معه زوجته أسماء بنت شهاب و الملوك الذين معه مثل ابن الكرندى و ابن يعفر التبعي و وايل بن عيسي الوحاظي و امثالهم فبيته سعيد بن نججالح بالعهجم وقتله سنن ثلاث وستين واربع مائة وقام بالمره بعده ابنه المكرّم احمد و استولـي على اسره و أقام بصنعاء و كانت أيّـه

أسماء بنت شهاب قد سباها سعيد بن نجاح ليلة البيات فكتبت الى ابنها المكرّم انى حبلى من العبد الاحول فادركني قبل ان أضع و الا فهو العار الذي لا يعجوه الدهر فسار المكتّرم من صنعاء سنة خمس و سبعين في ثلاثة آلاف و لقى الحبشة في عشرين ألفا فهزمهم ولحق سعيد بن نجاح بجزيرة دهلك و دخل المكرّم الى أمَّه و هي جالسة بالطاق الذي نصب عنده رئس الصليحي و اخيه فانزلهما و دفنهما و رفع السيف و ولى خاله أسعد بن شهاب على اعمال تهاءة كما کان و أُذرله بزبید منها و ارتحل بأمّه الی صعناء و کانت تدبر ملکه ثم جمع أسعد بن شهاب اموال تهامة و بعث بها مع وزيرد أحمد بن سالم ففرقتها أسماء على وفود العرب ثم هلكت أسماء سنة سبع و سبعین و خرجت زبید من بد المکرّم و استرتها سعید بن نجاح سنة تسع و سبعين ثم انتقل المكرّم الى في جبلة سنة ثمانين و ولى على صنعاء عمران بن الفضل الهمداني فاستبدّ بها و توارثها عقبه و تسمى ابنه احمد بأسم السلطان و اشتهر به و بعده ابنه حاتم بن أحمد وليس بعده بصنعاء من له ذكر حتى ملكها بنو سليمان لما غلبهم الهواشم على مكة كما مرّ في اخبارهم و لما انتقل المكرّم الى ذى جبلة وهى مدينة اختطها عبد الله ابن محمد الصليحي سنة ثمان و خمسین و أربعمائة و كان انتقاله باشارة زوجته سیدة بنت احمد التي صار اليها تدبير صلكه بعد أنَّه أسماء فنزلها و بني فيها دار العزو تحديل على قتل سعيد بن نجالج فتمّ له كما نذكر في أخبار ابن نجاح و كان مشغولا بلذاته محجوبا بنروجته و لما حضرته الوفاة سنة اربع و ثمانين عهد الى ابن عمة المنصور سبا بن أحمد بن المظفر بن على الصليحي صاحب معقل اشيم فقلدة المستنصر العبيدي والقام

بمعقلة ، سيدة بنت أحمد بذي جبلة و خطبها المنصور سبا و امتنعت فحاصرها بذي جبلة و قال له أُخوها لأمَّها سليمان بن عاصر الزواحي والله لا تَجيبك الا بأمر المستنصر خليفة مصر فراسل في ذلك و أجيب و وصل خادم من عند المستنصر و أبلغها أمرة بذلك وتلا عليها و ما كان لمؤمن و لا عؤمنة اذا قضى الله و رسوله أموا لن تـكون لهم النحيرة من أمرهم و انّ امير المؤمنين زوجك من الداعي المنصور أبي حمير سبا بن أحمد بن المظفر على مائة ألف ديذار و خمسين ألفا من اصدف التحف و اللطائف فانعقد النكاح و سار سبا من معقل أَشْـيُحِ الى ذي جبلة و دخل اليها بدار العِز ويقال انها شبهت عليه بجارية من جواريها فقامت على رأسه ايلها كله و هو لا يرفع الطرف اليها حتى أصبح فرجع الى معقله و أقامت هي بذي جبلة و كان المستولى عليها المفضل بن ابي البركات من بني يام رهط الصليحي واستدعى عشيرة جنبًا و انتزلهم عندة بذي جبلة فكان يَسْطو بهم وكانت سيدة تأتى الـتَّعْكَـرَ في الصيف و به ذخائرها و خزائنها فاذا جاء الشتاء رجعت الى ذى جبلة ثم انفرد المفضل بالتعكر و لم ينكر منها و لا انكرت منه ثم سار المفضل لقدّال آل نجاليه فوثب في حص التعكر فقيها يلقب بالجمل صع سبعة من الفقهاء أحدهم ابراهيم بن زيدان عمّ عمارة الشاعر فبايعوا الجمل على أن يمحو الدعوة الامامية فرجع المفضل من طريقه و حاصرهم و جاءت خولان لنصرتهم فصانعهم المفضَّل و هلك في حصارهم سنة أربع و خمسمائة فجاءت بعده الحُرّة سيدة و انزلتهم على عهد فندزلوا

<sup>1</sup> B. a\_sl\_a\_>

و وفت لهم به و كفلت عقب المفضل و ولدة و صار معقل التعكر في يد عمران بن الزرِّ الخولاني و اخيه سليمان و استولى عمران على الحرّة سيدة مكان المفضّل و لما ماتت استبد عمران و أخوه بحصن التعكر و استولى منصور بن المفضل بن أبي البركات على ذي جبلة حتى باعة من الداعي الزريعي صاحب عدن كما يأتي و اعتصم بمعقل أشيم الذي كان للداعي المنصور سبا بن احمد و ذلك انّ المنصور تدوفي سنة ست و ثمانين و أربعمائة و اختلف أولاده من بعده و غلب ابنه على منهم على المعقل و كان ينازع المفضل بن ابي البركات والحرّة سيدة وأعياهما أمره فتحيل المفضّل بسمّ اودعه في سفرجل اهداه اليه فمات منه و استولى بنو أبي البركات على حصون بنى المظفر و مات المفضل عن قرب كما مَرَّ و كفلت سيدة ابنه المنصور و كان غير مستقل بالملك ثم نهضت به سنّه فصار له ملك ابية في حصن التعكر و قلاعة و ذي جبلة و حصونه و ملك بني المظفر في اشيم و حصونه ثم باع حصن ذي جبلة من الداعي الزريعي صاحب عدن بمائة ألف دينار و ما زال يبيع معاقله حصنا حصنا حتى لم يبق له غير معقل تعزر أخذه منه على بن مهدى بعد أن ملك ثمانين سنة و بلغ من العمر مائة سنة و الله سبحانه و تعالى أعلم بالصواب

لخير عن دولـة بني نجاح بزبيد موالي بني زياد و مدادي امورهم و تصاريف احوالهم

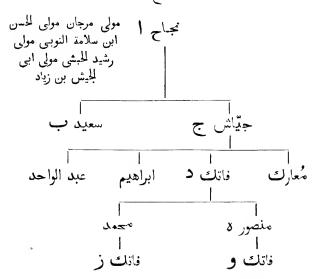
و لما استولى الصليحى على زبيد من يد كهلان بعد أن أهلكه بالسم على يد الجارية التي بعثها الية سنة ثنتين و خمسين و أربعه. تد كما

صرّ و كان لنجام ثلاثة من الولد مُعَارِكُ و سعيدٌ و جَيَّاش فقتل معارك نفسه ولمحق سعيد وجياش بجزيرة دهلك و اقاما هنالك يتعلمان القرآن و الاداب ثم رجع سعيد الى زبيد مغاضبا لاخيه جياش و اختفي بها في نفق احتفره تحت الارض ثم استقدم أخاه جياشا فقدم و اقاما هذالك في الاختفاء ثم أن المستنصر العبيدي الخليفة بمصر قطع دعوته بمكة محمد بن جعفر أميرها من الهواشم فكتب الى الصليحي يأمره بقتاله وحمله على اقامة الدعوة العلوية بمكة فسار على الصليحي لذلك من صنعاء وظهر سعيد و اخوه من الاختفاء و بلغ خبرهم الى الصليحي فبعث عسكرا نحوا من خمسة آلاف فارس و أمرهم بقتلهما و قد كان سعيد و جياش خالفا العسكو و سارا في اتباع الصليحي و هو في عساكرة فبيتوة بالمهجم متوجها الي مكة و كان معه خمسة آلاف من الحبشة فلم يغنوا عنه شيئا فانفض عسکره و قتل $^{1}$  تولی قتله جیاش بیده و ذاک سنة ثلاث و سبعین ثم قتل عبد الله الصليحي اخا على في مائة و سبعين من بني الصليحي وأسر زوجته أسماء بنت عمه شهاب في خمس و ثلاثين من ملوك القحطانيين الذين غلب عليهم باليمن و بعث الى العسكر الذين ساروا لقتل سعيد و جياش فأمنهم و استخدمهم و ارتحل الى زبيد و عليها أسعد بن شهاب أخو اسمآء زوجة الصليحي ففرّ أسعد الى صنعاء و دخل سعيد الى زبيد و أسماء زوجة الصليحي اماسه في هودج و رأس الصليحي و أخيه عند هودجها و انزلها بدارها و نصب الراسين قبالة طاقها في الدار و امتلاًت القلوب منه رُعبا

و قىيىل .P

و تلقب نصير الدولة و تغلب ولاة الحصون على ما بأيديهم و دهش المكرم ابن الصليحي بصنعاء وكاد ان يتضعضع امره وكتبت اليه أسماء أُمَّة من زبيد تُغرية و تقول انى حبلى من سعيد فادركنى قبل ان تقع الفضيحة عليك و على جميع العرب فتحيل المكرم في اغراء سعيد بن نجام بصنعاء على لسان بعض أهل الثغور وضمن له الظفر فجاء سعيد لذاك في عشرين ألفا من الحبشة و سار اليه المكرم من صنعاء و هزمه و حال بینه و بین زبید فهرب الی جزیرة دهلك و دخل المكرّم زبيد وجاء الى أمّه وهي جالسة بالطاق و عندها رأس الصليحي و اخیه فأنـزلهما و دفنهما و ولـی علی زبید خاله أسعد سنة سبـع و تسعين و ارتحل الى صنعاء ثم رجع اليها سعيد سنة تسع و سبعين و كتب المكرم الى ابى عبد الله بن يعفر صاحب حص الشعر بان يغرى سعيدا بالمكرم و انتزاع ذى جبلة من يده الشتغالة بلذاته و استيلاء زوجته سيدة بنت احمد عليه و انه قُلم فتمّت الحيله و سار سعيد في ثلاثين ألفا من الحبشة و أكمن له المكترم تحت حصن الشعر فغدروا به هذالك و انهزمت عساكره وقتل و نصب رأسة عند الطاق الذي كان فيها رأس الصليحي بزبيد و استولى عليها المكرّم و انقطع منها ملك الحبشة و هرب جيّاش و معه وزير أخيه خلف بن ابي الطاهر المرواني و دخلا عدن متنكرين ثم لحقا بالهند و اقاما بها ستة أشهر و لقيا هنالك كاهنا جاء من سَرَنديب فبشرهما بما يكون لهما فرجعا الى اليمن و تقدم خلف الوزير الى زبيد و أشاع موت جياش و استأمن لنفسه و لحق به جياش فاقام هذالك مختفيا و على زبيد يومئذ أسعد بن شهاب خال المكرّم و معه عليّ بن الثُمَّ وزير المكتّرم و كان حفقا على المكرم و دولته فداخَّله الوزير خلف و لاعب ابنه الحسين الشطرخ ثم انتقل الى ملاعبة أبيه فاغتبط به و اطلعه على رأيه في الدولة و انه يتشيع لآل نجاح و انتمى بعض الايام و هو يلاعب فسمعه على بن القُم و استكشف أمره فكشف له القناع و استحلفه و جياش أثنآء ذلك يجمع أشياعه من الحبشة و ينفق فيهم الامول حتى اجتمع له منهم خمسة آلاف فثار بهم في زبيد سنة ثنتين و ثمانين و نزل دار الامارة و منّ على أسعد بن شهاب و أطلقه لنرمانة كانت به و بقى ملكا على زبيد و تهامة يخطب للعباسيين و الصليحيون يخطبون للعبيديين و المكرّم يبعث العرب للغارة على زبيد كل حين الى ان هلك جياش على راس المائة المخامسة و كانت كنيته ابو الطَّامي و كان موصوفا بالعدل و ولي بعده ابنه الفانك بن جياش و خالف عليه أُخواهُ ابراهيم و عبد الواحد و جربت بينه و بينهما حروب وكان الظفرلة آخرا ثم هلك سنة ثلاث و خمسمائة و نصب عبيده للملك ابنه منصور بن فاتك صبيا لم يغتلم و دبروا ملكه و جاء عمه ابراهيم لققاله و برزوا له فثار عمه عبد الواحد بالبلد و بعث منصور الى المفضّل بن أبي البركات صاحب التعكر فجاء لنصرة مضمرا للغدر به ثم بلغه انتقاض أهل التعكر عليه فرجع و لم يزل منصور في ملكه بزبيد الى ان وزر لـه من عبيدة ابـو منصور مَنَّ اللَّه فقتله مسموما سنة سبع عشرة و خمسمائة و نصب فاتكا ابنه طفلا صغيرا واستبد عليه وقام بضبط الملك ونعى عليه التعرَّض لَجُرَم آل نجاح حتى هربت منه أم فاتك هذا و سكنت خارج المدينة وكان تُدما شجاعا ولد وقائع صع الاعدآء و حاربه ابن نجيب داعي العلوية فامتنع عليه وهو الذي شيد المدارس للفقهاء بزبید و اعتنی بالحاج و بنی سور المدینة ثم راود بنت معارك بن جياش¹ و لـم تجد بدا من اسعافه فامكنته حتى اذا قضى وطره مسحت ذكره بمنديل مسموم فتهرّراً لحمه و ذاك سنة أربع و عشرين و خمسمائة و قام بامر فاتك بعده زريق من موالي آل نجاح قال عمارة كان احول شجاعا تُدما و كان واودا ثـم عجز بعد حين و ام يستقر احد مكانه حتى قام بالوزارة سرور الحبشي الفاتكي من موالي أم فاتلك المختصين بها قال عمارة و في سنة احدى و ثلاثين و خمسمائة توفي فاتك بن منصور و ولى بعدة ابن عمة و سمية فاتك بن محمد بن فاتك و سرور قائم بوزارته و تدبير دولته و محاربة اعدائه و كان يلازم المسجد المي ان دس عليه على بن مهدى الخارجي من قتله في المسجد و هو يصلي العصر يـوم الجمعة ثانی عشر صفر سنة احدی و خمسین و ثار الناس بذلك الشیطان القائل فقتل جماعة من اهل المسجد ثم قُدِّلَ و اضطرب موالى ال نجاح بالدولة و ثار عليهم على بن مهدى الخارجي و حاربهم مرارا و حامرهم طويلا و استغاثوا بالشريف المنصور احمد بن حمزة السليماني و كان يملك صعدة فاغاثهم على أن يملكوه ويقتلوا سيدهم فأتك بن محمد فقتلوه سنة ثلاث و خمسين و ملكوا عليهم الشريف أحمد فعجز عن مقاومة ابن مهدى و فرّ تحت الليل و ملكها على بن مهدى سنة أربع و خمسين و انقرض أمر آل نجاح و البقآء لله

معارك بنت جياش P. and B., معارك



استبد علیه من الله من موالیهم ثم زراق ثم سرور للمبشی ثم غلب علیه اعلیّ بن مهدی للخــارجی و قتله

الخبر عن دولة بنى التَّرَريع بعدن من دعاة العبيدين باليمن و أولية أمرهم و مصايرة

و عدن هذه من أمنع مدائن اليمن و هي على ضَقَة البحر الهندى و ما زالت بلد تجارة منذ عهد التبابعة و أكثر بنائهم بالاخصاص ولذلك يطرقها الحريق كثيرا و كانت صدر الاسلام دار ملك لبنى معن قال البيهقى ينتسبون الى معن بن زائدة ملكوها من ايام المأمون و امتنعوا على بنى زياد فقنعوا منهم بالخطبة و السكة و اما استولى الداعى على بن صحمد الصليحى على اليمن رعى لهم ذمام العروبية و قرر عليهم ضريبة يعطونها ثم أخرجهم منها ابنه أحمد المكرم و ولى عليها بنى

على فاتك بن محمد Read على

الكرم من عشيرة جُشَم بن يام من همدان و كانوا أقرب عشائرة الية فاقامت في ولايتهم زمنا ثم حدثت بينهم الفتنة و انقسموا الي فئتين بنو مسعود ابن الكرم و بنو النرريع بن العباس بن الكرم و غلب بنو الزريع بعد حروب عظيمة قال ابن سعيد و أوّل مذكور منهم الداعى سبا بن أبي السعود بن الزريع أوّل من اجتمع لـ الملك بعد بني الصليحي و ورثه عنه بنوه و حاربه ابن عمه على بن ابي الغارات بن مسعود بن الكوم صاحب الـزعازع فاستولى على عدن من يده بعد مقاساة و نفقات في الاعراب و مات بعد فـتحها بسبعة أشهر سنة ثلاث و ثلاثين و خمسمائة و ولى ابنه الاعتر و كان مقيما بحص الدملوق المعقل الذي لا يبرام و امتنع عليه بعدن بالل بن جرير مولى بنى الزريع و اراه ان يعدل بالملك لمحمد بن سبا بن أبى سعود بن زريع من مواليه و خشى محمد بن سبا على نفسه ففر الى منصور بن المفضَّل من ملوك الجبال الصليحيين بذى جبلة ثم مات الاعزُّر قريبا فبعث بالل عن محمد بن سبا فوصل الى عدن و كان التقليد جاء من مصر باسم الاعز فكتب مكانه محمد بن سبا و كان في نعُوته الداعي المعظم المتوج المكين سيف أمير المؤمنين فوقعت كلها عليه و زوجه بلال بنته و مكنه من الاموال التي كانت في خزائنه ثم مات بلال عن مال عظيم و ورثه صحمد بن سبا و أنفقه في سبيل الكوم و المروآت و اشتري حص ذي جبلة من منصور بن المفضل بن أبي البركات كما ذكرناه و استولى عليه و هو دار ملك الصليحيين و تنروج سيدة بنت عبد الله الصليحي و توفى سنة ثمان و أربعين و خمسمائة و واي ابنه عمران بن محمد بن سبا و كان یاسر بن بلال یدبر دواته و توفی سنة ستین و خمسمائة و ترك ولدین

صغیرین هما محمد و أبو السعود فحبسهما یاسر بن بلال فی القصر و استبد بالامر و کان یاسر ممدّحا کثیر العطیة للشعراء و ممن وفد علیه و مدحه ابن قلاقس شاعر الاسكندریة و من قصائده فی مدحه

## سافِر اذا حاولتَ قدرا سار الهلأل فصار بدرًا

و هو آخر ملوك الزَّريعيين و لما دخل شمس الدولة سيف الاسلام أخو صلاح الدين الى اليمن سنة ست و ستين و ستمائة و استولى عليها جاء الى عدن فملكها و قبص على ياسر بن بلال و انقطعت دولة بنى زريع و صار اليمن للغُتر و فيه ولاتهم بنو أيوب كما نذكر فى أخبارهم و كانت مدينة الجَوَّة قرب غدن اختطها صلوك الزرىعيين فلما جاءت دولة بنى ايوب تركوها و نزلوا تعيز من الجبال كما يأنى ذكرة

## اخبار ابن مهدی <sup>ال</sup>خارجی و بنیه و ذکر دولتهم بالیمن بدایتها و انقراضها

هذا الرجل من اهل العنبرة من سواحل زبيد و هو على بن مهدى المحميرى كان أبولا مهدى معروفا بالصلاح و الدين و نشأ ابنه على على طريقته فاعتزل و نسك ثم حج و لقى علمآء العراق و أخذ الوعظ من وعاظهم و عاد الى اليمن و اعتزل و لزم الوعظ و كان حافظا فصيحا و يخبر بحوادث أحواله فيصدق فمال اليه الناس و اغتبطوا به و صار يتردد للحج منذ سنة احدى و ستين و يعظ الناس فى البوادى فاذا حضر الموسم اتالا على نجيب له و لما استولت أم فاتك على بنى جيش ايام ابنها فاتك بن منصور أحسنت فيه المعتقد و أعلقت له و لقرابته و أعهارة خرجهم فحسنت أحوالهم و آثروا و ركبوا النحيول

و قوى جمعهم و كان يقول في وعظه دنا الوقت يشير الى وقت ظهوره و اشتهر ذلك عنه و كانت أم فاتلك تصد أهل الدولة عنه الى ان صانت سنة خمس و أربعين و كان أهل الجبال قد حالفوة على النصرة و خرج من تهامة سنة ثمان و ثلاثين و قصد الكِدرآء فانهزم و عاد الى الجبال و أقام بها الى سنة احدى و أربعين ثم اعادته الحرّة أم فاتك الى وطنه و ماتت سنة خمس و أربعين فخرج الى خوال و نيزل ببطن منهم يقال له حبوان في حصن يسمى الشرف و هو حصن صعب المرتقَى على مسيرة يـوم من سفـم الجبل في طريقة أوعار في واد ضيق عقبه كؤد و سماهم الانصار و سمى كل من صعد معة من تهامة المهاجرين و المّر للانصار رجلا اسمة سبا و للمهاجرين آخرا سماه شيئ الاسلام واسمه النوبة واحتجب عمن سواهما وجعل یش الغارات علی أرض تهامة و اعانه علی ذلك خراب النواحی بزريد فقطع سابلتها و اخرب نواحيها و انتهى الى حص الداثر على نصف مرحلة من زبيد و اعمل الحيلة في قتل سرور مدبر الدولة فقتل كما مرّ و أقام يتحدّف زبيد بالنزحوف قال عمارة زاحفها سبعين رحفا و حاصرها طويلا و استمدّوا الشريف أحمد بن حمزة السليماني صاحب صعدة فامدّهم و شرط عليهم قتل سيّدهم فاتك بن محمد فقتلوه سنة ثلاث و خمسين و ملك عليهم الشريف ثم عجز و هرب عنهم و استولی علی بن مهدی علیها فی رجب سنة أربع و خمسین و مات الثلاثة اشهر من استيلائه و كان يخطب لـ بالامام المبدى أمير المؤمنين و قامع الكفرة و المعتدين و كان على رأى <sup>ال</sup>خوارج

<sup>1</sup> B. حيدان Read ; حيدوان

يَبَرَأُ من على و عثمان و يكفر بالذنوب و لــــة قواعد و نواميس فــي مذهبة يطول ذكرها وكان يقتل على شرب الخمر قال عمارة كان يقتل كل من خالفه من اهل القبلة و يستبيع نساءهم و اولادهم و كانوا يعتقدون فيم العصمة و كانت اموالهم تحت يده ينفقها عليهم في مؤنهم و لا يملكون معه مالا و لا فرسا و لا سلاحا و كان يقتل المنهزم من أصحابه و يقتل الزاني و شارب الخمر و سامع الغذاء ويقتل من تأخر عن صلاة الجماعة و من تاخر عن وعظه يـوم الا ثنين و الخميس وكان حنفيا في الفروع ولما توفي تولى بعده ابنة عبد النبي وانتقض عليه اخوه عبد الله و غلبه على زبيد و خطب له فيها بالامامة ثم غلبه عبد النبى و اخرجه من زبيد و استولى على اليمن أجمع و به يومئذ خمس و عشرون دولة فاستولى على جميعها و لم يبق له سوى عدن ففرض عليها الجزية و لما دخل شمس الدولة توران شاه بن أيوب أخو صلاح الدين سنة ست و ستين و خمسمائة و استولى على الدولة التي كانت باليمن فقبض على عبد البني و استحنه و أخذ منه أموالا عظيمة وحمله البي عدن فاستولى عليها ثم نزل زبيد و اتخذها كرسيا لملكة ثم استوخمها و سار في الجبال و معة الاطباء يتخيّر مكانا صحيح الهواء والماء ليتخذ فيه سكنا فوقع اختيارهم على مكان تعنر فاختط به المدينة و نزلها و بقيت كرسيا لملكه و ملك بنیه و موالیهم بنی رسول کما نذکر فی أخبارهم و بانقراض دولة بنی مهدى انقرض ملك العرب من اليمن و صار الغز و مواليهم

و لنذكر الآن طرفا من الكلام على قواعد اليمن و مدنه واحدةً واحدةً كما أشار اليه ابن سعيد

اليمن من جزيرة العرب تشتمل على كراسي سبعة للملك و هي على قسمين تهامة و الحبال ففي تهامة مملكتان مملكة زبيد و مملكة عدن و معنى تهامة ما انخفض من بلاد اليمن صع ساحل البحر من السرين من جهة الحجاز الى آخر أعمال عدن دورة البحر الهندى قال ابن سعيد و جزيرة العرب في الاقليم الاول و يحيط بها البحر الهندى من جنوبها و بحر السويس من غربها و بحر فارس من شرقها و كانت اليمن قديما للتبابعة و هي اخصب من الحجاز وأكثر اهلها القحطانية و فيها من عنز ابن وائل و ملكها لهذا العهد لبني رسول موالى بني أيوب و دار ملكهم تعز بعد أن نزلوا الجَوَّة اولا و بصعدة من اليمن أئمة الزيدية

زبید و هی من مملکة الیمن شمالها الحجاز و جنوبها البحر الهندی و غربها بحر السویس اختطها محمد بن زیاد أیام المأمون سنة أربع و مائتین و هی مدینة مسورة تدخلها عین جاریة جلبها الملوك و علیها غیطان نخل یسكنونها أیام الغلة و هی الآن من ممالك ابن رسول و بها كان ملك بنی زیاد و صوالیهم شم غلبهم علیها بنو الصلیحی و قد مر خبرهم

عَثَّر و حَلَّى و الشرجة من أعمال زبيد فى شماليها و تعرف باعمال ابن طرف مسيرة سبعة أيام فى يومين من الشرجة الى حلى و بين حلى و مكة ثمانية أيام و عَثَّر هى منبر الملك و هى على

البحر و كان سليمان بن طرف ممتنعا بها على ابى الجيش بن زياد و كان مبلغ ارتفاعه خمسمائة ألف دينار ثم دخل فى طاعته و خطب له و حمل المال ثم صارت هذه المملكة للسليمانيين من بنى الحسن امراء مكة حين طردهم الهواشم عن مكة و كان غالب بن يحيى منهم يؤدى الاتاوة لصاحب زبيد و به استعان مفلح الفاتكى على سرور ثم ملك بعد غانم عيسى بن حمزة من بنيه و لما ملك الغثر اليمن مأخذ يحيى أخو عيسى اسيرا و سيق الى العراق فحاول عليه عيسى فتخلصه من الأسر و رجع الى اليمن فقتل أخاه عيسى و ولى مكانه

المهجم من أعمال زبيد على ثلاثة مراحل عنها و عربها من سعد العشيرة من حكم و جعفرا قبيلتين منهم و يجلب منها الزنجبيل السّرين آخر أعمال تهامة من اليمن و هي على البحر دون سور و بيوتها اخصاص و ملكها راجع بن قتادة سلطان مكة أعوام الخمسين و ستمائة و له قلعة على نصف مرحلة منها

الزّرائِبِ من الاعمال الشمالية عن زبيد و كانت لابن طرف و اجتمع له فيها عشرون ألفا من الحبشة و لما ثار الداعى الصليحى لقيه بها في نحو من ثلاثة ألاف، فهزمه و قتل الحبشة الذين معه جميعا و قال ابن سعيد في اعمال زبيد و الاعمال التي في الطريق الوسطى بين البحر و الجبال و هي في خط زبيد في شماليها وهي الجادّة الى مكة قال عمارة هي الجادّة السلطانية منها الى البحر يوم أو دونه و كذاك الى الجبال و يجتمع الطريقان الوسطى و الساحلية في السرين و يفترقا

عدن من ممالك اليمن في جنوب زبيد وهي كرسي عملها وهي على ضفة البحر الهندي و كانت بلد تجارة منذ أيام التبابعة و بعدها عن خط الاستواء ثلاث عشرة درجة و لا تنبت زرعا و لا شجرا و معاشهم السمك و هي ركاب الهند من اليمن و أوّل ملكها لبني معن بن زائدة استقاله والبني زياد و أعطوهم الاتاوة و لما ملك الصليحيون أقرهم الداعي بها ثم اخرجهم ابنه أحمد المكرم و ولاها بني الكرم من جشم بن يام رهطه من همدان و صفا الملك فيها لبني الزّريع منهم و ورث دعوة الصليحيين و ملكهم و قد تقدم خبر ذلك كله و لما ملك على بن مهدى لم يظفر بها منهم و قنع منهم بالاتاوة حتى ملكها من أيديهم شمس الدولة بن أيوب كما تقدّم

عدن أبين من بُنكات المدن وهي الي جبة الشِّخُر

الزعازع باردیة عدن و کانت لبنی مسعرد بن الکرم المقارعین لبنی الزردع

انتقاوا الى تعز الخاصة الزريعيين قرب عدن و نزلها بنو أيوب ثم

حصن في جبلة من حصون مخلاف جعفر اختطه عبد الله الصليحي أخو الداعي سنة ثمان و خمسين و أربعمائة و انتقل اليه ابنه المكرم من حصن صنعاء و زوجه سيدة بنت أحمد المستبدة عليه و هي التي كملت تشييده سنة ثمانين و مات المكرم و قد فرض الامر في الملك و الدعوة الى سبا بن احمد بن المظفر الصليحي و كان في معقل أشيع و كانت تستظهر بقبيل جَنَّب و كانوا خاملين في الجاهلية و ظهروا بمخلاف جعفر ثم وصل من مصر ابن نجيب

الدولة داعيا و نزل مدينة جَدَد و اعتضد بهمدان فحاربته السيدة جنب و خولان الى ان ركب البحر و غرق و كان يتولى أمورها المغضل بن أبي البركات بعد زوجها المكرّم و استولى عليها

التعصر من مخلاف جعفر كان لبنى الصليحى ثم لسيدة من بعدهم ثم طلبة منها المفضل بن أبي البركات فسلمته اليه و أقام به الى ان سار الى زبيد و حاصر فيها بنى نجاح و طالت غيبته فثار بالتعكر جماعة من الفقهاء و قتلوا نائبة و بايعوا لابراهيم ابن زيدان منهم و هو عم عمارة الشاعر و استظهروا بخولان فرجع المفضل و حاصرهم كما مرّ ذكر ذلك من قبل

حصن خُدَد کان لعبد الله بن یعلی الصلیحی و هو من مخلاف جعفر و کان المفضل قد أدخل من خولان فی حصون المخلاف عددا کثیرا من بنی بحر و بنی منبه و رزاح و شعب فلما مات المفضّل ملکت خولان حصن التعکر و بقی ذو جبلة لمنصور بن المفضل فی کفالة سیدة کما میر و وثب مسلم بن الزر من خولان فی حصن خُدَد و ملکه من ید عبد الله بن یعلی الصلیحی و لحق عبد الله بحصن مَصَّدُود و رشحته سیدة لمکان المفضل و استخلصته و اخویه عمران و سلیمان و میات مسلم فملک ولده سلیمان حصن خدد صع سیدة مکان اخیه مسلم و زوجته بنت القائد فتح عاملها علی التعکر فغدر بفتے و ملک التعکر من یده و استطالت ایدی خولان علی الرعایا و استظهرت سیدة علیهما بجنب و کان عمران و سلمان ناصحین فی خده تبها وهم اللذان اخرجا الداعی ابن نجیب الدولة من مدینة فی خده تبها وهم اللذان اخرجا الداعی ابن نجیب الدولة من مدینة

حص مصدود من حصون مخلاف جعفر وهي خمسة ذو جبلة

و التعکر و حص خُدَد و لما غلبت خولان علی حص خدد من ید عبد الله بن یعلی الصلیحی و لحق بحص مصدود کما ذکرذاه شم غلبوه علی حصن مصدود و استولی علیه منهم زکریا بن شکیر البحری و کان بنو الکرندی من حمیر ملوکا قبل بنی الصلیحی بالیمن و انتزع بنو الصلیحی ملکهم و کان لهم مخلاف جعفر بحصونه و مخلاف معافر و مخلاف الجند و حض و حصن سمدان شم استقرت لمنصور بن المفضل بن ابی البرکات و باعها من بنی الزریع کما مرس

صنعآء قاعدة التبابعة قبل الاسلام و أوّل مدينة اختطت باليمن و بنتها فيما يقال عاد و كانت تسمى أوال من الاوّلية بلغتهم و قصر غمدان قريب منها أحد البيوت السبعة بناه الضحاك باسم الزهرة وحجت اليه الامم و هدمه عثمان و صنعاء أشهر حواضر اليمن و هي فيما يقال معتدلة و كان فيها أوّل المائة الرابعة بنو يعفر من التبابعة و دار ملكهم كحلان و لم يكن لها نباهة في الملك الى ان سكنها بنو الصليحي و غلب عليها الزيدية ثم السليمانيون من بعد بني الصليحي

قلعة كحلان و من أعمال صنعاء قلعة كحلان لبنى يعفر من التبابعة بناها قرب صنعاء ابرهيم و كانت له صعدة و صنعاء و نجران و غيرها من جبال اليمن و حاربهم بنو الرسى ائمة الزيدية الى ان ملكوا صعدة و نجران و اعتصم بنو يعفر بقلعة كحلان و قال البيهقى شيد قلعة كحلان أسعد بن يعفر و حارب بنى الرسى و بنى زياد أيام ابى الجيش

حصن السَّمَدان من أعمال صنعاء كانت فيه خزائن بنى الكُرندى المحميريين الى أن ملكه على الصليحي و رد عليهم المكرم بعض

حصونهم الى ان انقرض أمرهم على يد على بن مهدى و كان لهم مخلاف جعفر الذى منة مدينة ذى جبلة و معقل التعكر و هو مخلاف الجند و مخلاف معافر و مقر ملكهم السّمدان و هو أحصن من الدّملوة قلعة منهاب من قلاع صنعاء بالجبال ملكها بنو زريع و استبدّ بها منهم المفضل بن على بن راضى بن الداعى محمد بن سبا بن زريع نعته صاحب الخريدة بالسلطان و قال كانت له قلعة منهاب و كان حيا سنة ست و ثمانين و خمسمائة و صارت بعدة لاخيه الاعترابي على أ

حبل المذيخرة و هو بقرب صنعآء و قد اختط جعفر صولى ابن زياد سلطان اليمن مخلاف جعفر فنسب اليه

عدن لاعة بجانب المذیخرة أوّل موضع ظهرت فیه دعوة الشیعة بالیمن و منها محمد بن الفضل الداعی و وصل الیها أبو عبد الله الشیعی صاحب الدعوة بالمغرب و فیها قرأ علی بن محمد الصلیحی صبیا و هی دار دعوة الیمن و کان محمد بن الفضل داعیا علی عهد أبی الجیش بن زیاد و أسعد بن یعفر

بیحان ذکرها عمارة فی المخالیف الجبلیة و ملکها نشوان بن سعید القحطانی

تعز من أجل معاقل الجدال المطلة على تهامة ما زال حصنا للملوك و هو اليوم كرسى لبنى رسول و معدود فى الامصار و كان به من ملوك اليمن منصور بن المفضل بن ابى البركات من اقارب الصليحيين و ابوه صاحب معقل أَشْيَح و استولى على حصون بنى ابى البركات و بنى المظفر و ورثها عنه ابنه منصور ثم باعها حصنا حصنا من

<sup>1</sup> Read بن على 1

الداعى ابن المظفر و الداعى الزريعى الى أن بقى بيدة حص تعز فأخذه منه ابن مهدى

معقل أشيج من اعظم حصون الجبال و فيه خزائن بنى المظفر و كان للداعى المنصور ابى حمير سبا بن أحمد بن المظفر من الصليحيين صارت له بعبد المكرّم ابن عمه صاحب ذى جبلة و قلده المستنصر الدعوة و توفى سنة ست و ثمانين و أربعمائة و غلب ابنه على على على معاقل الملك أشيح و أعيا المفضّل أمرع الى ان تحيل عليه و قتله بالسمّ و صارت حصون بنى المظفر لبنى ألى البركات ثم مات المفضل و خلف ابنه منصور و استقل بملك أبيه بعد حين وباع جميع الحصون فباع ذا جبلة من الداعى الزريعى صاحب عدن بمائة ألف دينار و حصن صبر بعد ان كان حلف بالطلاق على بيعه فطلق زوجته الحرّة و تزوجها الزريعى و طال عمرة ملك ابن عشرين و بقى فى الملك ثمانين و أخذ منه معقل تعز على بن مهدى

صعدة مملكتها تلو مملكة صنعاء و هي في شرقيها و في هذه المملكة ثلاثة قواعد صَعْدة وجبل قطابة و حصن تلا و حصون أخرى و تعرف كلها ببني الرسى و قد تقدّم ذكر خبره

و اما حصن تلا فمنه كان ظهور الموطئ الذي اعاد امامة الزيدية لبنى الرسى بعد أن استولى عليها بنو سليمان فأووا الى جبل قطابة ثم بايعوا لأحمد الموطئ سنة خمس و أربعين و ستمائة و كان فقيها عابدا و حاصرة نور الدين بن رسول في هذا الحصن سنة ثم جمّر عليه عسكرا للحصار ثم صات أبن رسول سنة ثمان و أربعين و شغل أبنه

¹ Read ₩

المظفر بحصار حص الدَّمَّلُولَا فتمكن الموطى و ملك حصون اليمن و زحف الى صعدة و بايعه السليمانيون و امامهم أحمد المتوكل كما مر في أخبار بني الرسي

و اما قطابة فيو جبل شاهق شرقى صعدة و فيه حصن و قُرى و أَنْضَوَى البيه بنو البادى عند ما غلبهم بنو سليمان على صعدة الى ان كان ما ذكرناه

حراز و مسار اما حراز فهو اقليم من بلاد همدان و حراز بطن من بطونهم كان منهم الصّليحى و حصن مسار هو الذى ظهر فيه الصليحى و هو من اقليم حراز قال البيهقى بلادهم شرقية بجبال اليمن و تفرّقوا في الاسلام و لم تبق لهم قبيلة وبريَّة الا في اليمن و هو أعظم قبائله و بهم قام الموطئ و ملكوا جملة من حصون الجبال و لهم بها اقليم بكيل و اقليم حاشد و هما ابنا جُشَم ابن حَبُوان ابن نوف بن همدان قال ابن حزم و من بكيل و حاشد افترقت قبائل همدان انتهى و من همدان بنو الزريع أصحاب السلطنة و الدعوة في عدن و الجوة و منهم بنو يام قبيل الصليحي و بنو همدان سبعة و هم الآن في نهاية من التشيع ببلادهم و أكثرهم زيدية

بلاد خولان قال البيهقى هى شرقية من جبال اليمن و متصلة ببلاد همدان و هـى حصون الجبال و مخلاف جعفر دخلوا اليها فى الدولة الصليحية و تغلب بنو الزرّ منهم على حصن خُدَد و التعكر و غيرهما و هم أعظم قبائل اليمن صع همدان و لهم بطون كثيرة و افترقوا على بلاد الاسلام و لم يبق منهم وبُريَّة الا باليمن

<sup>1</sup> Read خيوان

مخلاف بنی أصبح هو بوادی سحول و ذو أصبح الذی ينسبون اليه قد تقدّم ذكره فی انساب حمير من التبابعة و الاقيال و مخلاف يحصب مجاور له و هو أخو أصبح

مخلاف بنى وائل مدينة هذا المخلاف شاحط و صاحبها أسعد بن وائل و بنو وائل بطن من ذى الكلاع و ذو الكلاع من سبا تغلبوا على هذه البلاد عند مهلك الحسن ابن سلامة عامل الجبال لبنى نجام

مخالاف يربوع من الجبال تغلّب عليه بنو عبد الواحد بعد موت الحسن بن سلامة و كان اهل الاطراف قد استبدوا على الثغور فقاتلهم الحسن ابن سلامة حتى عادوا الى الطاعة و اختط مدينة الكدراء على مخلاف سهام و مدينة المعقر على وادى ذوال و مات سنة ثنتين و أربعمائة

بلاد كندة وهى من جبال اليمن مما يلى حضرموت و ابجر و الحرو التومل و كان لهم بها ملوك و قاعدتهم دَمَّون ذكرها امرؤ القيس في شعره

بلاد مذرِح توالی جهات الجَدَد من الجبال و ینزلها من مذحج عَنْس و رُبَد و مراد و من عَنْس بافریقیة فرقة وبریة مع ظواعن اهلها و من رُبید بالحجاز بنو حرب بین مکة و المدینه و بنو زبید الذی بالشام و الجزیره فهم من طَیّ و لیسوا من هؤلاء

بلاد بني نهد في أُجوان السروات و تَبَالَة و السروات بين تهامة

حسين ا

و الجبال و نجد من اليمن و الحجاز گسراة الفرس و بنو نهد من قضاعة سكنوا اليمن جوار خثعم و هم كالوحوش و العاتة تسميهم السَّرُو و أكثرهم أخلاط من بجيلة و خثعم و من بلادهم تبالة يسكنها قوم من عنز بن وائل و لهم بها صولة و همى التمى وليها الحجاج و استحقرها فتركها

## البلاد المضافة الى اليمن

ارُّلها اليمامة قال البيهقي هـو بلد منقطع بعمله و التحقيق أنه من التحجاز كما هي نجران من اليمن وكذا قال ابن حَوْقَل وهي دونها في المملكة و ارضها تسمى العَرُوض لاعتراضها بين الحجاز و البحرين ففى شرقيها البحرين و غربيها أطراف اليمن و الحجاز و جنوبها نجران و شمالها نجد من الحجاز و فسى طولها عشرون مرحلة و هي على أربعة ايام من مكة و قاعدتها حَجُر بالفتم و بلد اليمامة كانت مقرّا لملوك قبل بنى حنيفة ثم اتخذ بنو حنيفة حجمرا وبينهما يوم و ليلة و بظواهرها أحياء من بني يربوع من تميم و أحياء من بني عجل قال البكرى و اسمها جَوَّ و سميت باسم زرقآء اليمامة سماها بذلك تبع الاخر و هي في الاقليم الذاني صع مكة و بعدهما عن خط الاستواء واحدٌ و من منازلها توضع و قَرَقَرَا و قال الطبرى انّ رمل عالم بين اليمامة و الشحروهي من أرض وبار و كانت اليمامة و الطائف لبني هِزَّان بن يَعَفُر بن السَّكْسَك و غلبتهم عليها طَسْم و جَدِيس ثم غلب بنو هِنَّرَان آخرا و ملكوا اليمامة و طسم و جديس في تبعهم و کان آخر ملوك بني هزان قُرط بن جعفر فمات و غلبتهم طسم على الملك وكان منهم عمليقٌ و اخبارٌ معروفة ثـم غلبت جديس و منهم اليمامة التي سميت مدينة جَوّ بها و اخبارها معروفة ثم استولى على اليمامة بعد طسم و جديس بنو حنيفة و كان منهم هوكة بن عدى ملك اليمامة و تتوّج و يقال انما كانت خرزات تنظم و لم يتتوّج احد من بني معد قط ثم كان تمامة بن اتال ملك اليمامة على عهد النبوّة و أسر و أسلم و ثبت عند الردّة و كان منهم مسيلمة و اخباره معروفة قال ابن سعيد و سألت عرب البحرين و بعض مذحج لمن اليمامة اليوم فقالوا لعرب من قيس عيلان و ليس لبني حنيفة بها ذكر

بلاد حضرموت قال ابن حوقل هي في شرقي عدن بقرب البحر و مدينتها صغيرة و لها أعمال عريضة و بينها وبين عدن و عمان من البجهة الاخرى رمال كثيرة تعرف بلاحقاف و كانت مواطن لعاد و بها قبر هود عليه السلام و في وسطها جبل شَبَام و هي في الاقليم الاول و بعدها عن خط الاستواء ثنتا عشرة درجة و هي معدودة من اليمن بلد نخل و شجر و مزارع و أكثر اهلها يحكمون بأحكام على و فاطمة و يبغضون عليا المتحكم و أكبر مدينة بها الآن قلعة شبام فيها خيل الملك و كانت لعاد مع الشحر و عمان ثم غلبهم عليها بنو يعرف بن قحطان و يقال ان الذي دل عادا على جزيرة العرب هو رقيم بن ارم كان سبق اليها مع بني قود فرجع الى عاد و دلهم عليها و على دخولها بالجوار فلما دخلوا غلبوا على من فيها ثم غلبهم بنو يعرب بن قحطان بعد ذلك و ولي على البلاد فكانت ولاية ابنه يعرب بن قحطان بعد ذلك و ولي على البلاد فكانت ولاية ابنه

هردة بن على Read أثال Read النبي أثال Read النبي

الشحر من ممالك جزيرة العرب مثل الحجاز و اليمن و هو منفصل عن حضرموت و عمان و الذن يسمى الشحر قصبته و لا زرع فية و لا نخل انما اموالهم الابل و المعز و معاشهم من اللحوم و الالبان و من السمك الصغار و يعلفونها للدواب و تسمى هذه البلاد أيضا بلاد مهرة و بها الابل المهرية و قد يضاف الشحر الى عمان و هـو ملاصق لحضرموت و قيل هـو ساحلها و فـي هذه البلاد يوجد اللبان و فـي ساحله العنبر الشحرى و هو متصل في جهة الشرق و من غربيها بساحل البحر الهندي الذي عليه عدن و في شرقيها ببلاد عمان و جنوبها بحر الهذه مستطيلة عليه و شمالها حضرموت كانها ساحل لها و يكونان معا لملك واحد و هي في الاقليم الاوّل و أشدّ حرّا من حضرموت و كانت في القديم لعاد و سكنها بعدهم مهرة من حضرموت أو من قضاعة و هم كالوحوش في تلك الرمال و دينهم الخارجية على رأى الاباصية منهم و أوّل من نزل بالشحر من القحط نية مالك بن حمير خسرج على أخيه وائل و هو ملك بقصر غمدان فحاربه طويلا و مات مالك فولى بعدة أبنه قضاعة بن مالك فلم ينزل السكسك ابن وائل يحاربه المي أن قهرة و اقتصر قضاعة على بلاد مهرة و ملك بعده أبنه الحاف ثم مالك بن الحاف و انتقل الى عمان و بها كان سلطانه قال الديهقي و ملك مهرة ابن حيدان بن الحاف بلاد قضاعة و حارب عمة مالك بن المحاف صاحب عمان حتى غلبهم عليها و ليس الهم اليوم في غير بلادهم ذكر و ببلاد الشحر مدينة مرباط و ظفار على وزن نـزال و ظفار دار ملك التبابعة و مرباط بساحل الشحر و قد خربت هاتان المدينتان و كان أحمد بن محمد بن محمود الحميرى و لقبه الباخودة و كان تاجرا كثير المال تقرّب الى صاحب مرباط بالتجارة حتى استوزرة ثم هلك فملك احمد الباخودة ثم خربها و خرب ظفا سنة تسع عشرة و ستمائة و بنى على الساحل مدينة ظُفَار بضم الظاء المعجمة و سماها الاحمدية باسمة و خرّب القديمة لانها لم يكن لها مرسى

الكمائم هي صقع منفرد عن اليمن و قال المحائم هي صقع منفرد عن اليمن و قال غيرة هي من اليمن قال البيهقي مسافتها عشرون مرحلة و هي شرقی صنعآء و شمالیها و توالی الحجاز و فیها مدینتان نجران و جُرَش متقاربتان في القدر و البادية غالبة عليها و سكانها كالاعراب و بها كعبة نجران بنيت على هيئة غمدان كعبة اليمن وكانت طائفة من العرب تحميم اليها وتنحر عندها وتسمى الديروبها كان قس بن ساعدة يتعبد و ننزلها من القحطانية طائفة من جُرهم ثم غلبهم عليها بنو حمير و صاروا ولاة للتبابعة و كانوا كل من ملك منهم يلقب الافعى و كان منهم افعى نجران و اسمه الفَلَمّس بن عمرو بن همدان بن مالك بن منتاب بن زيد بن وائل بن حمير كان كاهذا و هو الذي حكم بين أولاد نزار لما أتوه حسبما هو مذكور و كان واليا على نجران لبلقيس فبعثته الى سليمان عليه السلام و آمن و بتّ دين اليهودية فى قومة و طال عُمرة و يقال انّ البحرين و المشَلل كاندًا له قال البيهقي ثم نزل نجران بنو مذحم و استولوا عليها و منهم بنو الحرث بن كعب و قال غيرة لما خرجت اليمانية في سيل العرم مرّوا بنجران فحاربثهم مذحم ومنها افترقوا قال ابن حزم ونزل في جوار مذحم بالصلم المحارث بن كعب ابن عبد الله بن مالك بن نصر بن

الازد ثم غلبوا علیها مذحجا و صارت لهم ریاستها و دخلت النصرانیة نجران من فَیمُون و خبرة معروف فی کتب السیر و انتهت ریاسة بنی الحارث فیها الی بنی الدیان ثم صارت الی بنی عبد المدان ثم کان یزید منهم علی عهد النبیّ صلی الله علیه و سلم و أسلم علی ید خالد بن الولید و وفد مع قومه و لم یذکره ابن عبد البر و هو مستدرت علیه و ابن أخیه زیاد بن عبد الله بن عبد المدان خال السفاح ولاه نجران و الیمامة و خلف ابنیه محمدا و یحی و دخلت المائة الرابعة و الملك بها لبنی ابی الجُود ابن عبد المدان و اتصل فیهم و کان بینهم و بین الفاطمیین حروب و ربما یغلبونهم بعض الاحیان علی بینهم و بین الفاطمیین حروب و ربما یغلبونهم بعض الاحیان علی میده نکره عمارة و أثنی علیه و الله سبحانه و تعالی اعلم بالصواب من یده ذکره عمارة و أثنی علیه و الله سبحانه و تعالی اعلم بالصواب

فيهيون 1

## لخبر عن دولة بنى الرسى أنهة الزيدية بصعدة و ذكر أوليتهم و مصاير أحوالهم

قد ذكرنا فيما تقدم خبر محمد بن ابراهيم الملقب ابوة طباطبا ابن اسمعيل بن ابراهيم بن حسن المثنى و ظهورة أيام المأمون و قيام أبى السرايا ببيعته و شانه كله و لما هلك و هلك أبو السرايا و انقرض أمرهم طلب المأمون أخاه القاسم الرسى ابن ابراهيم طباطبا ففر الى السند ولم ينزل به الى أن هلك سنة خمس و أربعين و مائتين و رجع ابنه الحسن الي اليمن وكان من عقبه الائمة بصعدة من بلاد اليمن أقاموا للزيدية بها دولة اتصلت آخر الايام و صعدة جبل  $^{1}$  في الشرق عن صنعاء و فيه حصون كثيرة أشهرها صعدة و حص تــلا و جبل قطابة و تعرف كلها ببنى الرسى و أوَّل من خرج بها منهم يحيى بن الحسين بن القاسم الرسى دعا الى نفسة بصعدة و تسمى بالهادى و بويع بها سنة ثمان و ثمانين في حياة أبيه الحسين و جمع الجموع من شيعتهم و غيرها و حارب ابراهيم ابن يعفر ويقال أسعد بن يعفر الثائر من اعقاب التبابعية بصنعاء و كملا 3 فغلبه على صنعاء ونجران و ملكها و ضرب السكة ثم انتزعها بنو يعفر منه و رجع الى

<sup>· 1</sup> Read X here and elsewhere.

السادس .B <sup>2</sup> و ثلا <sup>3</sup>

صعدة و توفى سنة ثمان و تسعين لعشر سنين من ولايته هكذا قال ابن المجاب قال و له مصنفات في الحلال و الحرام و قال غيرة كان صجتهدا في الاحكام الشرعية و له في الفقه آراء غريبة و تواليف بين الشيعة معرونة قال الصولي و ولى بعده ابنه محمد المرتضى و اضطرب الناس علیه و هلك سنة عشرین و ثلثمائة لثنتین و عشرین سنة من ولايته و ولى بعده أخوه الناصر أحمد و استقام ملكه و اطرد في بنيه بعده فولى بعده ابنه حسين المنتخب و مات سنة أربع الضحاك الهمداني سنة أربع و أربعين و قال الصولي ولي من بني الناصر الرشيد و المنتخب و المختار و المهدى و قال ابن حزم لما ذكر ولد أبي القاسم الرسى فقال و منهم القائمون بصعدة من ارض اليمن أولهم يحيى الهادى له رأى في الفقه و قد رأيته و لم يبعد فيه عن الجماعة كل البعد كان لابيه أحمد الناصر بنون ولى منهم صعدة بعده جعفر الرشيد و بعده أخوه القاسم المنحتار ثم الحسن المنتخب و محدد المهدى قال و كان اليماني القائم بماردة سنة ثلاث و أربعين و ثلثمائة يذكر انه عبد الله بن أحمد الناصر أخو الرشيد والمختار والمنتخب والمهدى وقال ابن المجاب ولم تزل امامتهم بصعدة مطردة الى أن وقع الخلاف بينهم و جاء السليمانيون من مكة عند ما اخرجهم الهواشم فغلبوا عليهم بصعدة و انقرضت دولتهم بها في المائمة السادسة قال ابن سعيد و كان من بني سليمان حين خرجوا من مكة الى اليمن أحمد بن حمزة بن سليمان فاستدعاه اهل زبيد لينصرهم على على بن مهدى الخارجي حين حاصرهم وبها فاتدك بن محمد من بني نجاح فاجابهم على أن

يقتلوا فاتكا فقتلوه سنة ثلاث و خمسين و خمسمائة و ملكوا عليهم أحمد بن حمزة فلم يطق مقاومة على بن مهدى ففر عن زبيد و ملكها ابن مهدى قال و كان عيسى بن حمزة أخو أحمد في عثر من حصون اليمن و منهم غانم بن يحيى ثم ذهب ملك بني سليمان من جميع التهائم و الجدال و اليمن على يد بني مهدى ثم ملكهم بنو أيوب و قهروهم و استقرّ ملكهم آخرا في المنصور عبد الله ابن أحمد بن حمزة قال ابن العديم ورث الملك بصعدة عن أبية و امتدت يده مع الناصر العباسي و كان يناظره و يبعث دعاته الى الديلم و جيلان حتى خطب له هنالك و صار له فيها ولاة و أنفق المغاصر عليه أموالا فبي العرب باليمن والم يظفر بنه قال ابن الاثير جمع المنصور عبد الله بن احمد بن حمزة أمام الزيدية بصعدة سنة ثنتين وتسعين وخمسمائة وزحف الى اليمن فخاف منة المعزبن سيف الاسلام طغتكين بن ايوب ثم زحف الية المعنز فهزومة ثم جمع ثانية سنة ثنتي عشرة و ستمائة جموعا من همدان و خولان و ارتجت لة اليمن و خاف المسعود بن الكامل و هو يـومئذ صاحب اليمن و معه الكرد و القرك و أشار أمير الجيوش عمر بن رسول بمعاجلته قبل أن يملك الحصون ثم اختلف أصحاب المنصور ولقيم المسعود فهزمه و توفي المنصور سنة ثلاثين و ستمائة عن عمر مديد و ترك ابنا اسمه أحمد ولاه الزيدية و لم يخطبوا له بالامامة ينتظرون علوّ سنه و استكمال شروطه و لما كانت سنة خمس و أربعين بايع قوم من الزيدية بحص تلا للموطئ من بني الرسي و هو أحمد بن المسين من بني الهادي لانهم لما اخرجهم بنو سليمان من كرسي الماعتهم





بالتبيت و الوقوف حتى ينظر في الأمر و كان ميمون في الاصل يهوديا قد حسد الاسلام و اعتاز <sup>1</sup> على دينه فلم يجد حيلة غير العكو**ف** على تربة الحسين بكربلا و اظهار الاسلام و اصله من سلمية مدينة في الشام و انتسب الى العلوبين و اكثرهم ينكر صحة نسبة فالله اعلم و قطع ابن مالك بانة يهودي و صحبة رجل من كربلا يعرف بمنصور بن زادان بن حوشب بن الفرج ابن المبارك من ولد عقيل ابن ابي طالب كان جدة زادان اثنى عشرى المذهب احد اعيان الكوفة و سكن اولادة على تربة الحسين فحين قدم ميمون تعرّش بمنصور النجابة و الرياسة فاستماله وصحبه و كان له دينا 3 يستمد بها و كان ذا علم بالفلك فادرك ان له دولة و انه يكون احد الدُعاة الى ولدة فلما قدم ابن فضل و صحبه رأى انه قد تمم له المراد و إن ابن فضل من أهل اليمن خبير به و بأهله فقال ميمون لمنصور يا با القاسم ان الدين يمان و الكعبة 4 يمانية و الركن و كلّ امر يكون مبتداءة من قبل اليمن فهو ثابت لثبوت نجمه و قد رأیت ان تخرج انت و صاحبنا علیّ بن فضل الى اليمن و تدعوان الى ولدى فسيكون لكما بها شان و سلطان و كان منصور قد عرف من ميمون اصامات 5 كثيرة فاجابه الى ما دعا فجمع بينه و بين عليّ بن فضل و عاهد بينهما و أوصى كلّا منهما بصاحبه خيرًا قال منصور لما عزم ميمون على ارسالنا اليمن أوصاني بوصایا منها اننی متی دخلت الیمن سترت امری حتی ابلغ غرضی و قال لي الله الله مرتبين صاحبك يعني ابن فضل احفظه و احسن اليه و أصره بحسن السيرة فانّ له شانا و لا آمن عليه ثم قال لابن فضل

<sup>?</sup> اعتاذ ¹ ? و لها رأى ما فيه من النجابة ° ? ذهنا ³

<sup>5</sup> Khi; so also ar Rāzi. لَكُ كُمة Read لَكُ كُمة لله Khi; so also ar Rāzi.

الله الله اوصيك بصاحبك خيرًا وقدره و اعرف حقّه و لا تخرج عن أصرة فانته أعرف منك و منمى فان عصيته لم ترشد ثم ودعنا و خرجنا مع الحاج حتى أتينا مكّة فحجهنا ثم سرنا مع حاج اليمن حتى جئنا غلافقة ثم تواصينا لا ينسى أحد منّا صاحبه و لا يقطع خبره عنه ثم سرت حتى قدمت الجند وهي إذذاك بيد الجعفري قد تغلب عليها و انتزعها من ابن يعفر و كان الشيخ قد قال لي ايّاك ان تبتدى بشيء من أمرك الله في بلد يقال لها عدن لاعة فانها البلد الذي يتمّ ناموسك و تنال غرضك فيها فلم اعرفها فقصدت عدن أبين و سالت عن عدن لاعة فقيل لي انها جِهة حجة فسالت عن من تقدم من أهلها فأرشدت الى جماعة قدموا لغرض التجارة و اجتمعت بهم و صحبتهم و تطلعت عليهم حتى احبوني و قلت انا رجل س أهل العلم بلغني ان لكم بلد جبلا و اريد أصحبكم اليه فرحبوا و الهلوا ثم لما ارادوا السفر خرجت من جملتهم و كنت في اثناء الطريق المحمهم أ بالاخبار و احضّهم على الصلوة و كانوا ياتمّون بيّ فحين دخلت الاعة سألت عن المدينة فيها فأرشدت اليها فاتيتها و لنرحت بعض مساجدها و اقبلت على العبادة حتى مال التي جمع من الناس فلما علمت ان قد استحكمت محبّتي في قلوبهم اخبرتهم و اني انّما قدمت عليهم داع للمهدى الذي بشّر به النبي صلّى الله عليه و سلّم فحالفت منهم جمعا على القيام فصار يُوتي لي بالزكوة فلما اجتمع عندی منها شیء کثیر قلت انه ینبغی ان یکون لی معقلاً یحفظ به هذه الزكوة يكون بيت مال للمسلمين فبنيت عين ∞حرم و هو

<sup>?</sup> أُتحفهم 1

حص كان لقوم يعرفون ببنى العدءا و نقلت اليه ما كان قد تحصل عندی من طعام و دراهم فحین سرت الیه بما معی و قد عاهدنی خمسمائة رجل على النصر صعدوا معى الحصن بما معهم من مال و أولاد فاظهرت حينتُذ الدعوة الى عبيد الله المهدى أبن الشيخ ميمون و مال الى موافقتي حلق ماشر أ ثم لما أخذ جبل مسور و استعمل الطبول و الرايات بحيث كان له ثلثون طبلا اذا اقبل الى مكان سمعت الى مسافة بعيدة و كان للحوالي حصن بجبل مسور له به وال انتزعه منه ثم حين علم استقامة أمرة كتب الى ميمون يخبرة بقيام أَصرَة و ظَهُورِه على ما عاندة و بعث له بهدايا و تحف جليلة و ذلك سنة تسعين و مائتين فحين بلغه الأمر و وصلت الهدايا قال لولده عبيد هذه دولتك قد قامت لكن لا احبّ ظهورها الّا من المغرب ثم بعث ابا عبد الله التحسين بن احمد بن محمد بن زكريا المعروف بالشيعي الصنعاني الى المغرب و أمره بدخول افريقية وسياسة أهلها و استمالهم الى طاعة ولدة عبيد فقدم المغرب حيث أمرة وكان من رجال العالم الذين يضرب بهم المثل في السياسة فلم يستحكم أصرة الا في سنة ست و تسعين و مائتين فكتب الى المهدى يخبره بقيام الأمر وطاعة الناس له و يأمره بالقدوم اليه فبادر عبيد الملقب بالمهدى و قدم افریقیة و قد کان الشیعی غلب علی ملکها و صار بیده فحین قدم المهدى سلمه اليه فندمه ° و ذمّه اخوه و قال له بئس ما صنعت بيدك ملك تسلمه لغيرك و جعل يكرر ذلك عليه حتى اثر عنده و هم أن يغدر بالمهدى فبلغه ذلك فاستشعر منه و دبر عليه من قتله و قتل اخاه في ساعة واحدة منتصف جمادى الاخرة سنة ثماني

? فندّمه <sup>2</sup>

<sup>?</sup> لخلق بأسرهم 1 ا

و تسعین و مائتین و هذا عبد الله الملقب بالمهدی هو جدّ ملوك المغرب ثم بمصر فابن خلكان ينقول في نسبهم العبيديين نسبة الى هذا عبيد و ناس يسمونهم العلوبين على صحة دعواهم فالله عالم بالصواب فهذه نبذة بيَّذت فيها حال القرامطة في الميمن و حال منصور و الذي دعا الية و كان منصور ملكا مسدّدا و امّا ابن فضل فسياتي من ذكرة ما تبيّن حاله فقد مضى نسبه و أصل بلده فذكر من نقل سيرته انه لما فارق منصورا من غلافقة كما قدءها ذكره طلع الجبل و دخل الجند ثم خرج منها الى أبين و هي اذذاك بيد رجل من الاصابع يقال له محمد بن ابي العلى ثم خرج عنها الى بلد يافع فلقيهم¹ رعاعا فجعل يتعبد في بطون الاودية و يأتونه بالطعام فلا يأكل منه الله اليسير لمن يحقّق حاله فاعجبوا به و هم يسكنون بروس الجبال فسألوة ان يسكن معهم فلم يكد يجبهم الا بعد مدّة حتى الحوا عليه فذكر لهم انما يمنعه عن مساكنتهم الله عدم امتثالهم الامر بالمعروف و النهى عن المنكر و شرب الخمور و التظاهر بالفجور فحلفوا له على الطاعة و أن لا يخالفوه بما أمر فوعدهم خيرا و صاروا يجمعون له زكواتهم حتى اجتمع له شيء جيّد ثم انه قصد أبين فقتل صاحبها واستباحها و أخذ اموالا جليلة ثم قصد المذيخرة بلد الجعفري و كانت مدينة عظيمة بجبل ريمة فحاربه مرارا كانت الدايرة له فقتله و استباح بلده و سبا الحريم و قد ذكر ابن مالك ذلك برسالة، على اكمل وجه وليس هو من ملازم الكتاب فيأني مه و لما صار بالمذيخرة اعجبته فاظهر بها مذهبه و جعلها دار ملكه ثمم ادعى الذبوة و احلّ لاصحابه

شرب الخمر و نكاح البنات و الاخوات ثم دخل الجند في موسمها اوّل خميس من رجب و صعد المنبر و قال الابيات المشهورة و هي

خذی الدق یا هذه و العبی و غنّی هزاریك ثم اطربی توسی بنی بنی هاشم و هذا نبی بنی بغی یعرب لكل نبی مضی شرعة و هذی شریعة هذا النبی فقد حطّ عنّا فروض الصلوة و حطّ الصیام و لم تتعب اذا الناس صلّوا فلا تنبضی و ان صوموا فكلی و اشربی و لا تطلبی السعی عند الصفا و لا زورة القبر فی یثرب و لا تمنعی نفسك المعرسین من الاقربین مع الاجنبی فبم ذا حللت لبذا الغربب و صرت محرّعة للاب فبم ذا حللت لبذا الغربب و صرت محرّعة للاب الیس الغراس لمن ربّاه و سقاه فی الزمن المجدب و ما النجمر الا كمآء السماء محلّ فقدست من مذهب

ثم استقام امرة و غلب على مخلاف جعفر والجند عزم على غزو صنعاء و بها يومئذ اسعد بن ابرهيم بن يعفر فمرّ بذمار و أخذ حصن هران و دخل واليه و غالب من معه فيه بالمذهب و لحق بقيتهم باسعد بن يعفر و لما سمع اسعد بن يعفر بكثرة جيوشه خرج من صنعاء هاربا و دخلها ابن فضل يوم الخميس لثلث مضين من رمضان سنة تسع و تسعين و مائتين فنزل الجامع و حصل بقدومه مطر عظيم فأمر بسد الميازيب التي للجامع و اطلع النسا التي سبين من صنعاء و غيرها و طلع المنارة ثم جعلوا يلقوهن الى المآء منكشفات عرايا فمن

<sup>?</sup> ثم عزم or و عزم <sup>1</sup>

اعجبته أخذ بها الى المنارة و افتضّها حتى قيل انه افتضّ عدّة من البكور و ارد ذلك المآء و تحقنه على السقف حتى يوجد اثر ذلك الى اليوم ذكرة القاضى سرى الآتى ذكرة ثم انه حلق رأسه فعلق معه موافقة مائة الف نفس و أمر باخراب دار ابن عنبسة ظلّ انه يجد بها ذهبا فلم يجد غير عشرة الاف دينار و أن كان أبن عنبسة من اعيان صنعاء خرج مع اسعد حين خرج فلما بلغه اخراب بيته اخذته بطنه و مات و حين بلغ منصور دخول ابن فضل صنعاء سرّه فلك و تجهز حتى جاه و اجتمعا و فرج كل منهما بصاحبه ثم خرج ابن فضل الى حراز ثم نزل المهجم فأخذها و سار الى الكدرا فأحذها ایضا ثم قصد زبید فهرب صاحبها و هی یومئذ بید ابی جیش اسحاق ابن ابرهیم بن محمد الواصل من بغداد فقیل هرب و قیل قاتل فقتله ابن فضل و استباح زبيد و سبا الحريم فذكر نقلة الاخبار انّه أخذ منها نحو اربعة الاف بكر سوى الجارج ثم خبرج منها يويد المذيخرة على طريق الميراد<sup>2</sup> جبل شرقى زبيد فلما صار بعسكرة بموضع يسمّى المداحيص او المشاخيص أسرصايحة فصاح بالعسكر بالنزول فلما نزلوا ناداهم نداء الاجتماع فاجتمعوا اليه و حضروا اديه قال<sup>3</sup> لهم قد علمتم انما خبرجتم للجهاد في سبيل الله و قد غنمتم من نسا الحصيب ما لا يخفى و ليست امنهن عليكم أن يفتنَّكم و يشغلنكم عن الجهاد فليذبح كل رجل منكم ما صارمعه منهن ففعلوا ذالك فصار الدم في ذلك اثرة سنين كثيرة و لذلك سمّى بالمداحيص او المشاخيص ثم توجه الى المذيخـرة فلما صاربها امـربقطـع الطرق لا سيما طرق الحمِّ

۽ أبر<sub>ي</sub> 1

الميران Or <sup>2</sup> فقال 3

و قال حجّوا الحرف موضعا بالقرب من المذيخرة و اعمروا العالمي و هو واد بالقرب من الحرف و لما علم أن قد استحكم له أمر اليمن خلع عبيد بن ميمون الذي كان يظهر انه داع اليه ثم كاتب صاحبه منصور بذلك فعاد جوابه اليه يعاتبه ويقول له كيف تخلع من لم تنل خيرا الا به و تترك الدعا اليه فما تذكر ما بينك و بينه من العبود و ما أحَّد علينا جميعا من الوصية على الاتفاق وعدم الافتراق فلم يلتفت اليم بل كتب كتابا يخبره و يقول انّ لي بابي سعيد الجذّابي اسوءه اذ قد دعا الى نفسه و انت ان لم تنزل الى و تدخل باحابتي أ نابذتك الحرب فلما ورد كتابه الى المنصور بذلك غلب على ظنه صحته و طلع جبل مسور و اخذ بتحصينه و قال أنّما حصنت هذا الجبل من هذا الطاغية و امثالة و لقد عرفت الشرّ بوجهة حين اجتمعنا بصنعاء ثم أن أبن فضل بعد مديدة من تصديره الكتاب تجهِّز الى غزو منصور و انتدب لذلك عشرة الاف رجل من المعدودين في عسكره و سار من المذيخرة حتى دخل شبام فحصل بينة و بين عسكر منصور حرب و تكور ذالك ثم دخل ابن فضل بلد لاعة و صعد جبل الجَميمة بالجيم مفتوحة و هو جبل فائش على قرب من مسور و هو لقوم يقال لهم بنو المنتاب فاقام به ثمانية اشهر يحاصر منصور فلم يدرك منه طايلا و شقّ به الوقوف و علم منصور بذاك فراسله بالصلح فقال ابن فضلًا لا افعل الَّا أن يرسل اليَّ ولدة يقف معى على الطاعة و الَّا فلا يسمع منى انّني رحت بغير قضا حاجة ويشيع ذاك عند العالم انّى تركته تفضّلا لا عجزا ففعل منصور ذلك و تقدم معة بعض اولاد منصور ثم ان

طاعتي ,Khi

ابن فضل طوّقه بطوق من ذهب و انهمك في المذيخرة على تحليل محرمات الشريعة واباحة محظوراتها وعمل بها دارا واسعة يجمع فيها غالب أهل مذهبه نساء و رجالا متزيّنين متطيّبين و يوقد بيذهم الشمع ساعة و يتحادثون فيها باطيب الحديث و اطربه ثم يطفى الشمع و يضع كل منهم يده على اصراة فلا يترك الوقوع عليها و ان كانت من ذوات محارمه و قد يقع مع احدهم ما لا يعجبه اما العجز او لغيرة فيريد التفلُّت منها فلا يكاد تعذرة فقد حكى ابن صالك ان رجلًا من القوم وقعت يدلا على عجبوز كبيرة عحدودية أفحين تحقق حالها اراد التفلّت منها فقالت له دو بُد من ذي حكم المدر و دو بالدال المهملة في لغة بعض اليمانيين بمعنى لا فكأنَّها قالت لا بدّ من ذي حكم الامير و ذي بالذال المعجمة بمعنى الذي كُأنَّها قالت لا بدُّ من الذي حكم² اللمير يعني ابن فضل و هذه مخترية عظيمة شاغب عنه عمت<sup>3</sup> جميع من انتسب الى التشمعل و هي شيء لم تحقق عن احد غيرة و لقد سألت جمعا من الذين يتحقق منهم المذهب فانكروا ذلك و رأيتهم مجتمعين على ان ابن فضل زنديق و ان منصور اليمن من اعيان مذهبهم و اخيارهم و ذلك هو الذي يفرر في فهني وكان ابن فضل لما طابت له المذيخرة و جعلها دار اقامته استناب على صنعاء أسعد بن يعفر المقدّم ذكرة استنابة مكانة لآنة الم يثبت أن أسعد اجتمع به بل كان حذرا من غدرة فاقام أسعد بصنعاء نائبا له و هو يود أن يأخذ بثار المسلمين منه و هو ايضا حذر منتعص و كان لا يكاد يستقرر بصنعاء خشية غازية من ابن فضل او هجمة قال

· 1010?

<sup>?</sup> مجدردية <sup>1</sup> مجدردية ا

ابن جرير و كان عنوان كتب ابن فضل الى أسعد بن يعفر من باسط الارض و داحيها و مزلزل الجبال و مرسيها على بن الفضل الى عبده أسعد وكفي بهذا الكلام دليلا على كفره فنسئل الله العصمة و في اثنآء ندابة أسعد له قدم رجل غريب يزعم انه شريف بغدادي فصحب أسعد و أنس به و قيل ان قدومه كان بارسال من صاحب بغداد لما بلغه من تقوّم ابن فضل ليعمل الحيلة في قتله فلبث عند أسعد مدّة وكان جرائحيا ماهرا بصناعة الادوية بصيرا بفتي العروق و مداواة الاجرحة و سقى الاشربة الذافعة و لما شدّ خوف أسعد لابن فضل قال انغى عزمت أن أهب نفسى لله و تصدّقا على المسلمين لاريحهم من هذا الطاغية فعاهدني أن أنا عدت اليك على تقاسمني ما يصير الدِك من الملك فاجابه أسعد الى ما سأل فـتَجَهَّز الغريب و خرج من عند أسعد و هو اذذاك مقيم بالجوف ببلد همدان على تخوّف من ابن فضل فسار الغريب حتى قدم المذيخرة فخالط وجـوه الدولة و كبرآءها و فتح لهم العروق و سقاهم الادوية الذافعة و اعطاهم المعجونات فرفعوا ذكره الى ابن فضل و اثنوا عليه عنده و وصفوه بما فيه من الصنعة و قيل له انه لا يصلح الا لمثلك فلما كان ذات يـوم احبّ الافتصاد فبحّث عنه وطلبه فجي له به وحين وصله الطالب عمد الى سمّ فعمله بشعره في مقدم راسه و كان ذي شعر كثير ثم لما دخل عليه أسرة ان يتجرف من ثيابه و يلبس غيرها من ثياب كانت عند ابن فضل ثم أسرة بالدنو منه ليفصده ففعل و قعد بين يديه ثم أخرج المفصد و امتصه تبريّيةً له من السمّ ثم مسخه برأسه في موضع السمّ فعلق منه بعض شيء ثم فصده بالاكحل و ربطه و خرج من فورة

و حمل هداده على حماراً له و خرج من المذيخرة مبادرا الى أسعد بن يعفر و لما قعد ابن فضل ساعة احسّ بالسمّ و علم انه قد اُكيد على يد الفاصد فأمر بطلبه فلم يوجد فازداد تبغيا وأسر ان يلحق حیث کان و یئوتی به فخرج العساکر فی طلبه بنواج شتّی حتی ادركه بعضهم بوادى السحول عند المسجد المعروف بقيذان فلم يلتزم بل مانع عن نفسه حتى قتل و قبره هذالك و هو مسجد جاءع له مفارة يزار و يتبرّك به دخلته في المحرم سنة ست و تسعين و ستمائة و توفى ابن فضل عقيب ذلك ليلة الخميس منتصف ربيع الاخر سنة ثلث و ثلثمائة وكان مدّة امتحان المسلمين بتملكه سبع عشرة سنة واما علم أسعد بوفاته فرح و كذلك جميع أهل اليمن فرحوا فرحا شديدا ثم كاتبوا أسعد على انه يغزو المذيخرة ويستأصل شان القرامطة فاجابهم الى ذلك و تجهّز بعسكر جرّار من صنعاء و نواحيها ثم لما صار بمخالف جعفر اجتمع اليه أهله ثم أهل الجند و المعافر و التفت العساكر الي المذيخرة وكان قد خلف ابن فضل ولدا له يعرف بالغافا لعافاه 2 كانت به فحصر أسعد المذيخرة بمن معة من الناس و كانت محطته بجبل ثومان الذي تقدم ذكره عند ذكر الجعفري الذي يعرف الآن ججبل خولان لان به عرباء منهم يعرفون ببنى البعّم فلم تنرل العساكر فيه و كلما خرج لهم عسكر من المذيخرة كسرهم المسلمون و تقابع ذلك مرَّة على مبرَّة حتى ذلَّوا و خضعوا ثم نصب أسعد على المدينة المنجنيقات فهدس<sup>3</sup> غالب دورها و دخلها قهرًا ثم قتل ابن على بن فضل و جميع من ظفر به من خواصه و أهله و من دخل بمذهبه

هُداره على حماد Ur أ بالغافاءي لغفاءة " أ مهدم "

و سبى بناته و كن ثلثا اصطفى أسعد منهن واحدة اسمها معافة وهبها لابن اخيه قعطان فولدت له عبد الله الاتي ذكره و الثنتان صارتا الي رعيين فكانت مدّة حصار المسلمين و أسعد للمذيخرة سنة كاملة قيل انه لم ينزع أسعد فيها درعه و لم ينزل متقلدا لسيفه و انقطعت دولة القرامطة من مخلاف جعفر و لم تنزل المذيخرة خرابا منذ ذاك الى عصرنا و اما منصور فهو على <sup>ال</sup>حال المتقدم لكنّه كان رئيسًا لبيبًا يحمب المباقاة و لم يبرج في جهة لاعة حتى توفى قبل ابن فضل سنة اثنتين و ثلثمائة بعد أن أوضى لولد له أسمه الحسن و رجل اخر من <sup>اصحا</sup>به اسمة عبد الله بن العباس الشاوري كان خصيصًا به و كان قد ارسله الى المهدى برسالة و هدية و صار عند المهدى منة صُورة و معرفة و ذلك أنّ منصورا لما احسّ بالموت جمع بينهما و قال اوصيكُما بهذا النَّمر فاحفظاه و لا تقطعا دعوة بني عبيد بن صيمون فنحن غرس من غروسهم و لولا ما دعونا اليه من طاعتهم لم تتم لذا سراد و عليكم بمكاتبة أمامذا المهدى فلا تقطعا أسرا دون مشاورته فان هذا الأمرلم آخذه بكثرة مال و لا رجال و لم آت هذا البلاد الَّا بغضًا و بلغت ما لم يخف ببركة المهدى الذي بشّر به النبي صلعم و كثيرًا ما كان يقول ذلك في ملاً من الناس ثم لما توفي منصور كتب وصيته الشاورى الى المهدى و هو مقيم بالمهدية يخبره بوفاة منصور و ترك أسر الدعوة مرخى حتى يررّد أسرة و اعلم المهدى بانه يقوم بأمر الدعوة قيامًا سافيًا 1 وافيًا دون اولاد منصور و بعث بالكتاب مع بعض اولاد منصور فسار به حتى قدم المهدية و دفع الكتاب الي المهدي فلما قرأًه و كان قد عرف الشاوري من وقت قدم عليه برسالة منصور

<sup>?</sup> صافيًا 1

و انه يكمل للدعوة و خشي عجز اولاد منصور عنها و لم يكن ابن منصور علم بما في كتاب الشاوري فاجاب المهدى للشاوري بالاستقلال و عاد ولد منصور خائبًا فعاد البلاد و هو مضمر السرّ فاوصل جواب المهدى الى الشاوري و صار هو و اخوته يواصلونه و هو يكرمهم و يبجلهم و لا يحجب احدا منهم بل يدخلون عليه متى شاؤا من غير حاجب ثم ان الذي وصل من المهدى دخل عليه في بعض الغفلات فقتله واستولى على البلاد و لما صار مستوليا جمع الرعايا من أنحاء بلده و اشهدهم انه قد خرج الى مذهب السنة و ترك مذهب أبيه فاعجب الذاس ذلك و احتبوه و دانـوا له فدخل عليه أخ له أسمه جعفر فنهاه عن ما فعل و قبحة عليه فلم يلتفت اليه فخرج عنه مغضبا و قصد المهدى الى القيروان فوجده قد توفى و قام ابغه بعده القائم و ذلك سنة اثنتین و عشرین و ثلثمائة اعنی موت المهدی و قیام القائم فلبث ابن منصور عنده ثم ان اخاه قتل أهل مذهب أبيه و شرّدهم حتى لم يبق حوله الله من لا يعرف بل بقى في البلد جماعة قليلة يكاتبون بنی عبید بن میمون الی القیروان ثم ان ابن منصور خرج من مسور الى عين محرم المذكور اولا و كان به رجل من بني العرجاء سلاطين تلك الناحية و استخلف على مسور رجلا يقال له ابرهيم بن عبد المجيد الشيعي¹ و هـو جدّ بني المنتاب الذي اليه ينسب مسور فيقال المنتاب فلما صار بعين محرم وثب علية ابن العرجاء فقتله و حين سمع ابن عبد الحميد ذلك خرج من بقى معه بمسور من أهل منصور و حرمه الى جبل المحسب" فوثب الناس

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> D. فلزم مسورا و ادعى الامر لنفسه و .D. جبل بني اعشب .D. جبل بني اعشب .

عليهم ينهدون و يسبّون و يقتلون ثم حصل بين ابن العرجاء و ابن عبد الحميد اتفاق و اقسما البلاد و رجع ابن عبد الحميد عن مذهب منصور و ابتنى جامعا و عمل منبرا و بايم الخطبة ابنى العباس و جعل يتبع القرامطة حيث سمع بهم حتى افذاهم و لم يبق منهم غير شيء ندمة قليلة بناحية مسور كاتمين أمرهم مقيمين ناموسهم برجل يقال له ابن رحدم حازما لا يكان يعرف ابن قبرارة خوفا ان يذاله المنتاب او غيره من أهل السنّة و هـو صع ذاك يكاتب اولاد المهدى الى القيروان و الى مصر و في ايامه قدم المعتر بن القائم بن المهدى من القيروان الى مصر و ابتنى القاهرة و جعلها دار اقامته ثم لمَّا دنت و فاته استخلف على أهل مذهبه رجلا منهم يقال له يوسف ابن الاسم 2 ثم توفى و ولى الأمر يومئذ الحاكم فكان ابن الاسم يدعو اليه و يبايع له سرّا حتى دنت وفاته و استخلف رجلا يقال له سليمان بن عبد الله الرواحي من طلع شبام و كان ذا مال جزيل يداري به و يدفع به عن أهل مذهبه و كلمًّا همّ احد من الناس بقتله يقول له انا رجل من المسلمين اقول لا الله الا الله كيف يحلُّ لكم دمَّى و أخذ مالى فيمسكون عنه و لما دنت و فاته استخلف على بن محمد الصليحي و أصله من الاحراج $^{\epsilon}$  شيع من اشياع حرار $^{*}$ 

# CORRIGENDA.

P. ، footnote 1, for تزار read نزار عن طاعة ,, عن طامة ,, 11, ب ,, ۱ine 7, ,, قالة ,, قالة ,, قالة ,, ? حدمت النج read حدمت النج read حدمت النج ? مولاتنا read مولاننا read ، ١٠ ا ١٠ بر لا يَزَال يري I have read لا نزال تري I have read لا نزال عري لست read ليست read لست البيعة ,, البيعة ,, 1.19, , ع. مأمنيه ,, ما منهم ,. ۴٠ ١. ١٤٠ .. این , ۴۳ ا. 2, ,, ن ب ,, نیا , \*\* footnote 4, for % read : % اسراء ,, اسر ,, 5, , الى ان توفى .. الى وفاه ,, الى ان توفى .. الى ع مع ولد النج و, أم ولد النج 5, for .. .. ب, ·· الماله ,, الماله ب عنس ,, ده **f.-note 6, ., عنس** ,, طبيب ,, طبعب ,, بالم

- read الا مارة and الا ستاذون and الامارة P. 1. 9, for الامارة and الاستاذون
- واسعة read و اسعة read واسعة
- التراسل read اليراسل read اليراسل
- يابا read يايا read يابا
- بل و مولانا بل و رجلنا 17, read بل
- ,, ,, l. 18, ,, سيفيم فيف
- يتحدث read يخدث ,, 🕫 l. 12, يخدث
- التصوف read لتصوف read لتصوف
- بدعوة read دعوة read بدعوة
- ) بن یکون read لن تکون read لن تکون (see p. re
- ,, ירم 1, 10, for و هو read , as in vol. ii., p. 252 of Ibn Khaldūn's General History.
- ., ۱۲۹ 1. 20, اجوان . So in L. In B. اجواف
- طفار read طفار read طفار
- ? وكحلان Add ? وثلا ... f.-note 2.
- دى حدن The MS. has دى حدن

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

- Ah. Ahdal.
- D. Dayba' (Kurrat al-'Uyun).
- J. Janadi.

Kan. Ibn Khallikan.

Kdn. (or Kn.). Ibn Khaldan.

- B. Ibn Khaldūn, Bulāķ Ed.
- L. ,, British Museum, Add. 23,272.
- P. Ibn Khaldūn, Bibl. Nat., Suppl. Ar. 742 M.

Yak. Yāķāt's Mu'jam.







text at p. 14, Khazraji writes Byysh.)
Al-Waḥsh, 248.
\* Wādi Warazān, 306.
Wasā', 282.
Wāsit, 124, 288.
\* Province of Wuḥāzah, 17, 130, 243, 247.
\* Wuṣāb, mountain and fortress, 18,

Y.

44, 247, 291.

Al-Yābis, 247. Yathrib, 199, 216. \*Country of Yāfi', 191, 197, 222. Yafūz, 17, 243. \*Yahhib, 232, 246. Yalamlam, 12, 240. Yanbu', 317. \*Yarīm, 309. See Dhu Ru'ayn. Yarīs, 243, 247.

Z,

Az-Za'āzi', in Wādi Lahj, 69, 70, 72, 73, 270-71.

\*Zabīd. Its foundation, 4, 141.
Described, 166, 220-21. Its history under the Ziyādites, 4-16, 141-45. Looted by 1bn Faḍl, 200-1. By 'Abd Allah ibn

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Husayb, pronounced like Zubayr, is the name of the river (or valley) of Zabīd. It has an excellent climate, and its women are distinguished for their surpassing beauty and for their grace and kindliness. Hence the well-known saying: "On entering the town of Ḥuṣayb put your beasts to the trot"—meaning, hasten your pace lest you fall a victim to the women's fascinations.

See also Hamdāni, p. 53, l. 24, and 119, l. 17.

Note 141 to p. 202.—Abu Sa'īd al-Jannābi was chief of the Karmathian Principality of Baḥrayn. He died in A.H. 301, and throughout his life remained faithful in his allegiance to 'Obayd Allah. I do not know how to explain the allusion in the text to his having declared his independence of the Mahdy, excepting by the fact that his fidelity seems at one time to have been suspected. See de Goeje's Carmathes, p. 69.

Note 142 to p. 211.—Egypt was conquered by Jauhar, the Fatimite general, and the foundations of the fortress of al-Kāhirah (Cairo) were laid, in A.H. 358. Al-Mu'izz arrived in Egypt and established the seat of the Fatimite Empire at Cairo in A.H. 362.

Note 143 to p. 211.—Dayba' adds here that Ibn al-Asad exercised the office of Dā'y under the reigns of the Fatimite Khalifahs al-Ḥākim and az-Zāhir (A.H. 411-427), and during the earlier years of al-Mustanṣir (A.H. 427-487).

Note 144 to p. 212.—Instead of al-Aḥrāj or Akhrāj, I think we must read al-Ahhrāj, which, Hamdāni tells us (p. 106), adjoins the lower country of Hadūr and was in his day the dwelling-place of the Banu Sulayḥi, the Hamdānites. See Dr. Glaser, pp. 38 and 10. He identifies the district with the modern Hujrah, shown upon his map, east of Harāz. The place is mentioned, I may add, by al-Mukaddasy, who, according to Professor de Goeje's edition, writes Ukhrāj.

# لعنه الله في كُلُّ بلدة و اخزاه الله في كل مذهب

May God curse him in every land.—May God abase him whithersoever he go (or among the followers of all religions).

Note 138 to p. 199.—According to Khazraji, Ibn Fadl first obtained possession of San'ā in 293, a statement which is indeed confirmed by Tabari (vol. iii. pp. 2256 and 2267), and by Ibn al-Athir (vii. p. 378). Al-Khazraji's narrative (pp. 34, 35) is to the effect that Dhamar having been seized by the Karmathians, As'ad ibn Ya'fur tendered his submission, but that he fled upon Ibn Fadl making his entry into San'ā. The citizens applied for aid to the Zaydite Imām of Sa'dah, al-Hādi Yahya, who despatched against their enemies an army under the command of his son Abu 'l-Kāsim Muhammad al-Murtada. They gained possession of Dhamar and compelled the Karmathians to abandon San'a. But the latter recaptured Dhamar from the hands of al-Murtada in A.H. 294, and drove him to seek refuge at San'ā, where he joined his father. Al-Hadi was now attacked by the troops of As'ad ibn Ya'fur and, the citizens of San'ā refusing to support the Imam against their old masters, he abandoned the city and retreated to Sa'dah. The Karmathians again regained possession of the city for a short period, until they were for a second time expelled with the assistance of al-Hādi. But again the latter was put to flight by the approach of a strong force of the enemy. Al-Hādi died in 298. The Banu Ya'fur once more succeeded in wresting the city from the hands of the Karmathians, but they were themselves soon again driven forth, and Ibn Fadl, in Ramadān 299, made his entry into San'ā, which remained thenceforth under his dominion, until the termination of his career.

Note 139 to p. 201.—These two words have a truly ghastly signification. They are derived from the verbs daḥaṣa, to agitate one's limbs in the agonies of death, and shakhaṣa, to fix one's eyes in the stare of death. Al-Khazraji calls the place al-Mashāḥīt, from shaḥaṭa, to welter in blood. Müller's Hamdāni mentions al-Malāḥīz, situated on the banks of the river Zabīd (p. 71, l. 17, and 100, l. 21).

Note 140 to p. 201.—The author of the Tāj al-'Arūs writes as follows:—

some time previous to his mission, Abu 'Abd Allah was absent from his native country, that he had an interview with the "grand master" (de Goeje, p. 19, footnote), and that he returned thereafter to Yaman.

As regards the question of the date at which his mission to Africa occurred, the year 290 is to be found in Khazraji as in our text. Makrīzi says (vol. i. p. 350) that Abu 'Abd Allah arrived in the country of Katāmah in A.H. 288. Ibn al-Athir we read 280, the date adopted by de Sacy, on the authority of Baybars al-Mansury and of Abu 'l-Fada. According to Ibn al-Athir, not only was Abu 'Abd Allah in North Africa before the death (at the latter end of A.H. 289) of Ibrahim ibn Ahmad the Aghlabite, but it would further appear that he had previous to that event acquired sufficient power in the country, to enable him to enter into a state of open warfare with the troops of Ibrahim. (Ibn al-Athir, vol. viii. pp. 25, 26.) The author of the Dastur cannot be accepted as a safe guide, but it is not without interest to notice that, although he explicitly mentions the totally inadmissible year 296 as that of Abu 'Abd Allah's arrival, he does so immediately after mentioning figures, 145 + 135 (245 + 35?) which gives us the date of а.н. 280.

The year 296, mentioned in our text as that in which 'Obayd Allah started for North Africa, must be wrong. Our author is, it is true, by no means singular in his error, but Professor de Goeje shows that 'Obayd Allah's departure from Syria occurred, in all probability, not later than AH. 287 or 288.

A statement by the author of the Dastūr may be noted, to the effect that when 'Obayd Allah arrived in Egypt he intended proceeding to Yaman, that he was deterred by news of the insubordination of Ibn al-Faḍl, and that he remained in concealment in Egypt until he departed for North Africa.

Note 137 to p. 199.—Professor de Goeje has reproduced these verses from Khazraji. Two lines are added, expressive of the indignation they aroused in the mind of the orthodox Muslim who has preserved them. The two lines are of the same character as the following, interpolated by Dayba', immediately after the passage in which the supposed new Prophet is represented as proclaiming the abolition of prayer and of fasting:—

Note 133 to p. 192.—It is of course altogether out of the question to suppose that Ibn Haushab and Ibn Fadl were sent to Yamau by Maymūn, or that 'Obayd Allah the Mahdy was his son.

'Abd Allah son of Maymūn, the real author of the Ismailite conspiracy, was perhaps still living when the two emissaries were despatched; but Prof. de Goeje shows that it was doubtless Abdallah's son Aḥmad who organized the mission to Yaman.

'Obayd Allah must at that time have been in his child-hood. He died in A.H. 322, at the age, according to Ibn al-Athīr, of sixty-three years.

Note 134 to p. 193.—These words are founded upon a traditionary saying of the Prophet. It is cited in both the works of Khazraji preserved in the Leiden Library, and also in the book by ar-Rāzi at the British Museum.

Note 135 to p. 194.—Al-Khazraji here adds that Ibn Haushab and Ibn Fadl arrived in Yaman shortly after the assassination of Muhammad ibn Ya'fur, an event which we have been told by al-Janadi, on the authority of Ibn al-Jauzi, occurred in the first month of A.H. 279 (supra, Note 8, p. 225).

Prof. de Goeje arrives at the conclusion that the Ismailite mission was sent to Yaman in A.H. 266, a date in accord with Maķrīzi and with the author of the Dastūr. The latter states that the two missionaries were despatched in 266, whilst both agree in saying that they arrived in Yaman in 268 and that the Ismailite supremacy began to be freely preached in 270.

It would follow that Ibn Fadl's final conquest of San'ā (see Note 138) must have occurred thirty-one years and Ibn Ilanshab's death (a.H. 302) thirty-four years after their arrival in the country. It would in fact appear that they laboured for many long years, before they gained the commanding position which they eventually held for a brief period.

Note 136 to p. 196.—It will be noticed that Abu 'Abd Allah is here represented as having been sent to Africa by Maymūn, or as it may be understood, by the ruling chief of the Ismailites at that period, and not by Ibn Ḥaushab as is stated by other writers. But it is probably true that

al-Munajjimin, whom I have already had occasion to mention (supra, Note 26). See also the footnote to the printed edition of Tahani iii n 225¢

printed edition of Tabari, iii. p. 2256.

In the case of his companion, the discrepancies between the different names attributed to him are even greater. But in styling him  $Mans\bar{u}r$ , as if it were a proper name, Janadi and Khazraji have allowed themselves to be led into error, through the fact that the Ismailite emissary was known by the designation  $Mans\bar{u}r$  al-Yaman, he, that is to say, who was endowed with divine assistance in Yaman, meaning further, he who was victorious or who triumphed in Yaman. Khazraji gives him the name of Mans $\bar{u}r$  son of Husayn.

The author of the *Dastūr* calls him Abu 'l-Kāsim (see supra, p. 193), al-Faraj ibn Hasan ibn Haushab ibn Zadān al-Kūfi (native of Kūfa). In Maķrīzi (vol. i. p. 349) we read Abu 'l-Kāsim al-Husayn ibn Faraj ibn Haushab al-Kūfī; in Ibn 'l-Athīr (vol. viii. p. 22), Rustam ibn al-Husayn (or al-Hasan) ibn Haushab ibn Dadhān an-Najjār. The difference between the two last mentioned is somewhat singular, seeing that a comparison of the two passages relating to Ibn Haushab clearly shows that both writers have borrowed, whether directly or indirectly, from one and the same source. In Maķrīzi, it may be remarked, the word kharraba, to ruin or devastate, has been wrongly substituted for haratha, to plough, with the result of destroying the sense of the phrase.

Note 132 to p. 191.—There is here a divergence between the statements of al-Janadi and Khazraji touching the pedigree of Ibn Faḍl, all the more noticeable, since both evidently derive their accounts of the Karmathians in Yaman from the same origin, that is to say, from Ibn Mālik, the writer mentioned in the text.

In Khazraji there is no mention of Dhu Jadan. Ibn al-Athīr, it deserves perhaps to be noticed, says that Ibn Faḍl was member of a family, natives of al-Janad. Al-Khazraji simply says that Ibn Faḍl was descendant of "Khanfar son of Saba son of Ṣafi (Ṣayfi?) son of Zur'ah (Ḥimyar the younger) son of Saba the younger."

The tribe or family of Khanfar is mentioned by al-Hamdāni (p. 204, l. 10), and elsewhere (p. 53, l. 19) the same writer tells us that Khanfar was the name of a town

in Abyan.

al-Hādy Yahya, the founder, as has been seen, of the Rassite

dynasty.

Mansur al-Kāsim was born in A.H. 967 and died in A.H. 1029 (A.D. 1620), after a reign of twenty-three years. He is the Imam "Khassem ibn Mohamed" spoken of by Niebuhr as ancestor of al-Mahdi 'Abbās, the reigning Imām of Yaman at the time of the traveller's visit to San'ā in A.D. 1763. Niebuhr prints in his Description de l'Arabie a genealogical table giving the names and tracing the descent, from al-hasim, of the Imams who successively occupied the throne down to the accession of al-Mahdi 'Abbas. Bughyat al-Murid contains a minute account of the numerous descendants of al-Kasim, the effect of which is to show that Niebuhr's table requires correction. Thus, al-Kāsim was succeeded, according to the Bughyat, not by his son Isma'il, but by his eldest son, al-Mu'ayyad Muhammad, born in A.H. 990, and who reigned from A.H. 1029 until his death in A.H. 1054, twenty-five years. His successor was his brother Isma'il al-Mutawakkil, who died in A.H. 1087 (A.D. 1676), aged sixty-six years.\* The life of the Imam al-Mansur al-Kāsim forms the subject of a MS. in the British Museum library, Or. 3329.

The biography of an earlier Imām, al-Mutawakkil 'al' Allah Yahya, will be found in one of the Zaydite MSS. (Or. 3731). Al-Mutawakkil, who died in A.H. 965 (A.D. 1558), likewise claimed to be a descendant of Yūsuf the Dā'y, but the line of descent is separate and distinct from

that of al-Kāsim.

Note 131 to p. 191.—Some words are, I think, here omitted in the text, but the general sense of the passage is

sufficiently obvious.

There is some difficulty in arriving at the correct names of the two personages who play so important a part in the history of the Karmathians, or Ismailites, in Yaman. Ibn Fadl is called Muhammad by Ibn Khaldūn, so also by Ibn al-Athūr, and probably therefore by other writers whose works I have not within reach. On the other hand, he is called 'Aly not only by 'Omārah, but also by Janadi, Khazraji, etc., by Mas'ūdi and by the author of the Dastūr

The year of al-Kāsim's birth is recorded in a chronogram ومباد وهب ربك = 967; also the date of al-Mutawakkil fama'îl's accession رب شرح لي صدرى = 1054.

their part, but also on that of other powerful chiefs. Denunciations were launched against the Imam, of whom it was declared that he was devoid of the qualities required by Divine law for his sacred office. The people were called upon to transfer their allegiance to the Sharif Hasan ibn Wahhas. Certain acts of extortion committed by order of the Imam Ahmad ibn Husayn filled up the measure of his unpopularity. The malcontents called upon Shams ad-din Ahmad (al-Mutawakkil), chief of the Hamzites and son of the Imam al-Mansur 'Abd Allah, to place himself at their They received support and assistance from the Rasulite king of Yaman. The rival forces met at Shuwabah in A.H. 656.\* The Imam's troops were defeated and fled. leaving him almost alone on the field of battle. Surrounded by a band of his enemies, he was overpowered and killed, and his head carried to the tent of Shams ad-din. event is said to have occurred on the identical day upon which the last Abbaside Khalīfah of Baghdad was put to death by Hulaku. The Sharif Abu Muhammad al-Hasan ibn Wahhās was proclaimed Imām, but was not universally acknowledged.

For about two years before that time, the country had been devastated by famine, which now resulted in pestilence. Among its earliest victims was Shams ad-dīn Aḥmad, and he was followed, before the end of the year, by two other sons of al-Manṣūr 'Abd Allah, Najm ad-dīn Musa and Ḥasan. The chieftainship over the Ḥamzites consequently devolved upon their brother, Ṣārim ad-dīn Da-ūd, son of the Imām al-Manṣūr 'Abd Allah.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Imāmate of Yaman was held by a family descended from al-Manṣūr al-Ṣāsim son of Muḥammad son of 'Aly al-Amlaḥi, a descendant of Yūsuf ad-Dā'y great-grandson of

<sup>\*</sup> For Shuwābah see supra, Note 6 (footnote). The author of the Jawāhir says that it stood east of Zafār; Yākūt, that it was at a distance of four miles from Ṣan'ā (elsewhere he says four parasangs) on the banks of the river Parawān, which he tells us, flowed between Shuwābah and a town named after the river. The distance from Ṣan'ā, as will be seen, must have been considerably more than even four parasangs. Yākūt adds a strange account of the savage and desolate nature of the country. No bird, he says, will pass over it, and the bed of the river, he continues, is strewn with stones resembling the fangs of a dog.

Khaldūn, who, it would appear, has borrowed it from al-Bayhaķi.\* The word signifies one appointed to subjugate.

Ahmad ibn al-Husayn was raised to the Imamate with the full consent and approval of the family of al-Mansur Ere long he was able to treat on terms of 'Abd Allah. equality with the Rasalite Sultan, at that time al-Muzaffar Yūsnf. Such a state of things was necessarily most distasteful, not only to the Sultan, but to all orthodox Muslims. Khazraji tells as, in his 'Ukūd, that the Abbaside Khalīfah al-Musta'sim sent the Sultan orders to put an end to the dominion of the heretical Imam. The Zaydite historians relate a different and a somewhat curious story. According to their version (Yawakit, fol. 171 rev.), al-Muzaffar asked assistance of al-Musta'sım against the Imain. The Khalīfah. it is related, sent the Sultan certain Hashishiyin, otherwise called, he continues, Fidāwiyīn. These are persons, he further explains, "who sell themselves and risk their lives in accomplishing the slaughter of a person whose death is required of them." † It is not without interest to observe that the word Hashīshiyān (or Hashīshiyān) is the same as that found by Mr. Lane ("Thousand and One Nights," Note 46 to ch. ii.) in Idrīsi's Geography, applied to the people we call the Assassins. The word, as Mr. Lane remarks, is precisely synonymous with Hashshāshīn. The latter is the form in common use at the present day, though it now simply signifies persons addicted to the use of the drug.

Sultan al-Muzaffar sent the assassins on a pretended mission to the Imam. They were received in audience, and very nearly succeeded in effecting their purpose. The Imam was wounded by the dagger of his assailant, but was rescued from the struggle by his attendants. ‡

Ere long the Imam was beset with more serious trouble. The fidelity of the family of al-Mansur to their oaths of allegiance did not long endure. The distribution of commands brought about jealousy and dissensions, not only on

<sup>\*</sup> See supra, p. 175, and compare with the passage in vol. ii. p. 252 of 1bn Khaldūn's General History (Bul. ed.).

<sup>†</sup> See supra, Note 55.

<sup>‡</sup> We are told by the same writer (fol. 166 obv.) that the Persian Imām Abu 'l-Hasan 'Aly al-Hādi al-Ḥakayni, who pursued the Ismailites with his enmity, was murdered in A.H. 440 by a Hashishy, sent for the purpose from the castle of Λlmūt.

its neighbourhood recognized as Imām the Sharīf Majd (or Najm) ad-dīn Yaḥya ibn al-Muḥsin (read Muḥanmad),\* who adopted the surname of al-Hādy ila 'l-Haḥk, the same as that of his namesake and ancestor, the originator of the dynasty. In the southern districts, 'Izz ad-dīn Muḥammad, surnamed an-Nāṣir li-dīn Illah, son of al-Manṣūr 'Abd Allah, was proclaimed Imām. He was defeated in A.H. 623, in an engagement near Ṣanʿā with the troops of the Ayyubite King al-Masʿūd. He fled to Thula, wounded by an arrow in the eye, and died before the end of the year. He was succeeded by his brother Shams ad-dīn Almad, al-Mutawakkil 'al' Allah. Al-Manṣūr 'Abd Allah, it must be stated, left a large family of sons besides the two I have here mentioned.

THE IMAM AHMAD IBN HUSAYN (ibn Ahmad ibn al-Kāsim), surnamed al-Mahdi, was proclaimed at Thula in A.H. 646. On the question of his descent there is a singular disagreement between the writers I have had the means of consulting, a thing all the more strange considering the importance attached by the Zaydites to the purity of their Imam's pedigree. Al-Ahdal makes Ahmad ibn Husayn great grandson of Kāsim (Abu 'l-Kāsim al Husayn?) son of al-Mu'ayyad Ahmad (one of the Persian Imams), descendant of Zayd son of Hasan and consequently not a member of the Rassite family.+ The author of the Yawakit identifies his great-grandfather with al-Mansūr al-Ķāsim, who died in A.H. 393, and among whose children no son of the name of Ahmad has been mentioned. The author of the Bughyat al-Murid says that he was descendant, as well as Mālikah the mother of the Imām Ahmad ibn Suleymān, of Ahmad son of Isma'īl Abu 'l-Barakāt, descendant of Muhammad son of al-Kasim the Rassite. This agrees with what is said by the author of the Javahir, who, however, confines himself to the statement that the Imām's great-grandfather al-Kāsim was descended from Muhammad son of al-Kāsim the Rassite. On the other hand, a comparison of dates—the Imām Ahmad ibn Suleyman having been born in A.H. 500—leaves the question in a doubtful condition.

The designation al-Mūti I find nowhere but in Ibn

<sup>\*</sup> Compare the Kāshifat al-Ghummah, fol. 22 rev., with the Halā'ik, fol. 206 rev. l. 14.

<sup>+</sup> See the Genealogical Table to Note 107.

years. Towards the latter end of his life he became blind, and he died in A.H. 566.

AL-Mansur billah 'Abd Allah was likewise a member of the Rassite family, descendant of Hamzah (son of the Imam Abu Hāshim al-Hasan) and of 'Abd Allah grandson of al-Käsim the Rassite (see the Genealogical Table, Note 107). He was born in A.H. 561, proclaimed himself Imam in 593, and was solemnly recognized in the following year. took up his residence for a time at Sa'dah, then moved southwards, and in 594 or beginning of 595, he entered San'ā, where the citizens submitted to his rule. In 595 he made himself master of Dnamar and its neighbourhood, but was soon compelled to relinquish his conquests and to retreat northward.\* He nevertheless continued to increase in power and reputation, which not only extended into the Hijāz, but his authority as Imām was formally recognized by the Zaydites of Persia. In A.H. 600 he restored and strengthened the fortress of Zafar. In 611 he regained possession of San'ā and Dhamār and occupied himself in subjecting the Mutarrifigal, whom, according to his own historians, he treated with great cruelty.

At the instigation of the Abbaside Khalīfah an-Nāṣir, a strong force was sent, in A.H. 612, against al-Manṣūr by al-Masṣūd, the last Ayyubite Sulṭān of Yaman. The Imām retreated to the neighbourhood of Kaukabān and intrenched himself in a strong position, where he built a substantial house for himself and quarters for his followers, and where he also set up a mint. That position he occupied for three months and a half, during which time frequent engagements took place between his troops and their enemies. In 613 a truce was agreed upon. The Imām removed to Kaukabān and then to Zafār. His health now gave way, and he died at the former place in the first month of A.H. 614.

The death of al-Mansūr billah was followed by a division in the ranks of the Zaydites. The people of Sa'dah and

<sup>\*</sup> Ibn al-Athīr mentions in his Chronicles (vol. xii. 113) the defeat of al-Manṣūr 'Abd Allah by the Ayyubite Sulṭān al-Mu'izz Isma'īl, and the date he gives is A.H. 597, not 592 as in our text of Ibn Khaldūn.

<sup>†</sup> The word المطرفية frequently occurs in the Zaydite histories. I have nowhere met with an explanation, but it seems to be a designation for the Sunnite Muslims and is very generally accompanied by the epithet shakiyah, the vile.

abridgment of the work, to which he gave the name Zubdat al-Halab, a portion of which has been published by Freytag. Ibn al-'Adīm was born in A.H. 580 and died in 660.

Note 130 to p. 190.—Ibn Khaldūn's chapter on the Russite Imāms is so incorrect that I have felt inclined to omit it altogether. But I have eventually thought that a more useful purpose may be gained by allowing it to form part of this volume, and by pointing out its inaccuracies. Touching the Suleymanite Sharīfs of Yaman, it will be sufficient to refer to what I have said in Note 88.

I have there pointed out Ibn Khaldūu's error in respect to the Imām Ahmad (al-Mutawakkil) son of Suleymān, whom he erroneously calls son of Ḥamzah, and of whom he still more inaccurately says, that he was nearly related to the Suleymanite Ghānim ibn Yahya. The Imām in question was in point of fact a direct descendant of an-Nāṣir Aḥmad son of al-Hādy Yaḥya. 'Omārah is therefore right in styling him the Russite. (See the Genealogical Table to Note 107.)

AHMAD AL-MUTAWAKKIL 'AL' ALLAH issued his proclamations asserting his claims to the Imamate in A.H. 532, and was recognized in Najran as well as at Sa'dah. With the assistance of the neighbouring Arab tribes, he attacked and defeated the Hamdanite King of San'a, Hatim ibn Ahmad, in A.H. 545. In 549, he marched against the Karmathian tribe of Yam, who, if the Zaydite historians are to be believed, still persisted in the practices described in Janadi's account of the sect (supra, pp. 199 and 203). The country was plundered and laid utterly waste by the Imam's troops, the remnant of the population seeking refuge in Najran. His expedition to Zabid took place in A H. 552. The account of it given by the Zaydite writers differs materially from The Prince of Zabīd, Fātik son of Muhammad, 'Omārah's. was, they say, a man of unparalleled wickedness and addicted to unnatural crimes. He fell into the hands of the Imam, who, refusing an enormous ransom, ordered his prisoner to be put to death in obedience to the Divine law. The Imam remained eight days at Zabid. He appointed a governor over the city and departed victorious and triumphant. He continued to wage war in defence of the faith and his fame spread abroad. The Khutbah was recited in his name in Khaybar and at Yanbu'. He reigned thirty-three

The next Imām of the Zaydites, it is stated, was Ḥasan ibn 'Aly surnamed an-Nāṣir lil-Ḥaḥḥ, but better known in history as al-Uṭrūsh. He arose in Persia in A.H. 301, and died at Āmul in Tabaristān in 304.

But we are also told that next in succession to al-Hādy was his son Muhammad al-Murtada. He succeeded upon the death of his father, and abdicated in 301 in favour of his brother Ahmad an-Nāṣir. This leaves no room for al-Uṭrūsh. The author of the Yawaķīt, on the other hand, tells us that the Imāmate of both the sons of al-Hādy is disputed. Al-Murtada died at Ṣaʿdah in A.H. 310.

Ahmad an-Nāṣir li-din Illah was chiefly engaged in wars with the Karmathians of Maswar, whose ruler, it is stated, was 'Abd al-Hamīd son of Muḥammad son of al-Ḥajjāj.\* A battle is said to have been fought in Sha'bān 307, in which the Karmathians were utterly defeated, but 'Abd al-Ḥamīd succeeded in making his escape. Aḥmad an-Nāṣir died, according to the author of the Ḥadā'ik, in A.H. 325.

For the subsequent Imams down to the middle of the seventh century of the Hijrah, I may content myself with referring the reader to the Genealogical Table, Note 107,

and to Note 130.

I must add that I have not been able to identify the writer *Ibn al-Mujāb*, mentioned by Ibn Khaldūn.

Note 128 to p. 186.—Abu Bakr Muḥammad ibn Yaḥya aṣ-Ṣūli died in A.H. 335. His life is given by Ibn Khallikān (de Slane, vol. iii. p. 68). He was a voluminous writer, and it will be noticed that among his works was a History of the Karmathians. He is doubtless the author quoted by adh-Dhahabi, as reproduced by Prof. de Goeje in his "Histoire des Carmathes" (p. 35).

Note 129 to p. 188.—Kamāl ad-dīn 'Omar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, surnamed Ibn al-'Adım, was author of an important work in ten volumes on the history of Aleppo, entitled Bughyat at-Talab fi tarīkh Ḥalab, a title which may be translated "Object of the Student's furthest desires in respect to the History of Aleppo." He afterwards wrote an

<sup>\*</sup> This 'Abd al Hamid, it must be presumed, was father of Ibrahim ibn 'Abd al-Hamid, mentioned in Janadi's history of the Karmathians (supra, p. 210).

with which he had been so long pursued, and towards the end of his life al-Kāsim purchased a property, named ar-Rass, situated near Dhu Hulayfah "on the further side of Jabal al-Aswād."\* Here he built himself a house, in which he died in A.H. 246.

The successor of al-Kāsim to the Imāmate was, according to the author of the Yawakīt, Muḥammad son of al-Kāsim, descendant of 'Aly Zayn al-'Abidīn and of Ilusayn brother of Ilasan. As Muḥammad is generally admitted to have disappeared in A.H. 219, the introduction of his name seems an anachronism, but the case is not exceptional.

Of Husayn and Muhammad, the two sons of al-Kasim the

Rassite, no record seems to have been preserved.

Yahya son of Husayn, who afterwards assumed the title al-Hādy ila 'l-Ḥakk, the Leader unto Truth, was born a year before the death of his grandfather. Al-Hady asserted his claim to the Imamate in A.H. 280 and proceeded to Sa'dah, where he used his influence to put an end to the strife with which the city was distracted. But he was soon compelled to abandon his task and to return to the Hijāz. Early in 284, he received invitations from the citizens to place himself at their head, and accordingly, in Safar of that year, he re-appeared at Sa'dah accompanied by his uncle Muhammad. He conquered Najran, and was next engaged in warfare with the Karmathians. The Zaydite author of the Hada'ik is silent over most of the particulars given by al-Khazraji (supra, Note 8) as well as by the author of the History of the Karmathians in Yaman, but he mentions that al-Hady sent his son Muhammad al-Murtada to assist the people of San'ā against the Ismailites, to which he adds that the Imām became master of Yaman. Al-Hādy died at Ṣa'dah in Dhu 'l-Hijjah 298, of poison it is said. He left three sons, Abu 'l-Kāsim Muhammad al-Murtada, Ahmad surnamed an-Nāṣir and Ḥasan.

<sup>\*</sup> Dhu Hulayfah is described by Yākūt as a village situated six or seven miles from Medinah and as the *Mikūt* (see Note 16) of the people of that city.

<sup>†</sup> The names of other sons are mentioned by genealogists, and there seems little doubt that certain descendants of al-Kāsim settled in Egypt. See the Tāj al-'Arūs, s.v. Rass, and cf. Ibn Khallikān (de Slane), vols. i. 115 and ii. 46.

was converted to Islam. Ibn Khaldun proceeds with a quotation from Ibn Sa'id, to the effect that in the sixth century, supreme power was held by 'Abd al-Kays of the family of Abn 'l-Jud descendant of 'Abd al-Madan. He says in our text, probably on the same authority, that 'Abd al-Kays was deposed by Ibn Mahdy, but it will be observed that there is no mention of him in our copy of 'Omarah, nor is Najrau mentioned as one of the places over which Ibu Mahdy ever exercised authority. I must add that I know of no other instance in which the name 'Abd al-Kays was borne by any person in Muhammadan times.

Note 127 to p. 185.—I have nowhere found confirmation of Ibn Khaldūn's statement that al-Kāsim fled to India and died there. Al-Khazraji says (p. 291) that certain Yamanites, on the appearance of the Karmathians in their country, proceeded to the Mountain of Rass at Medinah, in A.H. 284, and raised to supreme authority the Imam al-Hady Yahya son of Husayn son of al-Kāsim, who, with their assistance, conquered the country between Sa'dah and San'ā. Al-Ahdal tells us (fol. 12 rev.) that al-Kāsim died at ar-Rass, leaving two sons, Muhammad and Husayn.

The Zaydite MSS, recently acquired by the library of the British Museum, give a fairly consistent account of the life of al-Kāsim, the ancestor of the long line of Imāms of Yaman. According to the Hada'ik al-Wardayah (Or. 3786 and 3813), when Muhammad son of Ibrahim Tabataba died in A.H. 199, his brother al-Kāsim was in Egypt. remained there about ten years, living in a state of obscurity and in concealment, but recognized as the successor of his brother by the Alides, who sent him emissaries from all parts of the empire, from Mecca and from Medinah, from Kūfah, from Rayy and from Kazwīn.

When 'Abd Allah ibn Tāhir was appointed to the Government of Egypt (in A.H. 211 according to Makrizi, in A.H. 210 or 211 according to Ibn al-Athir), the new Governor adopted measures for the arrest of al-Kāsim.\* The latter contrived, however, to make his escape from Egypt and to reach Hijaz. There he sought refuge with an Arab tribe, among whom he lived concealed, throughout the reign of al-Ma'min and of his immediate successors. The lapse of years brought about a relaxation of the enmity

 <sup>\*</sup> Cf. Tabari, vol. iii. p. 1094, sqq.

Nairān became victims to the hostility of Dhu Nawas, the last of the long line of the Tubbas or Himyarite Kings of Yaman. He sought to force them into the acceptance of Judæism, the religion he had himself adopted, and the savage cruelty with which he pursued his design is denounced in the Kur'an (S. lxxxv.), where he is proclaimed as doomed to the torments of hell. These persecutions of the Christians of Najrāu brought about the invasion and conquest of Yaman by the Abyssinians, who were themselves subsequently expelled by the Persians.

The Arab traditions on the proficiency acquired by the people of Najran in the practice of supernatural arts, may serve to show that long before the rise of Islam, the Christian inhabitants of that province had made consider-

able progress in civilization.

It will be noticed that they are spoken of in our text as having themselves held the Jewish faith in early days. Tabari mentions that when Baruch fulfilled his mission to Bukht Nassar (supra, Note 3), he came from Najrān.

Note 125 to p. 184.—Abu 'Omar Yūsuf ibn 'Abd al-Barr, a famous traditionist, was a native of Cordova and died in A.H. 463. His life is included in the biographies of Ibn Khallikān (de Slane, iv. p. 398).

It may be remarked that (in vol. ii. p. 256), Ibn Khaldun himself omits the name of Yazid and substitutes that of his brother 'Abd al-Hajr son of 'Abd al-Madan. In his biography of the Prophet (p. 53) he, however, follows the

narrative of Tabari.

Note 126 to p. 184.—Ibn Khaldūn repeats in vol. ii. p. 255, that a portion of the Azdites remained in Najran and shared the authority of the Madhhijites over the country; but he makes there no mention of the Banu 'l-Hārith ibn Ka'b of the tribe of Azd. Al-Mas'ūdi tells us (Barbier de Meynard, iii. 390) that the Azdites in Najrān were absorbed in the tribe of Madhhij, a statement which seems more probable than that quoted in our text from Ibn Hazm. The chieftainship seems to have remained permanently in the hands of the Banu Harith the Madhhijites. It passed on to a family of that tribe, known as the Banu Dayyan (or Rayyān?), descendants of Yazīd surnamed Dayyān. His son was 'Abd al-Madan, mentioned in the text and in Note 122, father (ancestor?) of Yazīd son of 'Abd al-Madān, who have been a Christian church, built by the family of 'Abd al-Madān ibn Dayyān (Rayyān?). of whom mention will be

made in a subsequent note (No. 126).

For Kuss ibn Sā'idah, see Mas'ūdi's Golden Meadows (Barbier de Meynard, i. 133). He died towards the commencement of the Prophet's career, and the Tāj al-'Arūs mentious, on the authority of the Lisān al-'Arab, that Kuss ibn Sā'idah was styled Bishop of Najrān.

Note 123 to p. 183.—A translation of the story of the sons of Nizār and of the Jurhumite Affa of Najrān will be found in Masfūdi (Barbier de Meynard, iii. 228).

Mushallal is the name of a place situated between Mecca

and Medinah.

The Jurhumites were descended from Jurhum son of Kaḥṭān and brother of Ya'rub. The patriarch Ishmael married a daughter of the tribe, and from them was descended 'Adnān grandfather of Nizār and ancestor of the Ishmaelite or institious Arabs. Another, a primeval tribe known as the first Jurhumites, is mentioned by Arab writers. They were contemporaries of the 'Ādites, and like them they perished and utterly disappeared. I do not know whence Ibn Khaldūn derives his authority for the name and pedigree given in the text to the Āf'ā, but he mentions both name and pedigree elsewhere likewise (vol. ii. p. 255).

Note 124 to p. 183.—Faymiyyūn was a Syrian Christian, but a follower of the true faith afterwards re-established by the Arabian Prophet. Having been captured by a band of wandering Arabs, he was brought to Najrān and there sold into slavery. Through the example of his piety, and through the influence of the miracles he wrought in the name of the true God, the people of Najrān, until then steeped in idolatry, became converted to the faith.\* The period at which this occurred is not mentioned, but not long before the birth of the Prophet, the Christians of

<sup>\*</sup> Tabari, i. 920, sqq. The inhabitants of Najrān, we are told, worshipped a palm tree, which on certain feast days, they decorated with coloured cloths and with the ornaments of their women. At so late a period as that of the Prophet, the Madhhijites of Najrān appear to have worshipped the idol Yaghūth. See Professor Robertson-Smith's "Kinship," p. 192.

The story is to be found not only in Mas'ūdi, who wrote in A.D. 944, but it is also told by Tabari (i. 771) who died in A.D. 923. And the latter relates it on the authority of Ibn Ishāķ, who died in A.H. 151, A.D. 768.

Note 120 to p. 180.—The tribe of 'Ad has been mentioned in Note 96. The 'Ādites were, like Ṭasm, Jadīs, Thamūd, etc., one of the aboriginal Arab tribes, all of whom have disappeared. The statement in the text, relating to the people conquered by the posterity of Ya'rub, must, I presume, be applied to the second or later 'Ādites, descendants of those members of the tribe who escaped destruction in the days of the prophet Hūd.

Both Hadramaut and Ya'rub are usually described as sons of Kahtān.

Note 121 to p. 182.—Zafār was conquered in A.H. 678 by Sultān al-Muzaffar, the second king of Yaman of the dynasty of the Banu Rasūl. The Prince of Zafār was at that time Sālim son of Idrīs, grandson, it is to be presumed, of Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, the person mentioned in the text, and the founder of a short-lived dynasty. A full account of al-Muzaffar's conquest is given by Ibn Ḥātim (fol. 100 obv. sqq.). It is also mentioned by al-Janadi (p. 181 obv.), and Khazraji, in his 'Uḥūd (fol. 115 obv.), follows Ibn Ḥātim.

Khazraji calls the city Zafār al-Ḥamūḍi (الموقع sic). In Ibn Baṭūṭah's travels the name is written ظفار للموض which his translators have rendered Zhafar aux plantes salines et amères. Zafār al-Ḥamūḍi may be the correct reading, but whether or not, we may infer that the town was named after the founder of the dynasty. In Janadi he is called al-Ḥabūḍi المناوض (sic) and in al-Ahdal (fol. 260 rev.), who, in his account of the place, simply copies al-Janadi, the word appears as al-Ḥabuṭi الحيوض Sprenger (p. 144, 146) has

In saying that the scaport of Zafār was the seat of the Tubbas, Ibn Khaldūn evidently confuses it with the ancient city of the Himyarites of the same name, which stood south of Ṣan'ā, and of which some traces still exist (see supra, Note 22).

Note 122 to p. 183.—The Ka'bah of Najrān is said to

dants of Tābikhah son of al-Ya's son of Modar. But another tribe, of the same name, claimed to be descendants, through the Banu Ḥanīfah, of the Banu Bakr ibn Wā'il, and were therefore closely connected with the Banu ʿIjl. The latter, as well as the Banu Ḥanīfah and other sub-tribes of the Banu Bakr, are mentioned by Ḥamdāni among the inhabitants of Yamāmah.

Tasm and Jadīs, grandsons, or the one grandson and the other great-grandson of Shem, were the ancestors of two great aboriginal tribes of Arabia, and their language is said to have been Arabic.

Saksak, who according to our author was ancestor of the Bann Hizzān, was, as he tells us elsewhere (vol. ii. p. 302), son of Wāthil (or Wā'il) son of Ḥimyar.\* But according to other and perhaps preferable authorities (see Hamdāni, p. 162, and Yākūt, vol. iv. p. 417), the Banu Hizzān of Yamāmah were derived from the Banu 'Anazah, descendants of Rabī'ah son of Nizār, and were consequently of the same stem as the Banu Ḥanīfah, the Banu 'Ijl and, according to what is stated above, as the Banu Yarbū'. The name Hizzān was also borne by the ancestor of an ancient people, descendants of Lāwadh son of Shem. (Ṭabari, vol. i. p. 213; Ibn Khaldūn, vol. ii. p. 7.)

The story of 'Amlik, or 'Amlik, and Yamamah will be found in Mas'ūdi (Barbier de Maynard, vol. iii. p. 276, It tells how Hassan ibn Tubba', King of the Himyarites, marched at the head of an army against the Jadisites. The king was warned that a certain woman at Jaww, as it was then still called, possessed such marvellous strength of vision, that she was able to descry a horseman at a distance of three days' journey. He ordered his soldiers each to hew down a tree and to carry it before him. Yamāmah watched the enemy's army and reported that she beheld a forest advancing against them, with a man behind each tree. She was disbelieved, the city was surprised and taken, and the Jadisites, who had exterminated the Tasmites, in revenge for the tyranny to which they were subjected by the Tasmite king 'Amlūk, were now themselves massacred to the last man.+

<sup>\*</sup> The name Handan, which occurs in the passage above mentioned, is clearly a misprint for Hizzān.

<sup>†</sup> Yamāmah's words describing what she first saw, are somewhat more intelligible as given by Yākūt (iv. 1033) than according to to Tabari's and Mas'udi's versions.

Note 115 to p. 171.—Ibn Khaldūn makes elsewhere (vol. ii. p. 64) the same statement, and professes to do so on the authority of as-Suhayli,\* to the effect, namely, that the ancient name of Ṣan'ā was  $Uw\bar{a}l$  (or Uwwāl). Two of the MSS, used by Juynboll for his edition of the Marāṣid have likewise the name in that form. It is not therefore through mere inadvertence that the word is so written. But the generality of Arab writers have  $Az\bar{a}l$ , which is identified with the biblical Uzal.

Note 116 to p. 172.—The Kharīdat al-Ķaṣr wa Jarīdat ahl il-'aṣr was written by 'Imād ad-dīn al-Isfahāni, who died in а.н. 597. His life is given by Ibn Khallikān, vol. iii. p. 300, de Slane's translation. Another book, the Kharīdat al-'Ajā'ib has for its author Zayn ad-dīn 'Omar ibn al-Wardi, who died in а.н. 749.

Nore 117 to p. 175.—Hamdāni mentions Kutabah (p. 69) as the name of a village or town in the less elevated portion of Sarāt Kudam, and it may have stood on or near a mountain of the same name. The town seems to have been situated not far from Hajjah, consequently almost directly south of Sa'dah, and at a considerable distance from it. Manzoni has Qutaba on the road from Aden to Yarīm, which, it is needless to say, cannot be the place here in question. It is probably a name of much more recent date.

Note 118 to p. 175.—A sub-tribe of Hamdan may possibly have borne the name of Ḥarāz, but it seems more likely that Ibn Khaldan is here in error. Al-Hamdani says, in his Geography of Arabia (p. 105, Müller's ed.), that the Banu Ḥarāz were a tribe descended from Ḥimyar the elder, and sons of al-Ghauth son of Sa'd son of 'Auf son of 'Ady (son of Mālik son of Zayd al-Jamhūr). See also 'Omārah, p. 18.

Note 119 to p. 179.—Both the Banu Ijl and the Banu Yarbū' were Modarite tribes. The former, stated by Ibn Khaldūn to have become extinct, were a sister tribe of the Banu Hanīfah and descendants, through the Banu Bakr ibn Wā'il, of Rabī'ah son of Nizār. The Banu Yarbū' were, as stated in the text, derived from the Banu Tamīm, descen-

<sup>\*</sup> See for as-Suhayli, who died in A.H. 581, Baron de Slane's translation of Ibn Khallikan, vol. ii. p. 99.

very meagre account. They established their power over Aden, in the days of al-Ma'mun according to Ibn Khaldun, or, according to 'Omarah, on the downfall of the Ziyadite dynasty, previous to which time, we are told, Aden was subject to the Banu Ziyad. In about A.H. 454, the Banu Ma'n submitted to 'Aly the Sulayhite, who imposed a tribute upon them which, in A.H. 461, he settled upon his niece and daughter-in-law Sayyidah. Upon 'Aly's death, in A.H. 473, the Banu Ma'n declared their independence, but two or three years later, their country was reconquered by al-Mukarram son of 'Aly. He deposed the family of Ma'n and placed Aden under the joint authority of the two brothers 'Abbas and Mas'ud sons of al-Karam, who were tribesmen of the Sulayhites, and to whom both 'Aly and his son were indebted for past services.

Our MS. of 'Omarah represents 'Abbas and Mas'ūd as having survived al-Mukarram the Sulayhite, who died in A.H. 484. But, as I have already had occasion to remark, the MS. is, at this particular point, exceedingly corrupt. The statement is, moreover, not confirmed by Khazraji, from which it can only be gathered that the tribute due to Queen Sayyidah was regularly paid until the death of Mas'nd and Zuray'. Khazraji says that Dumlūwah was conquered by Zuray' in A.H. 480, whence it may be inferred that he

had succeeded his father previous to that date.

Zuray' and his uncle Mas'ūd were killed at Zabīd; but the only clue to a date is the fact that the event occurred during the lifetime of al-Mufaddal, who died in A.H. 504.

The dates of the death of Abu Su'ūd and of Abu 'l-Gharāt, under whose reign the payment of tribute finally ceased, are also wanting; but it may perhaps be inferred from what is elsewhere stated by 'Omārah (supra, p. 60), that Abu 'l-Gharāt and Saba son of Abu Su'ūd were both on the throne in 519.

The appointment of Saba as Da'y was probably in

а.н. 525, or а.н. 526. (See Note 102.)

From and after the capture of Aden by Saba in 533, the Bann Zuray' held undivided sway over the principality of Aden.

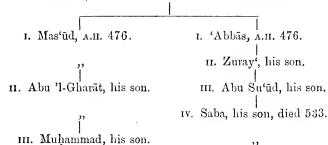
Note 114 to p. 166.—The Banu 'Anz son of Wā'il were a sister tribe to the Banu Bakr and Banu Taghlib, and descendants of Rabī'ah son of Nizār.

Note 113 to p. 161.—Ibn Khaldūn, it will be observed, derives most of his information touching the Zuravite dynasty from Ibn Safid, who himself is without doubt indebted, directly or indirectly, to 'Omarah. But Ibn Khaldun seems to be misled by the ambiguity of language, be it his own or be it borrowed from Ibn Sa'id, which he uses when speaking of the rivalry between the two brothers 'Aly and Muhammad, sons of Saba. In a genealogical table he appends to the chapter, he evidently confuses 'Aly al-A'azz with 'Aly son of Abi 'l-Gharāt, and the table is so incorrect that I omit it altogether.

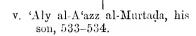
I understand the Hamdanite Princes of Aden to have succeeded one another in accordance with the subjoined list.

## The Banu Zuray'.

Al-Karam, of the sub-tribe of Jusliam the Yamites.



iv. 'Aly, his brother, deposed а.н. 533 (died 545).



,,

vi. Muhammad, his brother, 534-548.

vII. 'Imrān, his son 548-560.

viii. The wazīr Yāsir son of Bilāl, under the nominal supremacy of the sons of 'Imr n, until the Ayyubite conquest in а.н. 569.

Of their predecessors, the Banu Ma'n, we have only a  $^{2}$ 

hundred cubits on the south. On its eastern side, Khadīr was distant two hours' journey.\* On the north was the market-place of Juwwah and the stream Wādi al-Jannāt. On the west, where the height of the hill was double that on the south, was a tethering-place for the horses belonging to the owner of the fortress. He inhabited a castle on Mount Ṣilu, at the distance of a bow-shot. The gate of the fortress of Dumlūwah was on its northern side, and access was obtained to the summit by means of two ladders, each of fourteen steps. Between the two was the prison, and the gnard house above it. Water of excellent quality was abundantly supplied to the inhabitants by a stream, flowing close to the foot of the lower flight of steps.

This stream flowed into Wādi al-Jannāt, which, after receiving numerous other streams and torrents, was joined by the Wādi Warazān (see *U. Uarasan* on Manzoni's map), and the united waters, increased on their way by other tributaries, flowed down to the sea in the neighbourhood of

Aden.

Hamdāni's words as above, in speaking of Juwwah, indicate a position for that place at or very near the town, marked in Manzoni's map under the name of Mavia (Māwī-yah?). Juwwah, as is shown by our text, stood on the highway from Aden, and it seems very probable that it and Mavia are one and the same place. Reynaud, in his translation of Abu 'l-Fada, writes: "Aldjoue, nom d'une petite ville très-connue sur la grande route des montagnes."

Haudāni (p. 190, l. 8,) mentions the castle of Juwwah,

which seems to be one and the same with Dumlūwah.

Note 112 to p. 161.—The life of the poet Ibn Kalāķis the Lakhmite is given by 1bn Khallikān (de Slane's translation, vol. iii. p. 537), where a continuation of the line quoted in the text is supplied. Ibn Kalāķis, we are told, was born at Alexandria in 532 and died in 567.

<sup>\*</sup> In the "district of Khadīr" there existed in Hamdāni's days the vestiges of a large and ancient town, Salūķ, "now known," he says, "under the name of Habīl ar-Raybah, "call light, who copies Hamdāni, the name is written and light, who copies Hamdāni, iron scoriæ, fragments of gold and silver and coins are found. Salūķīyah armour and dogs, he further says, were so named, after the Yamanite city. This last statement, though in accordance with the commonly received definition, I am disposed to think requires confirmation.

their return to Zabīd, differs considerably from that supplied by 'Omārah. All these errors, it may be suspected, are the result of a careless reading of the original text, for which, however, Ibn Sa'īd is perhaps in the first place responsible.

Note 110 to p. 159.—Bayhak is the name of a district near Naysāpūr, after which several persons of note have been named.

One, Abu Bakr Ahmad ibn al-Ḥnsayn ibn 'Aly al-Bayhaki, is identified by Johannsen with the writer quoted by Dayba' in his history of Zabīd. He died in A.H. 458 and his life is given by Ibn Khallikān (de Slane, i. 57). His son Isma'īl ibn Ahmad al-Bayhaki, also a distinguished man, died in A.H. 507.

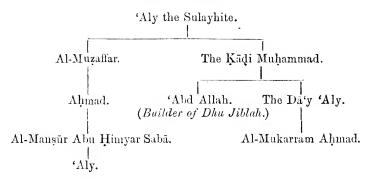
But the author, so frequently quoted by Ibn Khaldūn, is one who appears to have written on the history of a much later period. He speaks of al-Mūṭi, the title attributed by Ibn Khaldūn to the Imām Aḥmad ibn Ḥusayn, who arose in A.H. 646. See supra, p. 175, and cf. the passage in Ibn Khaldūn's enumeration of the tribes of Kahlān, vol. ii. p. 252 (Bulāķ ed.). Ibn al-Athīr (vol. xi. p. 249) quotes a work entitled Kitāb Masārib it-Tajārib by Abu 'l-Ḥasan ibn Abi 'l-Kāsim al-Bayhaķi, who was apparently a contemporary of the historian and who may have survived him. If, however, this be the person referred to by Ibn Khaldūn, he must have lived and have continued to write down to a period more than twenty years subsequent to the death of Ibn al-Athīr in A.H. 630.

Touching the descent of the Banu Ma'n, see Notes 19 and 20.

Note 111 to p. 160.—A description of the fortress of Dumlūwah is given by al-Hamdāni in his Geography of Arabia (ed. D. H. Müller, p. 76). It was built, he says, upon a hill, the summit of which, measuring four hundred cubits in length and the same in width, comprised dwelling-places, a large mosque, and a tree capable of sheltering one hundred men, which he calls al-Kulhumah.\* The hill was an offshoot of Mount Ṣilu, from which it was, however, completely isolated, and which rose at a distance of one

<sup>\*</sup> See Note to Juynboll's ed. of the Marāṣid, vol. v. p. 489, where it is stated that the tree was a species of oak.

Note 108 to p. 149.—In the British Museum MS. of Ibn Khaldūn a genealogical table is added at the end of this chapter, according to which al-Manṣūr Saba was descended from 'Aly the Sulayhite, father of the Kadi Muḥammad and grandfather of the Dā'y 'Aly.



Note 109 to p. 153.—Ibn Khaldūn seems here to confuse with one another the incidents of the expedition undertaken by the Dā'y al-Mukarram for the rescue of his mother, and those of the conspiracy that brought about the death of Sa'īd son of Najāḥ.

The year 497, as that in which al-Mukarram released his mother from captivity, is so given in both the London and Paris MSS. as well as in the Bulāk edition. But it is manifestly wrong, as indeed may be judged from the date 479, which immediately follows. We may probably read 475. Aṣ-Ṣulayḥi was killed at the latter end of 473 (see Note 31), and his mother's captivity, we are told by 'Omārah, lasted an entire year.

Ibn Khaldūn's account of Sa'īd's death also requires correction. The introduction of the name of Ya'fur, although it is to be found in both MSS, as well as in the printed edition, is quite unsustainable, and has perhaps simply arisen through the copyist—perhaps, indeed, the author—having carelessly allowed his eye to be caught with the resemblance (especially in the Arabic character) between the verb Yughri, which occurs in the text, and the name Yu'fur. The statement that Sa'īd's head was carried to Zabīd is likewise an error.

It will, moreover, be remarked that Ibn Khaldūn's account of the proceedings of Jayyāsh and of his wazīr Khalf, on

record of the succession of their Imams. At a subsequent period to that just referred to, the two great sections, that of the Persian and that of the Yamanite or Arabian Zaydites, have in only a few isolated instances submitted to the authority of the same Imām. On both sides the absolute supremacy of the lawful Imam over the entire body is distinctly admitted. But the distance that separated the two sections geographically from one another, and the impossibility of active co-operation between them in the political objects for which they respectively strove, created a practical difficulty, which only in a few rare instances was partially overcome. In Arabia itself, moreover, there has been frequent rivalry between different claimants, each of whom has been recognized by one party and disavowed by the other. It follows, consequently, that great discrepancies are found between the lists of Imams given by different writers.

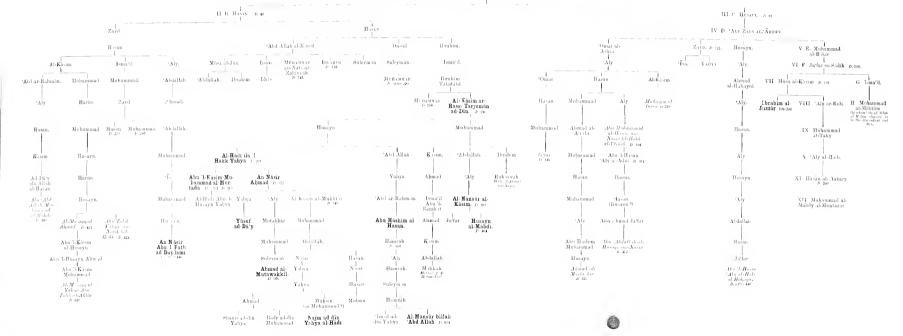
Among the books I have had the opportunity of consulting, the Yawakīt as-Siyar gives the fullest list of the Imāms, and the author brings it down to the middle of the seventh century of the Hijrah. He mentions many names omitted by other writers, and I have included them in the Genealogical Table appended to this note.

The table will enable the reader to follow more easily the relation which the different families bear to one another. The names of the Persian Imāms, who successively gained supreme power in the provinces of Daylam and Tabaristān, are printed in italics. Ḥasan son of Zayd and his brother Muḥammad (descendants of Ḥasan son of Zayd son of Ḥasan) are included, because, although they are not reckoned as Zaydites, they undoubtedly prepared the way for the Imāms, who afterwards, like themselves, attained supreme power on the southern shores of the Caspian.

I have added, for the sake of convenience, the succession of the Dodekite and of the early Ismailite Imāms. The former are distinguished by Roman numerals and the latter by capital letters. The Ismailites seceded upon the death of the sixth Imām Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādik. His son Isma'īl died before him, but the Ismailites hold that the latter was the designated seventh Imām, and that the succession passed on to his son, Muḥammad al-Maktūm, the Shrouded or Concealed, from whom 'Obayd Allah' the Mahdy,' founder of the Fatimite Khalifate and Imām of the Ismailites, claimed to be descended.

## GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE PRINCIPAL ALIDE IMÂMS DOWN TO THE DEATH OF AL-MANSUR BILLAH 'ABD ALI AH.

I. A. 'ALY IBN ABI TÄLIB.  $p_{AB}$  to = FÄTIMAH.  $p_{AB}$  ti



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al-]| Al-Ķmaʻil. Muha lammad Impris ktūm. Obayd Allah claimed to endant and 'Aly. Muhammad Hasan ansir lil-Hakk trūsh. D. 304. u 'l-Hasan l-Adib. D. 304. Hasan. Hasan usayn?). hmad Ja'far. Abdallah alyn an-Nāsir. D, 472.

the right of selection from among the descendants of Fāṭimah. The person to be invested with the office of Imām must, they contend, be learned, pious, generous and brave. It is further required that he shall stand forth and publicly claim recognition of his authority. They own the existence of a limitation of choice, one that prohibits the actual substitution of the consideration of merit for that of individuality, although they refrain at the same time, from disavowing the Imāmate of the two "elders," consequently admitting, as is remarked, the authority of the inferior (Abu Bakr and then 'Omar), notwithstanding the presence of the superior, namely 'Aly. A charge is moreover made against them, that they are tainted with the doctrines of the Mu'tazilites, and their founder Zayd, it is said, studied under Wāsil ibn 'Atā.

The Zaydites, as was to be expected, have separated themselves from the Dodekites and Ismailites, on the question of the rightful holders of the Imamate. All agree in the recognition of 'Aly, of his two sons Hasan and Husayn and, according to Ibn Khaldun, of his grandson 'Alv Zayn al-'Abidin.\* But whilst their opponents assign the succession, next after Zayn al-'Abidin to his son Muhammad al-Bākir, the Zaydites attribute it to Muhammad's brother Zayd, the founder of their sect, who, they say, was succeeded by his son Yahya. Starting from that point, the Zaydites are not, however, in complete accord. Some, according to Ibn Khaldūn, hold that Yahva was followed by his brother 'Isa. Others assert that Yahya before his death bequeathed his office to Muhammad an-Nafs az-Zakīyyah, the Pure in Spirit, thus transferring the Imamate from the family of Husayn to that of Hasan. Muhammad, they further hold, was succeeded by his brother Ibrahim, who was killed towards the latter end of A.H. 145, and survived his brother only two months. According to others, Muhammad's successor was Muhammad son of al-Kasim son of 'Aly son of 'Omar brother of Zayd. Others again assign the succession to Idrīs, brother of an-Nafs az-Zakīyyah and originator of the Idrisite dynasty in Africa, where he founded the city of Fez.

As a matter of fact, the Zaydites have no authentic

<sup>\*</sup> The author of the Yawakīt omits the name of 'Aly Zayn al-'Ābidīn, and substitutes that of Ḥasan son of Ḥasan.

by Annshirwan, with whose assistance the Abyssinians were expelled from Arabia.

Note 105 to p. 139.—Ya'la is also called son of Umayyah. The latter, it is explained, was the name of his father, and Munyah that of his mother. The Camel which gave its name to the sanguinary battle fought between 'Aly and his opponents in A.H. 36, and upon which 'Ā'ishah was mounted, is said to have been given to her by Ya'la.

Note 106 to p. 142.—The assassination of al-Mutawakkil and the abdication of al-Musta'in occurred long before the reign of Abn'l-Jaysh. The words in the text must therefore be applied to his predecessors. Cf. supra, p. 15 and Note 13.

Note 107 to p. 142.—Ibn Khaldūn's account of the Zaydite Imāms of Ṣa'dah, known under the designation of Rassites, will be found at p. 184.

In his chapter on the Shī'ites (vol. i. p. 164), he enters into particulars of the principal sects into which the adherents of 'Aly have divided themselves, and he gives an

account, among others, of the Zaydites.

All the Shī'ites, he begins by pointing out, agree upon the fundamental point that 'Aly, son-in-law of the Prophet, was his appointed and legitimate successor. But the question of the principle upon which his rights are founded has become matter of dispute. A large section, the Imāmites, in which are comprised the *Dodekites\** and *Ismailites*, contend that 'Aly's appointment to the office was absolutely in virtue of his personality, that his descendants and heirs have followed in regular succession under the same rule, and that no human right exists to withhold recognition of his or their claims. The Imāmites, therefore, disown the authority of the "two Elders" (Abu Bakr and 'Omar).

The Zaydites, on the other hand, whilst admitting that 'Aly was the appointed heir of the Prophet, maintain that he was appointed not by reason of his individuality, but in virtue of his personal merits. They claim, consequently,

<sup>\*</sup> So named—Ithna 'asharīyyah—because they recognize twelve Imāms, the last of whom was the Mahdy, whose re-appearance is awaited by his followers.

sibly help to explain how it came to pass that he held it for so short a time.

Note 103 to p. 136.—The Khalīfah al-Āmir died leaving no male issue, six months after the birth of the child mentioned in the text. The infant son, in whom such brilliant hopes were centred, cannot, therefore, have lived more than a few weeks. But at the death of the Khalīfah, one of the ladies of his ḥarīm was found to be enceinte. Al-Ḥāfiz was consequently allowed to reign only as regent until the birth of the child, which turned out to be a girl. This may perhaps explain the statement in our text, that in his first communication to the queen, al-Ḥāfiz assumed only the title of heir-apparent to the Khalīfate.

Note 104 to p. 139.—Ibn Khaldūn's narrative is by no means clear at this point, and something has doubtless been omitted, either through inadvertence on the part of the author, or through carelessness on that of the transcribers.

Upon the death of al-Aswad the 'Ansite, Fayruz assumed the government of San'a, in which he was confirmed by the Prophet's successor Abu Bakr, who appointed Dadhwayh and Kays ibn Makshuh to be his colleagues and assistants. But tidings of the Prophet's death having spread in Yaman, a rebellion again broke out. placed himself at its head and summoned the apostate followers of al-Aswad to his assistance. He concealed his designs from his colleagues, and invited them to a feast. Dadhwayh was the first to arrive and was immediately massacred. Fayruz, when approaching the appointed spot, obtained information of what had occurred, through accidentally overhearing the conversation of two Arab women. He turned and fled, and reached the mountain of Khaulān in safety. Here he was joined by such as had continued faithful to the religion of the Prophet, and with the aid of the Banu Okayl, he marched upon San'a, attacked and defeated Kays and put him to flight. Kays eventually fell into the hands of Muhājir ibn Abi Umayyah. He was sent to Abu Bakr, by whom he was pardoned.

The word Ahna was used to designate a mixed race, the naturalized descendants of the Persian troops sent to Yaman

دعوته الى آل زريع و قالت حسب آل الصليحى ما عماره من امر موالينا صلوات الله عليهم كما سياتي مُبينًا ان شا الله تعالى و كان ذلك بعد موت الداعى ابرهيم وكان اول من اقتبامها من آل زريع سبا بن ابى السعود.

Further on (fol. 185 rev.), after relating the end of Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah's career in Yaman, al-Janadi repeats the above in almost the same words, but adds that Ibrahīm al-Hāmidi did not long survive his appointment, and that at about the time he died, came tidings of the death of the reigning Khalīfah at Cairo, whereupon the queen transferred the office of Dā'y to the Zuray'ites.

Al-Āmir was assassinated at Cairo by the Nizārites, in Dhu 'l-Ka'dah (the eleventh month) of the year 524. Our MS. of 'Omārah tells us that Ibrahīm ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥāmidi was appointed in the second year of the reign of al-Ḥāfiz, say therefore in A.H. 526. If this were so, the presumption would be that the Dā'y 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abd Allah held the office from the date of the disappearance of Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah in 520, for six years.

But al-Janadi's version, that Ibrahīm al-Ḥāmidi was appointed on the departure (or not long after the departure?) of Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah, seems the more probable one, and it is supported by his further statement that Ibrahīm al-Ḥāmidi died at about the time when intelligence of al-Āmir's death reached Yaman, say the beginning of A.H. 525.

If we now adopt 'Omārah's statement that Ibrahīm was succeeded by his son Ḥātim, we find ourselves naturally led to the further date mentioned in 'Omārah, namely the second year of the reign of al-Ḥāfiz, which, however, must, in such case, be regarded as the probable date when the Dā'yship was finally transferred to the family of Zuray'.

There is, however, another point which requires to be taken into consideration. Hātim son of Ibrahīm son of Husayn al-Ḥāmidi is known to have been a powerful Ḥāmdānite chief, who for three years disputed the throne of Ṣan'ā with the reigning Sulṭān 'Aly ibn Ḥātim, and this occurred between the years 561 and 564. These dates can only be reconciled with those given above, on the supposition that Ḥātim son of Ibrahīm received the office of Dā'y when little more than a child. But that may pos-

tinctly told, succeeded to the office of Dā'y, on the death of al-Mukarram (supra, p. 42 and Note 37). Saba ibn Aḥmad, as has been seen, died in A.H. 492. Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah arrived in Yaman, bearing the title of Dā'y, in A.H. 513. We have, therefore, an interval of twenty-one years during which, if our MS, can be trusted, the Dā'yship was successively held by two men. The name of one is left in blank, and as to the designation of Sultān, accorded to the other, it need not perhaps detain us, considering how indiscriminately the title seems to have been used. See, for instance, the two extracts from Ibn Ḥātim in the preceding note, also Hamdāni, p. 119, l. 22-24.

But there is much else calculated to cast doubt upon the accuracy of our text. Its many corruptions obscure the sense of several passages and the unsatisfactory manner in which the edict of the Khalifah al-Amir is introduced and interrupts the subject of the chapter, is of itself suspicious. On its being resumed, we find no mention of 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abd Allah, the Sulayhite, who, we have been told (supra, p. 60), exercised the functions of  $D\bar{a}$ 'y after Ibn Najib ad-Daulah; nor any explanation of the title of Dā'y given to a certain Muḥammad ibn Abi 'l-'Arab, who is stated (supra, p. 57), to have met Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah on his arrival at Dahlak. The sentence (p. 137) beginning with the words, She next transferred—or, the office of Dā'y was next transferred to the family of Zuray', is probably an interpolation, borrowed, it may be, from al-Janadi, but anyhow misplaced. Al-Janadi writes as follows (fol. 184 rev.):—

When Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah departed, as will hereafter be related, the queen appointed in his place the Dā'y Ibrahīm ibn al-Ḥusayu al-Ḥāmidi. When she received tidings of the death of the reigning Khalīfah (al-Āmir) and of the accession of his successor al-Ḥātiz to the Egyptian Khalifate, she transferred the office of Dā'y to the family of Zuray', as will hereafter be clearly explained. "Sufficient," she said, "for the family of aṣ-Ṣulayhi, is what they have done in the cause of our Lords (the Fāṭimite Khalīfahs), upon whom be the blessings of God." This occurred after the death of the Dā'y Ibrahīm, and the first of the family of Zuray' to be invested with the dignity was Saba son of Abu Su'ūd.

فلما ذهب ابن نجيب الدولة على ما سياتى اقامت مكانه الداعى ابرهيم بن للسين للحامدى ثم لما بلغ السيدة وفاة القائم\* و قيام للحافظ بمصر اضافت

<sup>\*</sup> Read الآمر

Dhu Jiblah and ascended Nakil Sayd on the 28th Dhu 'l-Hijjah. At Darwan (?), Sultan 'Abd Allah ibn Yahya the Janbite tendered his submission. Al-Musannafah (Masna'ah?) \* was captured from Shaykh Muhammad ibn Zayd al-Ba'yari al-Janbi. Thence the Sultan proceeded to Dhamar, near which he was attacked by the Janbites and other Arabs. The advance of the Ayyūbites was severely contested, but the Arabs were eventually defeated, and driven with heavy loss into the fortress of Hirran. Tūrān Shah reached the outskirts of San'ā on the 7th (17th?) Muharram 570. 'Aly ibn Hatim escaped to the fortress of Birash and Turan Shah, without stopping to secure the city, set out on his return to Zabid. Marching by way of Nakīl as-Saud, he was harassed with attacks by the Banu Sinhāu and Shihāb, and next by the people of Bura', but he reached his destination in safety. In Jamadi 'l-Awwal he returned to Janad, and thenceforward occupied himself in gaining possession of the mountain fortresses. He successively captured Sabir, Bādīyah (? بادس) Sharyāķ, 'Azzan-Dhakhir, Numayr which belonged to the Amir Manşur (son of 'Imran?) son of Muhammad son of Saba, then Munif, then Samadan. He did not attack Sawa, which was held by Ibn as-Saba'y. Next he besieged Dumlūwah, where the children of the Da'y 'Imran were living under the guardianship of Jauhar. Mangonels were erected, wherewith to batter the walls of the fortress, but the missiles rebounded harmlessly from the rocks below. Finally, however, Jauhar surrendered the castle in exchange for certain low-lying lands in the neighbourhood.† In Sha'bān, Tūrān Shah was at Dhu Jiblah, where he received intelligence of disturbances in Tihāmah and ordered 'Abd an-Naby and his two brothers Ahmad and Yahya to be put to death. They were executed at Zabid on the 7th Rajab, 570. Twelve months later, after ordering the execution of Yasir ibn Bilal, Turan Shah started from Yaman on his return to Egypt.

Note 102 to p. 134.—Our MS. omits the name of Saba son of Ahmad son of al-Muzaffar, who, we have been dis-

<sup>\*</sup> Yāķūt mentions Maṣna'ah, the name of a fortress that overlooks Dhamār. Hirrān he describes as one of the strongholds of Dhamār. See also Hamdāni, p. 80, l. 20-21.

<sup>†</sup> See a description of the fortress of Dumlūwah in Note 111.

its siege was raised, and that the camp formed by 'Abd an-Naby at Za'āzi had been abandoned. The Hamdanite Sultan 'Alv ibn Hatim would have pursued the enemy into Tihāmah, but his allies of the tribes of Janb and Madhhij refused, and he returned to San'ā. His brilliant but brief campaign thus came to an end. He started from Janad on Saturday 19th Rabi' Awwal, reached Dhu Ashrak in the evening, and Dhu Jiblah on the following day. Here he halted for six days and ordered the dismantling of the great palace, then occupied by a Sulayhite Princess, Arwa, daughter of 'Aly son of 'Abdallah son of Muhammad.

'Abd an-Naby returned to Zabid, where he soon afterwards received intelligence that Tūrān Shah the Ayyūbite was at Mahall Abi Turāb, and that the Sharīf Kāsim son of Ghānim son of Yahva son of Hamzah son of Wahhās, eager to avenge the death of his brother, had allied himself with the invaders.

I have mentioned in the Introduction to this book, that the foregoing particulars, extracted by al-Khazraji from the Ikd ath-Thamin of Ibn Hatim, are not to be found in the copy of the MS, by the same author preserved in the Library of the British Museum. The latter commences with a somewhat detailed account of the conquest of Yaman by Tūrān Shah, of which the following is a brief summary.

On the arrival of Tūrān Shah, he was joined at Harad, also called Mahall Abi Turāb, by the Sulaymanite Amīr Kāsim ibn Ghānim, within whose dominious Harad was situated. The allies marched thence at the end of Ramadān A.H. 569. On the 7th Shawwal they reached Zabīd, of which they gained possession at sunrise on the 9th. town was looted, 'Abd an-Naby and his two brothers were taken prisoners, and the Sharif Kāsim started on his return to his country on the 3rd (read 13th?) of the month. Turan Shah remained at Zabid until the beginning of the following month of Dhu 'l-Ka'dah. He then marched upon Ta'izz, which surrendered. Next he took possession of Janad, and thence he marched upon Aden, which was captured on the 20th and looted.\* The Sultan returned to the Mikhlaf Jafar, possessed himself of Takar, and then marched against the northern provinces. He started from

<sup>\*</sup> The author here says that the children of the Dā'y 'Imrān were made prisoners at Aden, together with Yasir son of Bilal, clearly an error. See next page and supra, Note 69.

559, and to have died at Zabīd on the 18th of that month. 'Abd an-Naby now became sole ruler, and continued his brother's career of conquest and devastation. In 560 he attacked the Sulaymanite Sharīfs. A party of the enemy, commanded by the Amīr Wahhās ibn Ghānim ibn Yaḥya ibn Hamza ibn Wahhās, was utterly destroyed, the Amīr himself being among the slain. Khazraji says that 'Abd an-Naby composed on that occasion a poem of the class styled Musammatah, which further on (p. 106) he gives in full. He does so after quoting a passage from 'Omārah which is not to be found in the British Museum text. It is to the effect that 'Abd an-Naby was an excellent poet as well as a brave warrior, and that he was the author of a collection of poems in which is included the Musammatah in question.

Continuing to write on the authority of the author of the 'Ikd ath-Thamin, al-Khazraji gives us particulars of 'Abd an-Naby's conquests and depredations in the Highlands of Yaman. In 568 he laid siege to Aden, whereupon Hatim son of 'Alv son of the Dā'y Saba son of Abu Sn'ūd proceeded to San'ā and prevailed upon the Hamdanite Sultan 'Aly ibn Hatim, ancestor of the historian, to assist the Zuray'ites against the common enemy. 'Aly ibn Hatim, a member, like the Zuray'ites, of the sub-tribe of Yam, consented, on condition of his being supported by the tribes of Janb and Madhhij. Hatim the Zuray'ite proceeded to Dhamār and obtained promises from Sultān 'Abd Allah ibn Yahya and from Sheykh Zayd ibn 'Amru, chiefs of the two tribes, to join in the alliance. 'Aly ibn Hatim thereupon marched from San'ā, in the month of Safar 569, at the head of the Hamdanites, accompanied by tribesmen of Sinhan, Shihāb, Nahd and others.\* The Arabs combined their forces in the district of Saḥūl. The army of 'Abd an-Naby was attacked and utterly routed near Ibb, by the allies, who advanced successively to Dhu Jiblah and to Janad, both of which were found to have been abandoned by the enemy. The Mahdyites were again attacked and dispersed at Dhu 'Udaynah near Ta'izz. Intelligence came from Aden that

<sup>\*</sup> The Banu Shihāb are mentioned by Hamdāni (p. 114, 23) as a sub-tribe of the Banu Kindah. The Banu Nahd were a sub-tribe of Kudā'ah, but the name was also borne by a sub-tribe of Hamdān. At p. 92, l. 18, Hamdāni calls the Nahdites sub tribe of the Banu 'Ans.

Sharyāk and Thālithah, and he allows it to be inferred that these three were situated in Mikhlāf Ja'far. that Majma'ah stood on Wādi Nakhlah. Janadi has ath-Thālathi (supra, p. 201), and Sharyāk is mentioned in the passages borrowed from Ibn Hatim in Note 101 (p. 297). Dant is included in the list of places given by Khazraji. It is mentioned by Hamdani (p. 100, l. 18) as situated in the district of Sahul, also by the author of the Marasid, on the anthority of al-Janadi, from whom he adds a not very intelligible extract. Tahlah is not mentioned by Khazraji, and looks as if it might be a careless repetition of Nakhlah.

Note 101 to p. 134.—According to al-Janadi, 'Aly ibn Mahdy was buried in Zabīd, at a spot he had himself selected. The mosque built over his grave was known as al-Mushhad (the Mausoleum) and it stood opposite the college known under the name of al-Maylin (or al-Maylin). The minaret was still standing in al-Janadi's days, but the mosque had been converted into a stable for the use of one of the Turkish kings. According to al-Khazraji, the Rasūlite Sultān al-Ashraf Isma'īl (A.H. 778-803) laid the foundations of a college on the site of the tomb, but abandoned his intention of building. The spot was converted into a halting-place for the Sultan's camels, and continued to be so used down to the writer's days.

Mandy, son and successor of 'Aly ibn Mandy, attacked and massacred the inhabitants of Lahj in 556 and 557. Next he captured Janad, slaughtered its inhabitants and cast the bodies of the slain into the well of the mosque. This was in 558. He returned to Zabid suffering from a disease under the effects of which his body, after being covered with marks described as having the appearance of being the effects of fire, became a mass of open sores. his condition that he had to be carried down from Ta'izz in a litter lined with carded cotton wool. He died on the first of Dhu 'l-Ka'dah 558,

Al Khazraji, after quoting the above from al-Janadi, proceeds to say that a different account of the succession is given by the author of the 'Ikd ath-Thamin. According, he says, to that writer, Ibn Mahdy was succeeded by his two sons, Mahdy and 'Abd an-Naby, the latter as general administrator of the affairs of the kingdom and the former as military chief. Malidy is stated by the writer to have returned from his expedition to the Highlands in Muharram و یختلف ما یوجد باحدی النسختین عن الاخری بعرف ذال العارف فربها ینکر المنکر ما نقلت عن الهفید و غیرة لاسب لذلك الا قصورة عن الاطلاع علی كتب التراریخ و النظر فی عدّة نسخها فیقد یعیص لك آن مدة ملك بنی زیاد مستقل عن موالیهم من سنة ۲۰۳ الی سنة احدی و سبعین و ثلثمائة و ثهانیة و ستون سنة و نیابة علیهم ثمانیة و ثلثون سنة لقیام ابن سلامة ثم کانوا اعوانا لموالیهم منادمین معهم حتی کان من انیس ما قدمنا ذکرة قال عارة وذلك سنة ۱۶۰۷ فهدة ذلك ثمانیة و نلثون سنة ثم تنازع هو و سندوله بخاح ثلث سنین یغزوه نجاح و یقاتله مرّة بعد اخری حتی قتله بالعرق علی باب زبید فی ذی القعدة سنة ۱۲۱ . . . . . . . . و ذریة هذا توارثوا الملك حتی ازالهم ابن مهدی فیكون الملك بایدی الموال بطریق الانفراد بطریق الملك حتی ازالهم ابن مهدی فیكون الملك بایدی الموال بطریق الانفراد بطریق الاستقلال مایة سنة و خسة و اربعون سنة منها ثلث تنازع فیها نجاح و انیس .

Note 99 to p. 131.—I can make no other sense of the words as they stand in the text. They have no doubt been inaccurately transcribed, but they have also very much the appearance of an interpolation, and it is to be remarked that they are not to be found in the corresponding passage of al-Khazraji. We have seen that according to both al-Janadi and Khazraji (supra, Note 56), Mansūr son of al-Mufaddal was living in 547 and died before A.H. 550. On the other hand, the present passage may be compared with what is said by Ibn Khaldūn (supra, p. 151 and p. 174). But again it must be remarked that if Mansūr was twenty years of age, or even less, when his father died in A.H. 504, and if he lived to the age of one hundred or even ninety, then he must have survived 'Omārah. And 'Omārah's history, we are told, was written in A.H. 564. The word ثلاثين, thirty, in our text, might be an error for ثمانين, righty. But if, as seems probable, Mansur was in his childhood when his father died in 504, then it may well be that when he himself died, say in 548, he had been in possession of his inheritance for about thirty years.

Note 100 to p. 132.—Ash-Shamāḥi (sic) is mentioned by Khazraji (fol. 103 and 108) as also the fortress of Majmā'ah,

مائة و ثمانية و ستون Read \*.

fore after the arrival of Muḥammad ibn Ziyād in Yaman, and Abu 'l-Jaysh Ishak in A.H. 371, eighty-two years after the death of Ibrahīm, who it is said was Ishak's father. (See supra. Note 13.)

Al-Janadi offers some remarks which may be taken to show that his mind was open to doubt as to the perfect accuracy of 'Omārah's account of the Ziyādite succession. He mentions and quotes (fol. 182 rev.) certain marginal notes he found on a copy of 'Omārah's Mufīd. As to their subject matter, it is sufficient to say that, the writer omits the reign of Ziyād son of Ibrahīm, that he represents Ilusayn ibn Salāmah as having, in A.H. 371, succeeded Islak, and that he believes the latter was he who bore the surname Abu 'l-Jaysh. Al-Janadi proceeds as follows:—

According to the annotator, each of the Banu Ziyad enjoyed a long life, and the members of the dynasty were few in number. According to Omarah they were many, of some the life was long, of others it was short. God knoweth the truth. The annotator says also that Husayn ibn Salāmah died in 403, one year later than the date mentioned by 'Omarah. Know that in such historical details, both truth and falsehood, amplitude and scantiness are to be found. This is caused by transcribers' variations, which give rise to diversities in historical works. Discrepancies will be found even between one copy and another of the same book, written by the same author. The well-informed are fully aware of these facts. It may be that some critic will take exception to the matter I have extracted from the Mufiel and other works, but the only grounds for his censure will be his own inadequate study of historical works, and his neglect to compare different copies with one another. That which clearly appears is, that the uncontrolled rulership of the Banu Ziyād endured from A.H. 203 to 371, 168 years. . . .

The substance of what follows has already been given in Note 13, and the following is the Arabic text of the entire passage:—

فعلى ما ذكر هذا المعلّق كان بنو زياد ايام كلٍ منهم مستطيلة و هم قليل و على ما ذكر عمارة هم كثير و مددهم طوال و قصار فالله اعلم بالحقّ و ذكر المعلّق ان للحسين توفي سنة ٣٠٣ بـزيادة سنة على ما ذكر عمارة و اعلم ان هذه اخبار تدخلها الصدق و المكذب و الـزيادة و النقصان و سبب ذلك اختلاف المقل ثم اختلاف كتب التأريخ قد يكون المصنف واحدًا و التصنيف واحدًا

اموالهم و اولادهم ثم قرًّا وعد الله الذين امنوا ملكم و عجلوا الصالحات الى قوله تعالى امناً.

Note 97 to p. 126.—Janadi says that after the queen's death, a great number of people swore allegiance to Ibn Mahdy at the village of Kudayb. This he adds was in A.H. 546. Ibn Mahdy then proceeded to ad-Dāshir, where he remained for a time, and thence he went up to the fortress of ash-Sharaf. I have substituted in our text the name  $D\bar{a}shir$  for Sharaf. The latter, as is shown by the words that follow, cannot be correct, and Khazraji, as well as Janadi, writes Dāshir. In the printed edition of Yāṣūir's Geographical Dictionary, the name appears as  $D\bar{a}sir$ , and the author says it stood at the distance of a night's journey from Zabīd. (See supra, p. 128.) Ash-Sharaf was one of the fortresses situated on Mount Wuṣāb.

Instead of Ḥaywān, the name of the tribe to which ash-Sharaf is said to have belonged, we may perhaps read Ḥaydān. Hamdāni mentions the Banu Ḥaydān as sons of 'Amru son of al-Ḥāf (p. 53, l. 20). They were, therefore, descendants of Ķudā'ah, but it has been seen (see supra, Note 3, pp. 217 and 218), that certain Khaulānites in Yaman were regarded as Ķudā'ites.

Note 98 to p. 129.—By omitting the words printed in italics, in accordance with the amendments I have indicated in the footnotes to the printed text, the succession of the Ziyādite Princes here presented will agree with that previously given by 'Omarah in his history of the dynasty (supra, p. 5), and after him by al-Janadi and subsequent The present passage, it is true, may be suspected of being an interpolation and has, perhaps, been corrupted by the transcribers. But the accuracy of 'Omarah's previous account of the succession is itself by no means free from doubt, and the interpolation, if it be one, is perhaps capable of helping us to a more correct appreciation of the facts. Thus Abu 'l-Jaysh Ishak is here stated to have been grandson, instead of son of Ibrahīm—Ishak, son of Muhammad son of Ibrahīm. The latter, in like manner, is represented as grandson of Muhammad ibn Ziyād—Ibrahīm son of 'Abd Allah son of (Muhammad ibn) Ziyād. Ibrahīm, we have been told, died in A.H. 289, eighty-six years thereof the Kharāi (land assessment), and that after the death of the queen (in A.H. 545), his followers greatly increased in numbers.

The same writer gives us the following khutbah or sermon, delivered by Ibn Mahdy to his followers:-

"'I swear by Allah, unto none but unto me and unto you hath God committed the doom of the Abyssinians. Soon, under his will, ye shall know. By Allah the most great, the Lord of Moses and of Abraham, I shall be unto them as the suffocating wind of 'Ad and as the exterminating cry of Thamud.\* Verily, I speak unto you and ye are not deceived, I promise and your hopes shall not be frustrated. Of a certainty, though now ye be few ye shall be many, though ye be humble ye shall be honoured, though ye be lowly ye shall be exalted, and your fame shall be a proverb among Arabs and non-Arabs; that God may requite them that do evil according to their deeds, and that unto them that do good he may grant his surpassing rewards.† The time is near. Await with patience. By the Divine Truth of God most great, charged unto every believer and maintainer of the Unity, I will of a certainty give unto you the daughters of the Abyssinians and their sisters, to be your servants, and I will deliver into your hands their riches and their children.'

"Then he recited the verse: God hath promised unto such of you as believe and are well-doing, that they shall of a certainty inherit the earth, as it hath been inherited by those (the faithful) that were before them. Verily, he will establish among them the faith they have willingly received, and of a certainty, for their fears he will substitute sajety." 1

و الله ما جعل الله فنا ٌ لحبشة الاتى و بكم و عمّا قايل ان شاء الله سوف تعلمون والله العظيم ربّ موسى و ابرهيم اتّى عليهم ريح عاد وصيحة ثماود و اتّي احدَّثكم فلا اكذبكم واعدكم فلا أُخلفكم و لـئمن كنتم اصبحتم اليوم قليلا لنكثرنَّ او وضعا لتشرفن او اذلاً لتعرَّب حتى تصيروا مثلاً في العرب و العجم ليجزى الله الذين اساءوا بما عملوا و يجزى الذين احسنوا بالحسنى فالاناة الاناة فوحتى الله العظيم على كل مومن موحدٍ لأُخْدِمَنَّكُم بنات الحبشة و اخواتهم و لاخوّلنَّكم

I Kur'an, xxiv. 54.

<sup>\*</sup> The tribe of 'Ad, for its disregard of the prophet Hüd, was destroyed by a suffocating wind. That of Thamud, for its defiance of the prophet Salih, perished at the sound of an appalling cry that issued from the heavens. (Kur'an, s. vii.) † Kur'an, liii. 32.

tears, كان رقيق القلب قريب الدمعة غزيرها, an account of him which need not perhaps be regarded as wholly inconsistent with the savage crnelty he displayed. The author's meaning, however, is that Ibu Mahdy was in the habit of lamenting with tears his unworthiness in the face of God.

The words, "he bore between his eyes the traces of his prostrations," are an allusion to a passage in the Kur'ān (S. xlviii. v. 29): Thou shalt see them (the believers) bowing down and prostrating themselves, winning the grace of God and his approbation. Their distinguishing mark is

on their brows, the traces of their prostrations.

It is related by the commentators that 'Aly Zayn al-'Ābidīn, grandson of 'Aly the Prophet's son-in-law, and 'Aly son of 'Abd Allah son of 'Abbās, ancestor of the Abbasides, were surnamed Dhu 'th-thafināt, because the frequency of their prostrations in prayer had caused induration of the skin on the part of their foreheads that touched the ground. There is a tradition that the Prophet disapproved of such marks, but his disapproval is reconciled with the reverence in which the memory of the two 'Alys is held, by an explanation that what the Prophet condemned were marks purposely produced, by undue pressure of the forehead upon the ground. Such marks are signs of hypocrisy and impiety, from which, adds the pious writer quoted by the author of the Kashshāf, we must pray God to deliver us.

The word i'tazala, which occurs in Ibn Khaldūn as well as in 'Omārah, and which I have translated he ted a life of retirement, might also be taken to signify that Ibn Mahdy joined the sect of the Ma'tazilites. But Ibn Khaldūn styles him the Khārijite, and is snpported therein by 'Omārah's statement that Ibn Mahdy held the doctrine which treats sin as infidelity (supra, p. 132). It deserves, perhaps, to be remarked that 'Omārah speaks of Ibn Mahdy as al-Khārij (supra, p. 95), which, however, simply signi-

fies the rebel.

Note 96 to p. 125.—See Dieterici's Mutanabbi, p. 280, where the line is given as follows:—

Al-Janadi says that it was in the year 536 that the Queen 'Alam relieved 1bn Mahdy and his followers from payment

ما هو مشهور فليطلب ذلك مريده من مفيده مع انني قد اطلت في ذكره بخلاف غيره لما رايت في استحقاقه و ذلك لانني تحققت حين اشار ذكرت\* من محاسنه ما سه † عن البعض المتروك .

Note 95 to p. 124.—Al-Janadi mentions the pedigree of 'Aly ibn Mahdy, but it is more fully given by Khazraji (p. 97) as follows:—Abu 'l-Hasan 'Aly son of (Mahdy son of) Muḥammad, son of 'Aly son of Da-ād, son of Muḥammad son of 'Abd Allah, son of Muḥammad son of Ahmad, son of 'Abd al-Kāhir (?) son of 'Abd Allah son of al-Aghlab son of Abu 'l-Fawāris son of Maimūn, of the tribe of Himyar and subtribe of Ru'ayn.

Al-Janadi's rendering of the geographical names mentioned in our text is as follows:—

The commencement of his career was at al-Trk, the lower portion of the valley of the river Zabīd. It commences with the village of al-'Anbarah and (comprises) al-Kuḍayb, al-Ahwāb, al-Mu'tafi (?), Wāsit and its neighbourhood. He acquired there a great reputation for piety.

A few lines further on he supplies us with the vocalization of the name al-Kudayb.

اول ما ظهر امرة بالعرك التي هي سفل وادى زبيد اولها قرية العنبرة و النضيب و الاهواب و المعمى و واسط و ما قاربها من الاماكن و صار له فيها ذكر في الصلاح .

I have nowhere else met with the name العرق المناف المدق المعلق المدق المعلق المدق المعلق المدق 
To 'Omarah's description of 1bn Mahdy, al-Janadi adds that he was of a tender heart, quick in shedding abundant يكاد يعرف من هو سرور الا احاد الناس و اما اهل زبيد فيعرفون انه من المساجد المنسوبة الى لخبشة .

His mosque is known to the present day under the name of Mosque of Surūr. It is situated in the city of Zabūd, on the western side of Martā' al-'Ajūz (the Old Woman's Pasturage). Hardly any of the inhabitants of the town, saving a few of the best informed class, know who Surūr was. The vulgar only know that it is one of the mosques, the erection of which is ascribed to the Abyssinians.

Al-Janadi admits that his history of the early dynasties is much abridged. "If," he says to his readers, after recording the death of Mann Allah,—

If you desire fuller information, you will find it in the Mufīd of 'Omārah. I have abridged much of his history, but always in such wise, that in what I mention there shall be, either in express terms or by implication, something that points to what I have omitted.

In treating of the life and character of Surūr, al-Janadi departs from his rule, and introduces into his pages an almost verbatim copy of 'Omārah's account of the celebrated Wazīr. The examples afforded by the life and conduct of a pious Muslim furnish, in the eyes of an Arab writer, a far worthier theme for the historian's pen, than the record of the rise and fall of dynasties or of any merely secular events. Here are al-Janadi's own words on the subject:—

A full account of Surūr's qualities, of his nobility of character, of his bravery and of his righteousness, would be of great length. What 'Omārah has recorded on the subject is widely known. Let him who more would read, turn to that writer's book al-Mufid. The student may do so, although, in the case of Surūr, I have written at far greater length than I have allowed myself to do in other instances. Thus have I done on account of Surūr's great merits. I have studied to acquaint myself with all that to which 'Omārah directs attention, and I have entered into detailed particulars on the subject of Surūr's virtues, such as justify indifference to other things which I have omitted.

فاخباره في الكرم و الشجاعـة و العدل يطول شرحها و قد اورد عمارة من ذلك

Harām are mentioned by Hamdāni (p. 116) as the principal subdivision of the Banu Nahd.

Note 91 to p. 121.—It has been sufficiently shown in the course of 'Omārah's narrative, that at least some ladies of exalted rank in Yaman, were by no means rigorous in their observance of the strict rules, that exclude Eastern women from personal intercourse with men. But in regard to this particular instance, it must be borne in mind, that Surūr was technically the slave of the Lady 'Alam. His admission into her presence was consequently no violation of Muhammadan law.

Note 92 to p. 121.—To stand, or even to sit before, that is to say facing a person, is a mark of respect to one superior in rank. (See *supra*, p. 122.)

Note 93 to p. 123.—Our text is manifestly corrupt at this point, and the portion of the translation enclosed within square brackets is from al-Janadi's version, which, throughout the description of Surūr's character and habits is, as is likewise that of al-Khazraji, an almost verbatim copy of 'Omārah. The following is the passage as it stands in the Paris MS. (p. 188. obv.).

وكان متى عاد بعد الركوب \* وصل † الى دار الساطان يدخل ‡ فيسلم ثم يقف بباب السلطان فيقضى حوائج الناس على اكول الاحوال ثم اذا كان وقت الغدا ذهب الى بيته فقال فيه حتى النزوال ثم يخرج الى المسجد ﴿ فالا يشتغل بشى غير الفريضة غير المسندات الصحيحة عن الرسول صلعم حتى العصر فيصليه و يدخل داره يقعد حتى الغروب ثم يخرج الى المسجد الني .

The words in the translation, placed within ordinary brackets, are taken, as will be seen, from 'Omārah.

Note 94 to p. 123.—Al-Janadi continues at this point as follows:—

و مسجده الى الاَّن يُعرف بمسجد سرور غرببي مرتَّاع || العجوز بمدينة زبيد و لا

يصل ,Khi † Khi للمزيارة و العبادة كما ذكرنا ,Khi \* مرباع ,Khi في اول زوال الظل ,Khi § قيدخل ,Khi

son of Wahhās (infra, Note 101). It seems not improbable that Ghānim's grandfather Hamzah ibn Wahhās was the identical Suleymānite Prince, who unsuccessfully disputed the sovereignty over Mecca with the Banu Hāshim, as may be read in the history of Mecca by Dr. Snouck-Hargronje.\*

I may add that I find mention in the Hada'ik of two other members of the Suleymanite family, namely, at fol. 128 obv., 'Aly son of Isa son of Hamzah son of Walhas, living in A.H. 540, and at fol. 168 obv., Nizām ad-dīn Yahya son of 'Aly (son of the preceding?), ruler over the old province of Suleyman ibn Tarf in A.H. 594-5, in the days, that is to say, of the Ayyūbite dynasty.

I have made no attempt to trace the subsequent history of the Suleymanites, but I find them mentioned in the life of the Imam al-Mutawakkil Yahya (Brit. Mus. Or. 3731). The author says (fol. 59 obv.) that in A.H. 963 (A.D. 1556), the Imam received letters from the Sulaymanite Sharifs informing him of the success with which they had resisted

the troops brought by the Turks from Egypt.

Al-Mutawakkil, a descendant of Yūsuf the Dā'y, died in A.H. 965.

Note 89 to p. 115.—The death of Fātik son of Manṣūr occurred, according to both al-Janadi and Khazraji in the month of Sha'bān of the year 531. The omission of the year from our text is probably an accident. Neither al-Janadi nor Khazraji give us particulars of the circumstances under which al-Fātik ibn Muḥammad, the successor of al-Fātik ibn Manṣūr, was raised to the throne. Al-Janadi merely repeats (fol. 187 rev.) what we have been told by 'Omārah, with the addition, as in Khazraji, that the Prince died leaving no issue. (Supra, p. 95.) The sentences I have enclosed in square brackets are wanting in the text and are supplied from Khazraji.

Note 90 to p. 118.—I have not found to what Arab stems these tribes, the Banu Mash'al, Zi'l and 'Imrān are to be assigned. But it is probable that like the Hakamites they were subdivisions of the Banu Madhhij. The Banu

<sup>\*</sup> See also the passage from Ibn al-Athīr (supra, Note 31), in which certain Hasanites are spoken of as having removed to Yaman, at some time previous to A.H. 455.

a few lines further on, is thus likewise given by Khazraji, but I have nowhere else met with it.

Note 88 to p. 113.—Ibn Khaldūn says (supra, p. 166-7) that Ghanim ibn Yahya was a descendant of the Suleymanite Sharifs of Mecca, who, he tells us, not only here, but is in his chapter on the history of the Suleymanites of Mecca, sought refuge in Yaman upon their expulsion by the Banu Hashim. But Ibn Khaldun's statements, in certain portions of his general history require to be received with some cantion. Thus he tells us, on the authority of Ibn Sa'id, that the Suleymanite refugees conquered Sa'dah from the Rassites, that they and their descendants were the recognized Imams of Yaman throughout a period of at least a century and a half, that the Imam Alimad (al-Mutawakkil) who brought about the assassination of Fatik ibn Muhammad in A.H. 553, and even the celebrated Imām al-Mansūr 'Abd Allah, were members of the Suleymānite family. All these statements we know to be absolutely incorrect, as I shall yet have occasion to show.\*

It must, however, be observed that not only 'Omārah, but also every writer on the history of Yaman, including the authors of the Hadā'ik and of the Yawakāt (Brit. Mus. Or. 3786 and 3771) invariably speak of the Hasanite family, to which Ghānim ibn Yahya belonged, under the designation of the Suleymānites. I was for a moment inclined to think that the circumstance simply pointed to the fact of their having obtained possession of the district, commonly known, at that time, as the Province of Suleymān ibn Tarf. But the explanation was one which I soon found reason to

abandon.

With the exception of Ibn Khaldūn, none of the writers I have referred to, so far as I have been able to discover, explain who these people were, nor whence they came. I have nowhere found any allusion to kinship between them and the Imāms of Ṣaʿdah, some trace of which could hardly fail to appear, if it had existed. Ibn Khaldūn, I am much inclined to think, is right so far as the origin of the family of Ghānim ibn Yaḥya is concerned. Khazraji gives us a fuller pedigree of the Sharīf than any I have found elsewhere, and calls him Ghānim son of Yaḥya son of Ḥamzah

<sup>\*</sup> See Note 130.

Note 83 to p. 107.—It is hardly necessary to remind the reader that, in Muhammadan countries, a slave who bears a child to her master, thereby becomes free.

Note 84 to p. 109.—Al-Khazraji supplies us at this point with a short passage, omitted by the transcriber of our text, but which I include in the translation. The words are as follows:—

ثم انتقلنا الى مجلس الشراب وكنا سبعة انا نامنهم وكنت الساقى فاسكرت للخمسة الذين حضروا فلما سكروا انصرفوا فقلت لعثمان النح .

Note 85 to p. 110.—My translation here again follows al-Khazraji:—

فلما اصبح الصباح عدت الى عثمان فاعدت اليه الالف دينار الذى كان دفعه التى و سالته فى ضيعة من دوال .

Khazraji proceeds with the words نوقع لى بيا. Reading the verb in the passive, the general sense agrees with 'Omārah.

Note 86 to p. 111.—Some words, omitted in the text, I have supplied in the translation, from al-Khazraji's version, as follows;—

فهرب الوصیف و تعلق ببعض غلمان الوزیر مفلح فکتب ابو المعالی بسبب غلامه بیتین و هما.

Note 87 to p. 113.—It will be observed that further on, 'Omārah gives this place the alternative name of الدكرش. Al-Hamdāni has the same, but for a totally different place, and Aden (p. 77, 6-9). Khazraji vocalizes the name al-Karish. Yāķūt writes al-Kirsh and says it is a castle in the district of al-Mahjam, but his information, such as it is, is probably nothing more than what he has gathered from 'Omārah. Al-Janadi writes: وسكن عصنا من جبل أرع يقال له الكرس (fol. 187 rev.), intimating in plain words, that the castle stood upon Mount Bura'. The name of the castle of Dabsān, mentioned in our text

having been borne by one of the Princes of the Egyptian dynasty of Tulūn, and may be translated the Possessor of the great Army. But the word Jaysh may also be translated agitation, turmoil, in which sense it is perhaps used in the text. I may add that the name Jayyāsh, derived from the same root, may be translated high-spirited, fiery.

Note 79 to p. 100.—Al-Khazraji adds that, according to statements made to him by several persons, Mann Allah was buried in a mosque at Zabīd, which stood on a spot called al Hadd. In Khazraji's own day it bore the name Mosque of Ibn ar-Rudād, after one who, when the building threatened ruin, repaired it. In earlier times, he continues, the mosque was universally known under the name of Mosque of the son of Mann Allah.

Note 80 to p. 102.—Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ibn al-Labbān al-Faradi, an eminent Jurist and authority on the laws of inheritance, died at Baghdād in A.H. 402.

Note 81 to p. 102.—Abu 'Amru ibn al-'Alā, one of the seven principal readers, that is to say, recensionists of the Kuranic text, died in A.H. 153 or 157, aged eighty-six years. Of the other six, the earliest died about A.H. 118 and the latest about A.H. 181.

The differences between the several readings are of so slight a character that it would be misleading to speak of them as so many versions of the Kur'ān.

Note 82 to p. 105.—The copyist must be suspected of being again at fault in this passage. It is difficult to make sense of the words واسع الاعال, as they stand in the text, and they are not to be found in the corresponding passage in Khazraji. He writes as follows (p. 89):—

Yāķūt mentions a village named  $Was\bar{a}'$  in the district of 'Aththar, a place which, if it is correctly described, is far too distant to be here in question.

He sought not the accumulation of riches.—Pure and free from evil.

His reward for raising thee to the throne of Yaman,—is his slaughter at thy hands and a dishonoured grave.

Note 76 to p. 94.—Jurayb is described by Hamdāni (pp. 69 and 113) as a place where an important market was held, largely frequented by the people of Tihāmah and by the Arab inhabitants of the country of the Banu Hamdān.

The Banu Jurayb are said to be descendants of Huzayl son of Sharaḥbīl, one of the contemporaries and successors  $(t\bar{a}bi')$  of the Prophet's Companions, mentioned in Ibn al-Athīr's  $Usd\ al\text{-}Gh\bar{a}bah$ . (Bul. ed. v. p. 60.) Khazraji writes  $al\text{-}H\bar{a}rith$  instead of Jurayb. The town of Jurayb is described by Hamdāni (p. 113, l. 6) as situated in the district of Ḥajūr. The latter is marked in Dr. Glaser's map.

Note 77 to p. 98.—Al-Janadi, like 'Omārah, does not mention the date at which Manṣūr son of Fātik died, and Khazraji remarks that he had not been able to ascertain it. But 'Omārah's words may be held to imply that the death of Manṣūr followed immediately after the accession of Mann Allah as Wazīr.

Note 78 to p. 98.—It is difficult to extract a consistent meaning from this passage, and hardly less so from the version given by al-Khazraji, shown in a footnote to the printed text. His words must signify that the lady received the title of Hurrah (free, virtuous, honourable, etc.) because she had borne a child to Manṣūr, an explanation which in her case in particular—that of a native of the country—is hardly satisfactory. I have preferred to read in as in Khazraji, instead of in, but it is as in our text in the next line, instead of in, repeated in Khazraji. The passage, however, remains very doubtful.

The surname Abu 'l-Jaysh is best known through its

A mound of the fairest sand, the graceful stem of the bān-tree.—
Over all, the beauteous moon. And its gift a night of watchfulness.

'Omārah's praise seems at first sight somewhat puzzling, but he reckons upon his Eastern reader's quickness to apprehend that the poet is not simply describing a desert moon-lit scene, that he is on the contrary descanting upon the charms of his mistress, her rounded form, her figure flexible and graceful as the  $b\bar{a}u$ -tree, and her face resplendent with beauty as the full moon.

Khrazraji relates the circumstances that led to the death of Ibn Abi 'Akāmah. Jayyāsh sought the hand of a woman, of whose extreme beauty he had been informed. She was daughter of an Arab tribe, descended from Rabī'ah son of Nizār, inhabiting the valley of Mauza'.† There was a division of opinion among her people, on the question whether the demand should be complied with. The Ķāḍi, who as a Taghlibite was akin to the tribe, advised them not to consent unless all were agreed. Jayyāsh, by a liberal expenditure of money, eventually gained his ends, and the woman, when she joined her husband, acquainted him with the part played by the Ķāḍi in the matter.

The same writer gives three, instead of one line only, of the verses composed by Husayn ibn al-Kumm, as follows:—

Thou hast dealt unrighteously, O Jayyāsh, in slaying al-Ḥasan— Thou hast darkened, by his destruction, the glory of his age.

The Farasan Islands, he further says, were named after the tribe, who, he also tells us, were originally Christians and at one time possessed churches in the islands. The Banu Farasan are described as enterprising merchants, who conducted a large trade with Abyssinia and protected commerce. (Müller's Hamdāni, p. 53, l. 20 sqq, and p. 98, l. 22 sqq)

فوقه ,Khi ? نَوَلُهُ \*

<sup>†</sup> Hamdāni says that the country in the neighbourhood of Mauza', Mukha and Bāb al-Mandab, which was occupied by the Banu Musīh (a tribe derived from the Banu Majīd, themselves a subdivision of the Banu Ḥaydān), was inhabited also by the Banu Farasān, descendants of the Banu Taghlib. The Himyarite genealogists, he adds, claimed them as descendants of Himyar.

Note 73 to p. 90.—The person here referred to is probably the Khalifah 'Omar ibn 'Abd al-Azīz. See supra, p. 9.

Note 74 to p. 90.—The word Buhr, the Sea, is in constant use among Arabs, as a figure of speech implying infinity, boundless, that is to say, in generosity, learning, etc. (see supra, Note 44, p. 259). Abu 't-Tāmi signifies Exalted.

Note 75 to p. 93.—Literally, who made himself neither sweet nor bitter. There is a favourite Arab proverb, by which men are warned not to make themselves too sweet or they will be swallowed, nor too bitter or they will be spat forth.

There seems again reason to suspect an omission in this portion of the MS. Al-Janadi and, following him, Khazraji, al-Ahdal and Dayba', enter into particulars touching Jayyāsh's literary acquirements. His poetical works, they say, on the authority of 'Omārah, filled a large volume. They quote a long epistle in rhymed prose, which he is said to have addressed to his son's tutor. They speak also in laudatory terms of his history of Zabīd. Khazraji adds that the book had become excessively rare and could with difficulty be found in any of the libraries of the country. Al-Janadi mentions that according to 'Omārah, Jayyāsh bore the title of al-'Ādil Abu 'ṭ-Ṭāmi. Among the verses composed by Jayyāsh, he quotes the following:—

If a man's lenity be a help unto his enemy—against himself, then is sternness, of a certainty preferable and more conducive to tranquillity.

In severity is strength. In thy elemency is weakness—if thou extend it to the ungrateful.

'Omārah, continues al-Janadi, ranks the following line among the most remarkable of Jayyāsh's compositions.

Janadi's statement that the children of 'Imrān were placed under the guardiauship of Abu Durr Janhar is confirmed by Khazraji, who reproduces the preceding passages almost verbatim, and the statement is indirectly confirmed by Ibn Hātim. See Note 101. The corresponding passage in our MS. of 'Omārah (supra, p. 80, footnote) is hopelessly mutilated, and the sense that can with difficulty be extracted is undoubtedly incorrect. There are, so far as I am aware, no means to attempt a textual restoration, and a restoration of the sense, as no doubt originally conveyed by our author, would require far more thorough amendments than those offered in the footnotes to the printed text,

Note 70 to p. 79.—So also in Janadi, A.H. 546 or 547, as in the preceding note. Khazraji says that Bilāl died in 545. From Omārah's own words, on the ensuing page, it would appear that Muḥammad ibn Saba, who he has told us died in 548, survived Bilāl at least two years. But al-Janadi, on the other hand, casts doubt over the precise year of Muḥammad ibn Saba's death, which he says occurred in A.H. 548, or in 549, or in 550. He adds that 'Imrān received, on his accession, the title of al-Mukarram.

Note 71 to p. 80.—The Buhār (pl. abhirah) is a weight variously described as 300 or 400 or 600 or 1000 rath or pounds, also as the proper load of a camel. Our author, it will be seen (supra, p. 109), describes it as equal to three kantārs.

Note 72 to p. 85.—See Baron de Slane's ed. of 'Imru 'l-Kays, p. 23, Ahlwardt, p. 117.

The death of aṣ-Ṣulayḥi occurred, according to Janadi (fol. 183 rev.), on the 12th of the month of Dhu'l-Ka'dah 473. Khazraji adds that three men were spared in the massacre that followed, Wā'il ibn 'Isa Prince of Wuḥāzah, 'Aly ibn Ma'n Prince of Aden and Ibn al-Kurandi Prince of al-Ma'āfir.

فــان اكابر الملوك يــودّوا الدفن بمحّه و ان يــبـذلـوا في مقابلة ذلك اموالًا فلا يحمل الهم و هذا ايضاً دايل اخر على توفيقه و من ماثرة الباقية في عدن المنبر المنصوب في جامعها و اسمه مكتوب عليه و هو منبر له حلاوة في النفس و طالاوة في النعين و توفي عمران عن ثلثة اولاد هم محمد و ابو السعود و منصور كلُّهم صغار في كفالة الاستاذ ابي الدُّر جوهر المعظُّمي بيحصن الدملوة و القائم بعدن و المدتبر لامور البلاد الشيخ ياسو بن بلال الذي تقدّم ذكرة فلم يـزالوا كذلك حتى قدم الساطان شمس الدولة توران شاه ابن ايوب فاستولى على عدن و هرب ياسر الى حصن الدملوة و جوهر يومتُذ فيه و قد قدّمتُ ما كان منه وكان انقضاء دولة آل الزريع عن عدن و غيرها بحيث لم يبق الَّا الدماوة بيد ابي الدّر حتّى باعها من سيف الاسلام كما قدمنا لبضع وسبعين و خسمائة ثم لم يبق الا اعيان دولتهم اولهم الشييخ السعيد بلال المقدم ذكرة و ان وفانه كانت سنة ستُّ او سبع و اربعين و خمسمائــة و هو الــذى انسا \* الادیب العبدی کما قدمت ذاك مع ذكره ثم استخلف السلطان محمد بن سبا بعد ابيه مدافع ثم اخوة ابو الفرج ياسر بن بلال فاقام معه ثمم مع ولدة وكان رجالا كبير القدر شهير الذكر ايضاً ممدحًا يثيب المادحين و لايخيّب القاصدين و قد ذكر عمارة في اخبار الشعراء نبذة من اخباره و له المسجد المعروف بعدن بمسجد ابن البصرى اذ كان يتعانى القيام به ثمّ انّه خرج من الدملوة و دخل ذا عدينة متنكَّراً و معه مملوكه مفتاح ألملقب بالسُّداسي فحصل من همر † عليه اهل الدولــة فقبض و اعلم به شمس الدولــة فامر بشنقه و شنق معه عبده و قيل بل امر بـتوسيطهما ففعل ذلك بهما و ذلك بتأريخ سنة ٧١ و كان هذا اخر وزرائهم قال عمارة و بنو الكرم' يعني والد العباس و مسعود اللذين ولاهما المكرم يعرفون بآل الذئب و هم بعد بني الصليحي بقية العرب بالمهن و قد ذكرت مع ذلك ‡ جوهر انفصاله عن الدملوة و لم يبق الّا ذكر ملوك الحسشة .

<sup>?</sup> اثنی علیه or اثناه \*

فنم عليه انسان ,Khi ! اعثر †

It now only remains for me to speak of the chief nobles of the Zuray'ite dynasty, The first was the auspicious chief Bilāl. already mentioned. He died in the year 546 or 547. It was he who was eulogised by the accomplished scholar al-'Abdy, as I have hereinbefore stated, when mentioning him. Sultan Muhammad son of Saba appointed Mudafi' to succeed his father, and then the brother of Mudāfi', Abu 'l-Faraj Yāsir son of Bilāl. held his office-under Sultān-Muḥammad and under Muḥammad's son ('Imran). He exercised great power and enjoyed a wide He was greatly praised and liberally rewarded his celebrity. eulogists, nor did he disappoint any one that came to his court. 'Omarah has given a brief account of Yasir's life in his memoirs of the Poets (?) He built the mosque at Aden, known as the mosque of Ibn al-Basri, the name of one who made it his place of resort for prayer and holy living.

When Yāsir left Dumlūwah he proceeded to Dhu 'Udaynah, in disguise, accompanied by his mamluk Miftāḥ who was surnamed as-Sudāsy. A person gave information against him, to the officials of the Government. He was arrested, and notice of his capture was sent to Shams ad-Daulah, who commanded him to be strangled. The order was carried into execution, and his slave (Miftāḥ) shared his fate. It is also said that Shams ad-Daulah ordered them to be bisected. Yāsir's death took place in the year

571, and he was the last of the Zuray'ite wazīrs.

'Omārah says that the descendants of al-Karam, father of al-'Abbās and Mas'ūd, whom al-Mukarram appointed (over Aden), are known under the designation family of adh-Dhi'b, and that next to the Sulayhites, they were the most distinguished Arabs in Yaman.

I have mentioned, in speaking of Jauhar, how he parted with the castle of Dumlūwah, and there now only remains to me to give an account of the Abyssinian kings (of Zabīd).

و ما احسن قول عمارة فيه حين اورد ذكره لله درّ الداعي عمران بن محمد بن سبا ما اغزر ديمة جوده و اكرم نبعة عوده و اكثر وحشه في بدرة الطريق من المنظران و اقـل موانسه فيها من الماوك و الامران و لا يكـذب من قال ان للجود و الوفا ملّة عمران و انه حاتمها بل خاتمها و لو لم يـكـن من توفيقه آلا سلامته عن ابن مهدى و كانت وفاته سنة ٥١٠ فيقله الاديب ابو بـكـر\* الى محّة و دفنه في مقـابرها فرحم الله الابدين احسن هذا و لم يضع على هذا

بى محمد العبدى .Khi

(fol. 186 rev.), from which it may be inferred that our text of 'Omārah is incomplete at this point. See also Khazraji, p. 77.

The following words of 'Omarah, when relating the history of

Imran, are singularly eloquent and appropriate:

"Truly a gift from God were the qualities of the Dā'y Imrān. How copious were the showers of his generosity, how abundant the springs of his beneficence? How greatly was he missed in the pathways of life by those who had daily beheld him! How few, in the estimation of Kings and Princes, the occasions on which they enjoyed his companionship.\* They will not be contradicted who declare that generosity and beneficence were the nature of Imrān, its necessary result, nay, its fulfilment and seal. Were there no other evidence of God's favour unto him, it were proved by his having been rescued from the tyranny of Ibn Mahdy."

He died in the year 560. The learned scholar, Abu Bakr, carried his remains to Mecca and buried them in one of its cemeteries. The mercy of God†.... for the mightiest of Kings ardently desire to be buried at Mecca, and though striving, at the cost of heavy expenditure to compensate themselves for that of which they are deprived, their efforts are vain. We have here, therefore, another proof of the divine favour, of which 'Imrān was the object. Among the enduring memorials of him in existence at Aden, is the pulpit in the principal mosque. His name is inscribed upon it, and it is a monument comforting to the soul and

beautiful to the eye.

'Imrān left three sons, Muhammad, Abu's-Su'ūd and Manṣūr, all in their early youth and under the care of the Chamberlain Abu Durr Jauhar al-Mu'azami, in the fortress of Dumlūwah. The administrator at Aden of the affairs of the kingdom was the Chief Yāsir son of Bilāl, hereinbefore mentioned. In that condition matters remained until the arrival of Sulṭān Shams ad-Daulah Turān Shah son of Ayyūb (in Dhu 'l-Ka'dah 569). He conquered Aden, and Yāsir fled to the fortress of Dumlūwah, where Jauhar was. I have already related what happened to him. The family of Zuray' lost their sovereignty over Aden and its dependencies, and naught remained to them but the fortress of Dumlūwah, in the hands of Abu Durr, until he sold it to Sayf al-Islām (read to Turān Shah—see Note 101), shortly after the year 570.

<sup>\*</sup> I translate the foregoing sentence with much hesitation. It is omitted by Khazraji.

<sup>†</sup> I cannot attempt to translate the words that follow. The sentence has no doubt been corrupted and Khazraji omits it.

الداعى بعد ان اقام مقامه ابنه على الاعز فلم يقم غير يسير حتى توفى بمرض السل و له اربعة اولاد صغار جعل كفالنهم الى خادم اسمه انيس خصى \* على العبد الذي قبتل مواليه اخر بنى زياد .

Note 66 to p. 74.—A Musalla is an enclosed place in the open air, set aside for the performance of prayer. Under the Fatimites, the Khalīfah resorted to the Musalla in state, on the occasion of the two great festivals of the year. Makrīzi says that the Musalla of Cairo was enclosed by Jauhar outside the walls in A.H. 358, and he describes the cremonies that took place on the occasion of the Khalīfah's visits. (Khiṭaṭ, vol. i. p. 451. See also de Sacy's Chrestomathie, note to the Life of al-Ḥākim.)

Note 67 to p. 76.—The reason why Mansar divorced his wife is explained by Ibn Khaldan (supra, p. 174), and has perhaps been accidentally omitted from our text by the transcribers.

Note 68 to p. 78.—'Omārah's verses in praise of the Dā'y Muḥammad ibn Saba probably contained, like those he afterwards wrote at Cairo, eulogistic allusions to the Ismailites and to their pretensions, sure to be regarded by the people of Zabid as doubly offensive, proceeding as they did, from the pen of one who professed to be an orthodox Sunni.

Al-Ahdal writes as follows:

'Omarah is profuse in his praise of the Dā'y 'Imrān and speaks in exaggerated terms of his great qualities. This is to be explained by the kindness he received from the princes of the dynasty of Zuray' and by the love he bore them—nay, it is said, by his partiality to their religion, that is to say, to Shī'ism and Isma'ilism. Be this known unto you.

. بل قيل الى مذهبهم اى التشيع و التسمعمُل فاعلم ذلك

The following is a passage in which 'Omārah speaks of 'Imrān in more legitimate terms:

They will not be contradicted, etc. (See next Note.)

Note 69 to p. 79.—Al-Janadi has the following passage

انیس الاعزی و هو استاذ حبشی .Khi \*

"The Dā'y Saba died after having appointed his son 'Aly al-A'azz to succeed him. The latter did not long survive, and died of consumption.\* He had four sons of tender age, whom he placed under the guardianship of an [Abyssinian] cunuch named Anīs [al-A'azzi], the same name, Anīs, as that of the man who slew the last Prince of the Banu Ziyād."

فتها یجت بینهما حروب کشیرة افضت الی انتصار الدای سبا علی ابن عمه فهرب الی به سبا صهیب و تحقن دو و بنو عمه بحصنین منها منیف و لحمله په و من عجیب ماکان فی الیوم الذی انکسر به ابن ابی الغارات فتح بلال مولی سبا حصن الخضرا فبعث مبشرا . . . . . . . و انزل الحرة بفجة الی المدینة فلبثت بها حتی توفیت و المسجد الذی یعرف بمسجد الحرة علی قرب من جامع و عدن اظنه ینسب الیها ثم لما انقضت الحرب دخل الذاعی سبا الی عدن فلبث بها سبعة اشهر و توفی فقیر بسفے التعکر بتاریخ سنة ۳۳ و لما کان بعد سبعمائة ظهر الناس الحلی اکسه به بسفے التعکر حفیرًا اظهره المطر فتوهم الناس انه مال فاعلوا والی المدینة فطلع والی المدینة و وقیف و اخرج الفارون منه صندوقًا حکبیرًا مسمرًا ففتح فوجدوا فیه رجلا ملفقًا باثواب متی امسکت صارت رمادًا فاعادوه علی حاله بصندوقه و حفرته و لعله الداعی و الله اعدام و لما توفی

the present day. But it would seem to have been otherwise in former times. Khazraji (fol. 73) tells a story not unlike the above, to the effect that a coffin made of ebony was found, in the days of Sulṭān al-Manṣūr 'Omar ibn Rasūl (A.H. 626—647), in a graveyard at Manṣūrah, that upon its being opened it was found to contain remains, believed to be those of the Dā'y Muḥammad son of Saba (who died at Dumlūwah). See also Ibn al-Athīr, vol. xii. p. 269, where it is related that on the grave of Katādah Amīr and Sharīf of Mecca being opened in A.H. 620, the coffin it contained was found to be empty.

<sup>\*</sup> At Dumlūwah in A.H. 534, according to Khazraji. He goes on to say that 'Aly's sons were Jābir, 'Abbās and Mansūr. The name of the fourth he did not remember. He adds, immediately after, that al-A'azz bequeathed the kingdom to his son Hātim.

<sup>†</sup> Khi, ناحية † Khi, الحملة \$ Khi, الكمة \$ أولناس الله الكمة الكمة الكمانية ألم الك

(p. 54, 24), was inhabited by a people descended from Saba, and they were known by the designation of Saba-Şuhayb. Elsewhere (p. 189) he mentions Şuhayb as on the pilgrim route from Aden, next after Lahj. Manzoni marks Jabal "Menif" on his map, about twelve miles north of Lahj, as also a stream of the same name flowing thence into the Wadi "Saib." Yāķūt mentions Munīf as the name of a fortress situated on Mount Şabir, which, it seems to me, requires confirmation.

The following are the corresponding passages in al-Janadi (fol. 186 obv.). The words of al-Khazraji (p. 70), who indeed cites al-Janadi as his authority, are substantially

the same:

"War continued to rage between the two parties and many battles were fought between them, ending eventually in the victory of Saba over his kinsman. 'Aly son of Abu'l-Gharāt fled to Saba-Ṣuhayb, where he and his friends entrenched themselves in two fortresses, Munif and al-Jabalah (?). A wonderful thing was, that on the day upon which 'Aly was defeated, Bilāl the freedman of Saba captured the fortress of al-Khaḍrā. He sent a messenger with the glad tidings. . . .

"Bilāl brought down the Honourable Lady Bahjah (from al-Khadrā) into the city (of Aden), where she continued to reside until her death. I believe that the mosque known under the name of Masjid al-Hurrah (the Lady's Mosque), situated near the

principal mosque of Aden, is named after her.

"On the termination of the war, the Dā'y Saba entered Aden, where he abode for seven months and then died.\* He was buried at the foot of at-Ta'kar, in the year 533. After the year 700, signs of excavation in a mound at the foot of at-Ta'kar became visible through the action of the rains. It was surmised that treasure was concealed on the spot, and information was carried to the Governor of the city. He went up and stood by whilst the workmen uncovered a large chest, closely fastened with nails. It was opened and found to contain the body of a man, wound in sheets, but upon being touched the body crumbled into dust. The chest and remains were restored to their original place, as was also the earth that had been dug out. It may be that this was the body of the Dā'y, but God is all-knowing.†

<sup>\*</sup> Khazraji (p. 70) quotes Janadi to the effect that Saba died in 533, the same year as stated in Omarah; but the event occurred, he adds, in 532, "the year in which Queen Sayyidah also died."

<sup>†</sup> The practice of burying the dead enclosed in coffins is, so far as I am aware, altogether unknown in Muhammadan countries at

the name in Müller's edition of Hamdani and also in Sprenger's Reise-routen is written Ra'ari'.

Note 61 to p. 69.—The name of this village is written in the text without the diacritical points. But al-Janadi mentions it when speaking of the learned men of Lahj (fol. 69 rev.). There, as well as at fol. 186 obv., he calls it Bani Abbah al-'Ulyā. He supplies the vocalization of the word, and tells us that it was vulgarly pronounced Manyabbah. See also Hamdani, p. 98, 1.

و من لحبح ثم من قرية بنا الله المعليا و استعمل ذلك فسميت بمنْيَبَه بفتح المهم و سكون النون و فتر الياء المفناة من تحت و آفتح الباء الموحدة مع يشديدها إثم هاء ساكنة و سميت بالاسم الاول لان اوّل بانيها رحل من فربطه يقال له أَبّه بفتح الهمزة و فتح الباء الموحدة مع تشديد و سكون الهاء .

Note 62 to p. 69.—The line quoted in the text is from the Mu'allakah of Tarafah ibn al-'Abd, al-Bakri.

Note 63 to p. 70.—The family of Zuray, as has been seen, were members of the Bann Jusham, a sub-tribe of the Banu Yām, themselves a subdivision of the great Sept of Hamdān.

Note 64 to p. 70.—See Dieterici's Mutanabbi, p. 402. The entire verse, of which, for obvious reasons, only the second hemistich was quoted, and which, as will be noticed, is inaccurately rendered, is as follows:—

The noblest of Empires are built up with the sword—and to those that love (desire to win) them, lance-thrusts are as kisses.

The affixed pronoun, rendered by them, is in the feminine, the word mamālik, kingdoms, to which it refers, being a feminine plural.

Note 65 to p. 73.—Aş-Şuhayb, according to Hamdani

Note 58 to p. 65.—The anthor of the Tāj al-'Arūs says that Ta'kar is one of the mountains of Aden, on the lett-hand side of a person proceeding from the gate to the mainland. 'Omārah, as will be seen (p. 73), speaks of it as within the city, but we may perhaps understand him to mean within the peninsula. It may perhaps be identified with the spot I find marked on Colonel F. M. Hunter's plan of Aden, under the name of Orrus al Hosn, near the "Main Pass Gate." Colonel Hunter mentions the fort of Ta'kar (Statistical Account, p. 184) and also the Castle (Hisn) al-Akhdar (pp. 190 and 191), but without giving an indication of their position. The latter, I presume, must have stood at no great distance from the Island of Seerah.

Note 59 to p. 67.—The name of Muhammad son of Saba is followed in the text by the words, "and he was the last of the Bana Zuray'." They are clearly erroneous, and I omit them in the translation. Al-Janadi confines himself to saying that 'Aly ibn Abi 'l-Gharāt was the last of the family of Mas'ūd.

The subsequent sentence, in which the conquest of Yaman by Turān Shah is mentioned, is evidently an interpolation. 'Omārah tells us (p. 79) that he wrote his history in 564, and he was executed at Cairo on the 2nd Ramadan 569, more than two months before the capture of Aden by the Ayyubites, on the 20th Dhu 'l-Ka'dah according to Ibn Hātim.

Note 60 to p. 68.—Al-Janadi adds that 'Aly ibn Abi 'l-Gharāt possessed in Lahj the city of Za'āzi'. له في لحج مدينة . In enumerating the possessions of Saba ibn Abi 's-Sn'ūd, al-Janadi, like Khazraji, omits the name الرما writes as follows: و له معقل الدملوة و سامع و مطران و ممير و دبحان ...

The name of the place that follows after مطران looks in Khazraji (p. 69; see Note 57), and also at p. 108 (see foot-note 5 to p. 98 of the printed text of 'Omārah), like or معن . But both Janadi, as quoted above, and Ibn Llātim (see Note 101) have which it may be presumed stands for Numayr. For the mountain of Sāmi', see Hamdani, p. 74, 14; 76, 6; 77, 1; and 78, 6. Instead of Za'āzi'

و ابى الغارات\* بن مسعود فتغلبا على لحرة ايضا فبعثت اليهما المفضل بن ابى المركات فى جيش عظيم فقاتماهما ثم اتسفق الامسر على المنصف من ذلك فكانا يحملان اليها فى كل سنة خمسين النا فلما مات المفضل بن ابى البركات تغلبوا على لحرة ايضا فبعث اليهم ابن عم المفضل اسعد بن ابى الفتوح فقاتلهما ثم اتفقا على الربع من الارتفاع فكانوا يحملون اليها فى كال سنة خمسة وعشرين اليف ديسار ثم تغلبوا على الربع المذكور اولا و لم يزل كل واحد منهما موال لابن عمد حتى توفى ابو السعود و ولى جهته سبا بن ابى السعود ثم توفى ابو السعود و ولى جهته سبا بن ابى السعود ثم توفى الغارات و ولى جهته ولده محمد بن ابى الغارات ثم ثوفى محمد بن ابى الغارات و هو صاحب حصن لخضرا و المستولى على البحر و المدينة و كان للداعى سبا حصن المتعكر و باب البر و ما يدخل على البحر و المدينة و كان للداعى سبا حصن المتعكر و باب البر و ما يدخل المعافر و بعض الجند و كانت اعماله واسعة كثيرة و كان له من الاولاد على بن ابى الغارات ان السبب فى استيلا الداعى سبا بن ابى السعود و زوال على بن ابى الغارات ان نواب على بن ابى الغارات انبسطت ايديهم على نواب الدعى .

It will be observed that the name borne by the ancestor of the Hamdanite Princes of Aden, stands in our text الكزي. In the Leiden MS. of Khazraji and in the Paris MS. of Janadi the name is for the most part written . But not invariably so. Thus in Janadi, at p. 186 rev. (see infra, Note 69), it is distinctly written الكرم and so also in the corresponding passage in Khazraji, p. 77.

The surname of 'Aly son of Saba is in our text and in Khazraji generally written الاغر. But in some instances the diacritical point is absent. In others it is not quite clear to which letter the point is intended to apply. In Janadi the name is distinctly written الاعز al-A'azz. So also in al-Ahdal. In the British Museum text of Ibn Khaldūn the two names

are invariably written الكرم and الكرم.

<sup>\*</sup> Written here and elsewhere

The following is Khazraji's version of the early history of the Zurayite dynasty (Leiden MS. pp. 58 and 59), which the reader will be able to compare with the corresponding passages in 'Omārah. The only actual addition to the information given by the latter, is Khazraji's statement that Zuray' gained possession of Dumlūwah in A.H. 480.

قال على بن لحسن للخزرجي وقَّقه الله للعمل بما يرضيه كان السبب في تملك آل زريع عدن و ما ناهجها من البلاد ان الداعي علق بن محمد <sup>الصا</sup>يحي لما استولى على اليمن و افتــتـر مدينة عدن فكان فيها يومئذ بنو معن قد تغلُّوا عليها و على لحج و ابسين والشحر و حضرموت ابقاها تحت ايديهم و جعلهم نوابها من قبله فلما تــزوّج المكرم بالحرة السيدة جعل الصليحي صداتها عدن و ما ناهجها فــكان بنو مُعْن يرفعون خراجها الى السيدة في ايام الصليحي فلا قتل الداعي على بن محمد الصليحي في المتأريخ المذكور اولا تغلب بنو معن على ما تحت ايديهم من البلاد فقصدهم المكرم الى عدن و اخرجهم منها و ولاها العباس و مسعودا ابني المكرم الهمداني وكانت لهما سابقة محمودة و بلا حسن في قيام الدولة المستنصرية مع الداعي على بن محمد <sup>الصليح</sup>ي ثم مع ولده المكرم يوم نزوله الى زبـيد و احذ الله اسماء بنت شهاب من اسرا الاحول سعيد بن نجاح فجعل للعباس حصن التعكر بعدن و باب البرّ و ما يدخل منه و جعل لمُسعُود حص الخَصْراَ و باب البحر و ما يدخل منه و اليه امر المدينة و استحلفهما للحرّة السيدة علم يــزل ارتفاع عدن يحمل الى السيدة في كل سنة مائة الف دينار وقد يريد وقد ينقص الى أن توفى العباس بن المكرم فخافه ابنه زريع بن العباس على التعكر وباب البرُّو بقي مسعود على ما تحت يده وكل واحد منهما يحمل ما عليه و ملك زريع الدماوة يوم الثاثام لست عشرة ليلة خلت من رمضان سنة ثمانين واربعمائة فلما بعثت السيدة المفضل بن ابي البركات الى زبيد كتبت الى زريع بن العباس و الى عمه مسعود بن المكرم ان يلقياه الى زبيد فلفياه و قاتلاً معه فقملا معًا على باب زبيد فانتقل امر عدن الى ولديهما ابى السعود بن زريع

Najīb ad-Daulah, seeing that 'Omārah does not mention it. The Queen repented of having surrendered Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah, and of having sent away her secretary, whose presence with her she esteemed of happy augury.

Al-Janadi's account of the Sulayhite dynasty ends at fol. 185 rev. with the following passage, which al-Khazraji incorporates almost verbatim in his history (p. 58-9).

Upon the death of the Queen, at the date I have mentioned when relating the end of her career,\* Mansūr son of al-Mufaddal succeeded, by her bequest, to the kingdom of the Sulayhites. He sold Ta'kar and Habb and the fortresses (I read حصنی for رحمنی) of the Mikhlāf (Ja'far) and dependencies to the Dā'y Muḥammad ibn Saba ibn Abi Su'ūd. This was in the year 547, fifteen years after the Queen's death. The sovereignty of the Sulayhite dynasty, reckoning it from the year 429, endured therefore 119 years. . .

Mansūr continued to inhabit the fortress of Taʻizz until he died. He was the first to adopt Thaʻbat † as a place of recreation. He was wont to go down and spend there several days. His death occurred in the year 540 and odd. He left a son Aḥmad, who succeeded him, and who followed the same course of life as his father until the year 558. Mahdy son of 'Aly ibn Mahdy then came up from Tihāmah and purchased of him Ṣabir and Taʿizz. Aḥmad then inhabited Janad until the year 563, when he died.

Note 57 to p. 65.—An obvious omission here occurs in our text, which is indeed, in this chapter, more than usually mutilated. The general import of the missing passage is not difficult to conjecture, but its sense and doubtless almost its precise words are supplied by Khazraji. I have not hesitated therefore to incorporate the passage in my translation.

This and other amendments are distinguished by being enclosed within square brackets.

† Niebuhr marks upon his map *Thöbad* close to Ta'izz, presumably the place here mentioned. On Manzoni's map the name is written *Thabud*.

<sup>\*</sup> At fol. 184 rev., al-Janadi says that the Queen died at Dhu Jiblah in A.H. 532. So also in Khazraji. The latter adds that she had attained the age of eighty-eight years, and Dayba' says that she was buried in the mosque she had built at Dhu Jiblah, in the foremost part of the building and on its western side. Her reign, he continues, extended over a period of thirty-one years.

heir to the Empire. They renounced the supremacy of al-Musta'la and of his successors, whom they denounced as usurpers. Hence they are commonly known in Eastern history by the designation Nizāvites. They were also styled by their enemies al-Mulāhidah, the Impious, and in the popular traditions still current in Egypt, they are remembered under the name of al-Fidawīyah, because in the perilons adventures they were in the habit of undertaking, they devoted their lives as a ransom (fida) for the liberation and propagation of their Faith. By western historians they are best known under the designation of the Assassins. Their Chiefs, now represented by an Imām who resides at Bombay, claim to be descendants of Nizār.

As a curiosity of history, I may add that not many years since certain claims advanced by Indian Dodekite Shiahs, which practically involved the right of existence of the Bombay Ismailites as a separate body, had to be investigated by an English Court of Justice. Sir Joseph Arnould, before whom the case was tried, delivered an elaborate judgment, in which he reviewed the history of the Alides from the days of the Prophet down to the present time, arriving at the conclusion, that a small and obscure sect at Bombay was able to prove its right to be recognised as representatives of the erewhile formidable Karmathians, of the no less dreaded Assassins, and of the once powerful Empire of the Fatimites.

Note 56 to p. 64.—According to Ibn Khaldān (supra, p. 169), Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah was drowned at sea, a statement which is probably correct, but for which no authority is given. Al-Khazraji's account of the end of Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah's career is copied from 'Omārah, and corresponds in every particular with that supplied by our author, saving only certain verbal distinctions, most of which are shown in the notes I have appended to the printed text. Al-Janadi makes the following remarks (fol. 185 rev.), which clearly prove that if we have not the words of 'Omārah in their original purity, their corruption is of ancient date:—

The Queen then delivered up Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah, but she sent along with him one of her secretaries. On reaching Aden, the envoy departed with Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah, and the secretary's journey was delayed for some days. Then he was sent off in a ship, the captain of which received orders to drown him, which he did, at Bab al-Mandab. I am in ignorance of the fate of Ibn

the name of a mountain and of a mikhlāf or district. The river was probably one of the affluents of the Wādi Raghādah. If I rightly understand Hamdāni's explanations (pp. 75, l. 22; 92, 16; 101, 19, 21), Maytam was south or south-east of Dhamār and probably at no great distance from Jabal Khubbān.

The Banu Ilimās, spoken of a few lines farther on, are mentioned by Ibn Kutaybah as a sub-tribe of Madhhij. (Eichhorn, p. 143.)

Note 53 to p. 60.—The allusion is to a verse in the Kur'ān: Say, flight will not serve you, if ye flee from death or from slaughter (S. xxxiii. v. 16).

Note 54 to p. 61.—There can be little doubt that a transcriber's omission occurs here, and indeed if the word hadha, this, be not an interpolation, the fact of such an omission may be regarded as absolutely certain. The words I have placed in the translation within square brackets may, I think, be supplied with little or no hesitation, for the purpose of conveying the sense that the story that follows was derived from Abu 'Abd Allah al-Husayn, the same who has figured before as one of 'Omarah's authorities. The subsequent sentence, which I translate "they whom I smite with my hand," etc., has without doubt been incorrectly transcribed.

Note 55 to p. 62.—Al-Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'iḥy was arrested by the Khalīfah al-Amir on the fourth of Ramaḍān 519, and was put to death in 522. Al-Makrīzi says (Khiṭaṭ, vol. i. p. 463), that al-Ma'mūn was accused of having sent (Ibn) Najīb ad-Daulah Abu 'l-Ḥasan to Yaman, with orders to strike coins bearing the name of the Imām al-Mukhtār Muḥammad son of Nizār.

Nizār was son of the Khalīfah al-Mustanṣir. Upon the latter's death in A.H. 487, Ahmad, a younger brother, was raised to the throne by the Wazīr al-Afḍal Shahinshah, under the title of al-Musta'la billah. Nizār fled to Alexandria, where he caused himself to be proclaimed Khalīfah and assumed the title of al-Mustafa li-dīn Illah. He was soon compelled to surrender himself to al-Afḍal, by whom he was conveyed to Cairo and put to death. The Eastern Ismailites embraced the cause of Nizār, who, as they probably with truth asserted, had been appointed by his father

most promising youths or children to be found in each district, special regard being paid to both physical and intellectual capacity. The native element was eliminated by al-Afdal, who replaced it by a selection of youths from among the families of the foreign soldiery. (Maķrīzi's Khiṭaṭ, vol. i. p. 443.) Maķrīzi's words, I may add, are that the new levies were selected from among the children of the Ajnad, a word which properly signifies simply soldiers. The singular is Jundy, which in Egypt is vulgarly pronounced Gindy, and is used to denote a Turkish soldier, and also

generally a Turk of the poorer class.

So far as I am aware, al-Afdal's experiment is the only serious attempt ever made to utilize the native population of Egypt in a military capacity, from the time of the Arab conquest down to the days of Muhammad 'Aly, in the early part of the present century. The fact is all the more curious, considering the incessant struggles there have been for the acquisition of military power. The supremacy of any one of the ever contending factions has invariably depended upon the numbers and bravery of its followers. Muhammad 'Aly was the first to depart from ancient tradition, and to form an army composed of native levies, but to the end of his life he retained also in his service foreign troops, a policy finally abandoned by his successors some five and twenty years ago. Negro troops have at various times played an important part in the military history of Egypt, and they were especially numerous under the Tulunites and under the Fatimite Khalifah al-Mustansir, whose mother was indeed a negress.

Note 51 to p. 57.—The Ismailite Dā'ys taught their neophytes that mystical and spiritual significations attached, not only to passages and single words of the Kur'ān, but also to numberless particulars observable in the natural world, and especially in the structure of the human body. It would appear from the text, either that they extended similar occult meanings to accidental marks and blemishes, or that Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah did so, on the occasion in question, on his own authority, for the purpose of impressing upon the people a belief in his supernatural knowledge. See Maķrīzi's Khiṭaṭ, vol. i. p. 392, and de Sacy's Exposé de la religion des Druzes.

Note 52 to p. 58.—Maytam was, according to Hamdani,

wise, but in speaking of a member of the family (supra, p. 57) it is said that he was a Khaulanite.

The Banu Rāzih and Banu Jumā'ah are stated by Hamdāni to have been Khaulanites (p. 73, l. 18, and p. 114,

1. 18, 20).

The tribes of Sha'b and Sha'b-Ḥay, he tells us, dwelt in the Sarāt of Khaulān (p. 69, 1.24), and the Banu Ḥay he describes as Khaulanites (p. 114, l. 26).

Note 48 to p. 55.—The Queen, says al-Janadi (fol. 185 obv.) appointed in the place of al-Mufaddal the son of his uncle, As'ad son of Abn 'l-Futūh, as administrator and guardian of her kingdom. He was the son of Abu 'l-Futūh, son of al-'Alā son of al-Walīd. He resided at the fortresses of Sabir and Ta'izz, over which his father had ruled before him. He continued to exercise the authority formerly held by al-Mufaddal, until the year 514, when he was assassinated at Ta'izz by two of his retainers.\* This event, continues al-Janadi, occurred after the arrival of Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah.

Note 49 to p. 56.—Al-Khazraji, speaking elsewhere of the Banu Janb (fol. 105), says that when about to march, it was their custom to shout the words mentioned in the text.

Note 50 to p. 57.—The Hujariyah were a body of men in the service of the Fatimite Khalifahs. They were so named because they occupied barracks, known by the name of al-Hujar, the Chambers, situated between the great palace at Cairo and Bab an-Nasr. They were originally a body of skilled craftsmen, first selected by the Khalīfah al-Mu'izz, but they were subsequently made use of in a military capacity. Being led by al-Afdal Shahinshah against the Franks at Ascalon, they deserted their leader, who was compelled to retreat, after setting fire to his stores. The body was re-organized by al-Afdal. He fixed their numbers at 3000 men and placed them under the command of an Amīr who received the title of al-Muwaffak. Previous to that time, the Hujariyahs consisted, partly if not wholly, of native Egyptians. They were selected with the greatest care by the provincial governors, from among the

<sup>\*</sup> Khazraji mentions the same date, 514; but As'ad, according to 'Omārah, must have lived to a later period. See pp. 60 and 97.

و اقــل مـكــرمة له و فــفيلــة اجــراءه لــلغَيْل فــ الاجْــنــادِ شَــقٌ لِحِبَال الشامخات فاصَبِحَتْ وكاتّما كانت بعاب \* وهاد و في قوله شق لِجِبَال الشامخات دليل على صحة ما ذكرنا

Note 45 to p. 52.—Khazraji has قيطان and Yākūt Kayzan قيطان, in the neighbourhood, he says, of Dhu Jiblah. The tribe of Janb, also called Munabbih (Hamdāni, p. 115), and those of Sinḥān, 'Ans and Zubayd were sub-tribes of the Banu Madhhij.

Note 46 to p. 53.—Al-Janadi (p. 185 obv.) says that this man was son of al-Mufaddal's uncle, and such, he adds, is the statement of Ibn Samurrah, whilst 'Omārah, he continues, attributes the capture of the fortress to certain men among whom was a consin of his own. Al-Janadi himself is of opinion that both versions may be adopted, to the effect, that is to say, that the insurgents were aided by the co-operation of a person who was kinsman of al-Mufaddal, and by that of 'Omārah's cousin. He mentions also that al-Mufaddal was buried at 'Azzān at-Ta'kar (the slopes of Ta'kar?)

Note 47 to p. 54.—Hamdāni speaks of the Banu Baḥr as derived from Rabī'ah (p. 114, l. 20), a name borne by, amongst others, a sub-tribe of Khaulān (Rabī'ah son of Sa'd al-Akbar son of Khaulān (ib. l. 13). Rabī'ah was also the name of a sub-tribe of the Banu Janb (Hamdāni, p. 93, l. 9, 13). Baḥr was, moreover, according to Hamdāni, a sub-division of the Sadif, a sub-tribe of the Banu Kindah, inhabitants of Hadramant and descendants of Murrah and of 'Arīb. And, at p. 112, l. 23, he mentions a tribe or family of the name of Buḥr, descendants of Himyar.

The Banu Dinnah he mentions as a sub-tribe of the Banu 'Udhrah, derived from Kudā'ah, and elsewhere as descendants of the Banu Numayr, an Ishmaelite tribe (p. 116,

l. 17, and p. 165, l. 1).

The Bann Marran are described as a subdivision of Hamdan (p. 107, l. 9), but also (p. 113, l. 15) as Ḥimyarites. The Bann Zarr, we are told, belonged to the tribe of Jabar (descendants of Yāfi') and consequently Ḥimyarites like-

تـ قطع السيدة امرًا دونه فبذلك عظم شانه و علت كلمته ولم يبق في اعيان الدولة من يساميه ولا يساويه و غيزا تهامة مرارًا له و عليه و كانت له مكارم و مفاخر الممها دون مكارم سبا المقدم ذكرة و كان المفضل جواداً ممدحا يقصده الشعرا من الانحا و يمدحونه فيثيبهم على ذلك ثوابا مغنيا و اليه قدم مواهيب بن حديد المعرى و وامتدحه بعزر إقصائد من بعضها قوله

يا مالك الدين و الدنيا و اهلهما و من بعزته ؟ الاسلام ممتسك قد قيل جاوز <sup>التح</sup>ظي اا البحرا و مــلـكًا و قد فعلتُ و انت البحر و الملكُ ٩ و من اثاره المبقيه للذكر جرة المغيل من حنوة الى مدينة لجند و لقد مرّ به في مُواصَع احتفر بها طريقة في اصفية بحيث لا يكاد يصدق بذلك على السماع لانه نقر في الصفاحفرا عديدة و اجرى الما فيها ثم لما جاء بين جبلين اجتاز الصّناع فى ذلك فابتنى جدارا طوله من للجبل الى للجبل نحوًا من مائتى ذراع و ارتفاعه فى الارض نحوًا من خمسين ذراعًا و عرضه نحوًا من عشرة اذراع بالجديد ًو هذا التقدير معى على طريق للخزر و التقريب و لقد اذا راى شخص يقول ما اقتدر على هذا للحفر الا لجلنّ و او لا ثبوت ذلك و ادعاه مُدّع لم يُصدّقه و من ذلك ابتناوه المسجد لجند وحدّ بنائه المقدم و لجناحين و اما الموخر فبناه بعض القضاة من فقها المسجد وحدٌّ بناء المفضل من المسجد الاحجار و سقف عليها \*\* حتى جاء المهدى بن على بن مهدی فاخربه و احرقه علی ما سیاتی ان شام الله و لم یزل مهدوماً حتی قدم الغرُّ و هو على ذلك اذ لم تطل مُدَّة المهادية بعد ذلك و لا قبله ثم اما قدم سيف الاسلام ابتسنى ذلك و زاد في سمك المسجد ما هو مبنى الان بالاجر و سياتي بيان ذلك عند ذكرهم و قد ذكر القاضي ابو بكر اليافعي قصة الغيل في مدحه لابنه منصور لما مدحه وجعل من جملة مدحه مدح ابيه و نبه على فعله في الغيل و قد انشكك فيمن جرا †† الغيل حتى وجدته في شعر القاضي المذكور و قد تقدّم من ذلك مع ذكرة ما يعني عن اعادته لكن احب ذكر ما قاله في الغيل و ذلك انه لما ذكر المفضل قال

بعروة ,Khi ؟ بعدّة † المغربي † Khi + مواهب ,Khi \* و انت يابن الوليد <sup>البح</sup>ر و الملك ,Khi ¶ حاور لتَـعْنَى ,Khi || أجرى Read †† فلم نــزل كــذلك ,Khi \*\*

the mosque of Janad. The portions he built are the front and the two aisles. The rear was built by a Kāḍi, one of the Jurists attached to the mosque. The portion erected by al-Mufaḍḍal may be distinguished through its being built of stone. He roofed it and it continued in existence until Mahdy son of 'Aly ibn Mahdy captured the city. He demolished the mosque and burnt it with fire, as will be related hereafter, if it please God. It remained a ruin until the Ghuzz (the Turkish and Northern soldiery under the Ayyūbites) arrived in Yaman. The power of the family of Mahdy did not long endure after the destruction of the mosque, nor had it been long in existence before. When Sayf al-Islām reached the city, he restored the mosque and added to its height the existing portion, built of brick. This will be mentioned hereafter, when the history of the Ayyūbite conquest is related.

The Kādi Abu Bakr al-Yāf'y mentions the story of the water-channels, in the verses he composed in praise of Manṣūr son of al-Mufaḍḍal, wherein he eulogized the father as well as the son, extolling al-Mufaḍḍal as the constructor of that great work. I doubted to whom it was to be rightly attributed, until I found the passage in question in the Kāḍi's poem. I have already, when giving an account of al-Yāf'y's life, said enough to render it unnecessary to recur to the subject here, but I desire to add the lines in which he refers to the artificial watercourse, and to its author

al-Mufaddal, as follows:—

I say, rendering honour unto him and of his noble work—in leading the waters along their rocky bed,

He cleft the lofty mountains and their streams became—as heaven's rains, flowing over a level plain.

The words He cleft the lofty mountains are sure evidence to the truth of what we have said.

Al-Janadi's doubts as to the authorship of the rock-cut water-channels and aqueduct, suggest the question whether the work were not of far more ancient date than he supposes, and whether al-Mufaddal's share in it may not have been confined to its restoration. It would be interesting to learn from modern travellers the present condition of a monument, of which important remains or traces can hardly fail to be still in existence.

فجعاب السيدة المفضل مكانه فمن وقت طلعه تعند بالفقها و اظهر عداوتهم و قبض اراضي القاتل و قومه و هي الاملاك القديمة في ذى السفال و هرب غالب الفقها عن مجاورة المتعكر خوفا من سطوته و قد ذكرت ما فعل مع اصحاب الفقيه زيد عند ذكرة و صار المفضل رجل البيت و مدبر الماك الذاب (؟) عنه ولم تكن

raised on high. There was not only none among the nobles of the land who could pretend to surpass him, but none that could equal him. He made incursions into Tihāmah on several occasions, with results at times favourable and at others against him. He was a man distinguished by generous and noble qualities. But in supreme nobility and generosity of character, he ranked below Saba (son of Aḥmad) hereinbefore mentioned. Al-Mufaḍḍal was liberal and the object of praise. Poets came to him from all parts and eulogized him, and he rewarded them with surpassing rewards. His Court was visited by Mawāhib ibn Jadīd al-Maghrabi, who panegyrized him in several odes, one of which contains the following lines:—

O thou that ownest the Faith and the World and their people, That clingest with firm grasp to the saving tenets of Islām, Men say, he that would riches must dwell by the sea or with a King.

And thus have I done, son of Walid, for thou art a Sea and thou art a King." \*

Among the still existing memorials of al-Mufaddal's rule, is the watercourse he constructed, extending from Hinwah (?) to the city of Janad.† It passes over places where its channel has been excavated in the living rock, in such wise that a description of the work is hard to be believed. Many such channels were made and a stream of water is led through them. On reaching a spot between two mountains, the craftsmen provided for its passage by means of a wall, about two hundred cubits of the new measure in length from one mountain to the other, its height from the ground about fifty cubits and its width about ten cubits. These are the dimensions according to my own measurements and estimates. A person contemplating that great work, feels convinced that it can have been executed only by the Jinn, and but for absolute certainty of its visible existence, it were impossible to believe in it.

Another great work of al-Mufaddal was the reconstruction of

<sup>\*</sup> See Note 74.

<sup>†</sup> Al-Ahdal (fol. 280 rev.), when mentioning the foundation of the city of Manṣūrah by Sayf al-Islām Tughtakīn in A.H. 592, states that it was built at the distance of a quarter of a day's march south of Janad. He adds that the Sulṭān revived the prosperity of its valley, known by the name of Khanwah خنوة, which had become the abode of wild beasts, and that in the village of Hinwah (?) خنوة, he built a hospital for the entertainment of strangers. The village in question must have stood near the Castle of Dumlūwah.

him and placed him in command of Raymah. He appointed Abu 'l-Barakāt son of al-Walīd over at-Tarkar and its dependencies, and Abu 'l-Barakāt's brother Abu 'l-Futūḥ son of al-Walīd over the fortress of Tarizz. Al-Mufaddal, then in his early youth, was in the service of al-Mukarram at Dhu Jiblah and was admitted

into the presence of the Princess.

Upon the death of Abn I-Barakāt, which occurred after that of al-Mukarram, the Queen confided the Governorship of at-Takar to his son Khālid. The latter remained in command for a period of about two years, at the end of which he was slain by the Jurist 'Abd Allah ibn al-Maṣū'. This Ibn al-Maṣū' was a learned Jurist and a man of an earnestly religious disposition. He professed attachment to the Amīr Khālid ibn Abi 'l-Barakāt, who was ruler over his country Dhu 's-Sufāl.\* (Though a Sunni) he ran no danger of being molested and Khālid trusted him. He had issued orders that the Jurist should not be hindered from coming up to him at whatsoever time he listed. This man's soul nevertheless instigated him to slay the Governor, the shedding of whose blood he regarded as lawful, seeing that Khālid was a member of the Ismailite sect. He consulted no person, but persuaded himself that the officials, on finding him prepared with money for the payment of salaries, would submit to him and do his bidding. He engaged the services of an oil-dealer, whose wont it was to go up to the eastle with oil, for sale to the people who dwelt in the fortress. He filled his leathern oil-vessel with gold and silver coin and the two went up together. On finding himself alone with the Amir Khālid, he slew him. In his excitement he cried aloud. The people of the castle hastened unto him. and finding the Amīr dead, they killed the Jurist.

Al-Janadi (Paris MS. fol. 194 rev.) proceeds in the corresponding passage of his history as follows:—

The Queen appointed al-Mufaddal to replace (his brother Khālid). From the day of his arrival at at-Ta'kar he pursued the Jurists with his enmity. He openly manifested the hatred he bore them and he seized the lands both of the assassin and of his family, their ancient possessions situated in Dhu's-Sufāl. Most of the Jurists fled from the neighbourhood of at-Ta'kar in dread of his severities. I have mentioned what he did to the people of the Jurist Zayd, when relating the latter's history.

Al-Mufaddal became the Queen's trusted adviser and administrator of her kingdom. The Queen decided upon nothing without his advice. He attained great power, and his word was

<sup>\*</sup> Dhu 's-Sutāl is marked on Niebuhr's and Manzoni's maps southwest of Dhu Jiblah. Yākūt writes  $Saj\bar{a}l$  and  $Sij\bar{a}l$ .

be observed, turns to account in the subsequent sentence. The words Resist me not, etc., are omitted by 'Omārah, but are inserted by Khazraji, as in the text of the Kur'ān. The abrupt change from the singular to the plural arises from strict adherence to the sacred text. The expression Ye have wrested the words from their true sense is likewise borrowed from the Kur'ān, which in several passages applies it to the Jews.

Note 42 to p. 48.—Al-Khazraji proceeds as follows (p. 54):—

He (Saba son of Ahmad the Sulayhite) continued to inhabit his castle of Ashyah until he died in the year 492. At his death, San'ā and the surrounding country were dissevered from the Sulayhite Kingdom. The Queen continued to inhabit Dhu Jiblah, until her death in the year that will be mentioned hereafter (A.H. 532). Ṣan'ā was conquered by Sulṭān Ḥātim ibn al-Ghashīm, whose history will be found in this book.

The same date for the death of Saba, A.H. 492, is given by al-Janadi; but Ibn Khaldūn writes 486 (supra, p. 151). Al-Janadi adds the correct orthography of the name Ashyah. In the British Museum MS. of 'Omārah it is written Ashyakh, which I have rectified in the printed text.

Note 43 to p. 49.—Al-Afdal Shahinshah was wazīr, and virtually absolute ruler of the Fatimite Empire, under the Khalīfahs al-Musta'la and al-Āmir. He was assassinated by order of the latter in A.H. 515.

Note 44 to p. 50. The words enclosed within square brackets are absolutely necessary to complete the sense, and we are able to restore them, with little short of certainty, from the corresponding passages of other writers. But another and larger omission may still be suspected, certain particulars on the rise of the family of al-Walid, supplied at this point both by al-Janadi and by al-Khazraji. The latter writes (p. 54) as follows:—

At-Ta'kar belonged to 'Abd Allah ibn Muhammad the Sulayhite, brother of 'Aly ibn Muhammad ibn aş-Şulayhi. Al-Mukarram, upon the death of his father and of his uncle 'Abd Allah, appointed his cousin, As'ad son of 'Abd Allah, Governor of the city. As'ad's conduct became bad, and al-Mukarram removed

و من اعيان دولة للجبشة وزير الملك جياش و هو خلف بن ابى الطاهر ابن الاموى كان من افراد الدهر نبلاً و فضلاً و صحب جياشا حتى الله الملك و دخل معه الهند و عاهد ان الامر اذا عاد اليه قاسمه اياه فلما عاد اليه الملك استوزره و سماه قسيم الملك ولم يرده على هذا بالاسم و لولا † ما تم لجياش ما تم ثه حصلت الوحشة بينه و بدين جياش فهرب فكتب اليه يستعطفه و يستخبره عن احواله فاجابه بشعر هو

اذا لم تكن ارض لعرض أ مُعِزَّةً فلست و ان نادت الى مجيبها ؟ و لو انها كانت ال كروضة جنة من الطيب لم يحسن مع الذُل طيبها و سرت الى ارض سواها تُعِزِّني و ان كان لايعوى \*\* من الجدب ذيبها

Note 40 to p. 47.—Kur'ān S. xxxiii. v. 36. It is explained in the Kashshāf that this verse was revealed for the purpose of reproving Zaynab daughter of Jaḥsh and cousin of the Prophet. The latter had arranged a marriage between her and his freedman Zayd and had provided the dowry. The marriage took place, but the lady and her brother made no disguise of their profound dissatisfaction with her being the wife, as they complained, of a slave. She aspired, it was said, to being taken in marriage by the Prophet himself. Her wishes were eventually gratified, but for the particulars of that ancient piece of scandal, I may confine myself to referring the reader to Sir William Muir's Life of Mnḥammad.

Note 41 to p. 47.—Kur'ān xxvii. 29, 30 and 32. These words are those of Bilķīs Queen of Sheba (Saba), on receiving a letter from Solomon, commanding her and her people to recognise his authority. Bilķīs sought the advice of her counsellors, an example which Queen Sayyidah declares she will not follow. The King had heard of Bilķīs and of her splendour from the hoopoe, who said to Solomon that he came unto him from (the country of) Saba with truthful tidings, words which Queen Sayyidah, as will

لنفسى Khi, حين Khi, الاسم ولولاه Khi, حين Khi, الأسم ولولاه Khi, اضحت Khi, الجيبها الجيبها Khi, هم الأعْوى ? لَيْعوى \*\*

Note 39 to p. 45.—The omissions, that are here evident in the text, render it impossible to interpret the author's meaning with any degree of certainty. Those omissions I apprehend to be three in number, as shown by the lacune I have left in the translation. In the first, we may infer it to have been related that Khalf's plot was discovered and that he was imprisoned. In the second, that Saba made certain demands, which Jayyāsh, by the advice of his wazīr, met with counter offers; and in the third, that the Arabs refused the proffered terms and proceeded to attack Zabīd.\*

I find no mention of these events in either al-Janadi or al-Khazraji; but the former has the following passage (p. 188 obv.), which is copied almost verbatim by Khazraji (p. 88).

Among the leading men of the Abyssinian dynasty was the Wazīr of King Jayyāsh, namely (Abu Sa'īd) Khalf son of Abu't-Tahir the Omayyad. He was one of the most remarkable men of the day for his distinguished capacity and merits. He attached himself to Jayyash when the Ziyadite Kingdom came to an end, and he accompanied him to India. Jayyāsh promised the wazīr, that in the event of their success in the recovery of his kingdom, Khalf should share with him the royal dignity and authority. But when Jayyāsh won the throne, he simply appointed Khalf Wazīr and gave him the title of Kasīm al-Mulk, Participator in the royal authority. Khalf's reward was confined to the receipt of that barren title, although but for his assistance, Jayyāsh had never succeeded in his enterprise. Ere long hostility arose between them. The wazir fled and Jayyash wrote him in conciliatory terms, inquiring after his welfare. Khalf replied in the following lines:-

If there be a country where I am not held in honour—though it call unto me, I will not answer.

Even though its loveliness be that of the gardens of Paradise—and so also its sweetness. Yet an abject life therein would make its fragrance hateful.

I would fly to where I may be held in honour—even though it be a land whose barren plains resound with the howls of famished wolves.

<sup>\*</sup> The statement that the Arabs, after their defeat on that occasion, did not again invade Tihāmah is in contradiction, it will be observed, with what we read elsewhere. Supra, pp. 96 and 97.

The words  $D\bar{a}r$  al-'Izz wa bihi being misread, it becomes obvious that the sentence could not end with the word Summiyat. The writer has accordingly taken upon himself, according to a practice unhappily far too common, to add on his own authority the word b'ismiha, besides introducing a conjunction after bihi, and thus, whilst escaping one difficulty, he has plunged, without perceiving it, into another.

Yākūt says that Dhu Jiblah stood at the foot of Mount Sabir, an error which appears also in Ibn Sa'īd's Geography. It is in point of fact none other but the place shown in Niebuhr's and subsequent maps south-west of Ibb.

Note 37 to p. 42.—Al-Janadi says (fol. 184 obv.) that al-Mukarram died at Bayt Yūnis, or at the fortress of Ashyaḥ, in A.H. 484 or in 480 or in 479. The context here and elsewhere (sapra, p. 88) shows that al-Mukarram was living in 481. The same writer mentions that although Saba succeeded to the office of Dā'y (which could not be held by a woman), Sayyidah retained in her own hands full sovereignty or temporal power over her husband's dominions.

Note 38 to p. 43.—Al-Janadi (fol. 184 obv.) adds the following (see also al-Khazraji, p. 53)—whence it would appear that a passage is here omitted from our text.

Omarah relates that Ibn al-Kumm, standing before Saba, recited the ode in which these lines occur. The Prince, on hearing the verses, forbade him to stand, and casting a cushion at his his feet, commanded him to be seated. This he did for the purpose of showing him honour and of exalting him over all that were present. When the poet ended his recitation, Saba exclaimed: "Thou art unto us, O Abu 'Abd Allah, such as is described by al-Mutanabbi:

My heart is that of Kings, though—it be perceived that my tongue is that of a poet.\*\*

قال عمارة لما قام ابن القام بين يدى سبا ينشد هذه القصيدة الذى منها هذه الابيات منعه من القيام و رمى له مخدة و امرة بالقعود عليها اكرامًا له و رمعاً عن الحاضرين ثم لما فرغ من الانشاد قال له يابا عبد الله انت عندنا كما قال المتسنى.

و فوادى من الملوك و إنْ كا نَ لسانى يُرَى من الشعرآء

<sup>\*</sup> See Dieterici's Mutanabbi, p. 633.

Kabah with a covering of white china silk \* and restored its treasures. These, continues the historian, had been carried to Yaman by the Hasanites, from whom they were repurchased by aṣ-Ṣulayḥi. See Dr. Snouck Hurgronje's Mekka, pp. 62 and 63-4. It will be noticed that Abu Hāshim Muḥammad was raised to the rulership of Mecca by aṣ-Ṣulayḥi.

Note 32 to p. 32.—The word al-Aḥwal may also be translated the Astute, and the latter is probably the sense in which it was applied to Sa'īd by his people.

Note 33 to p. 36.—Khazraji supplies us here with specimens of 'Aly the Sulayhite's talents as a poet. They will be found in Baron de Slane's translation of 1bn Khallikān, vol. ii. p. 348.

Note 34 to p. 37.—See the description of a dinar of Imran ibn Muḥammad, by Mr. S. Lane-Poole, in the catalogue of coins at the British Museum. The defaced and illegible word is probably *Maliki*.

Note 35 to p. 38.—'Omārah tells us *(supra*, pp. 41 and 42) that when al-Mukarram adopted Dhu Jiblah as his place of residence, he appointed As'ad ibn Shihāb over San'ā together with 'Inrān ibn al-Faḍl. We learn from al-Janadi (fol. 184 obv.) that As'ad, upon the death of Sa'īd (in 482), was transferred from Ṣan'ā to Zabīd. His expulsion by Jayyāsh occurred the same year. It is somewhat difficult to understand at what time As'ad ibn 'Arrāf can have ruled over the city; but it will be observed that our text is again in a very unsatisfactory condition at this particular point.

Note 36 to p. 40.—Yākūt, in his Geographical Dictionary, reproduces 'Omārah's derivation of the name Dhu Jiblah. But, as appears from Wüstenfeld's printed edition, an error has been committed by the author or by his transcribers, whereby the sense of the passage is singularly misrendered. It reads as follows:—

كان يسيع الفخّار في اللوضع الـذي بنت فيه للحرّة الصليحية دار الـعروبـة و سميت باسمها .

<sup>\*</sup> See Note 18, footnote.

من اصحابه جمعا كشيرا فتقرق الناس عنه ثم طلع جبل حُضُور فاستفتحه و اخذ حصن سماع فجمع له ابن ابى حاشد جمعا فالتقوا بصوف و هى قربة بين حضور و بير بنى شهاب فقتل ابن ابى حاشد و قنل معه الف رجل من اصحابه و بهذه البقعة يضرب المثل فى اليمن فيقال قملة صوف ثم سار الصليحى الى صنعا فملكها فطوى اليمن طيا سهله و وعرة .

Note 30 to p. 29.—All these places, az-Zarā'ib, Jabalā 'Akād' (the two mountains of 'Akād') and al-'Ukwatāni (the two 'Ukwas) are mentioned by Yāķūt, who quotes the lines given in our text, but again adds nothing to what we are told by 'Omārah, excepting a statement that the mountains overlook Zabīd, which is manifestly wrong. 'Omārah tells us that they stood in the country of Ibn Ṭarf, or in other words in that of the Bann Ḥakam, the tribe to which 'Omārah belonged. Yāķūt, instead of 'Akād as in the Kamūs and Táj al-'Arūs, writes 'Ukkad.

Note 31 to p. 30.—A.H. 459 is the year given by Khazraji (p. 83) and also by 1bn al-Athīr (vol. x. p. 38). A comparison of dates shows that the death of aṣ-Ṣulayḥi must have occurred in A.H. 473, as stated by 'Omārah elsewhere (supra, p. 82), as well as in this passage, and also by 1bn Khallikān and by al-Janadi (fol. 183 obv. and rev.). It seems exceedingly probable that the words in our text, to the effect that the date 459 is assigned to the event and that it is to be preferred to the other, are an interpolation; but the error, it may be, proceeds from the confusion of an earlier expedition to Mecca with that projected in 473.

Ibn Khaldūn, in his chapter on the history of the Hāshimite Amīrs of Mecca (Bul. ed. iv. p. 103) says, as in his history of Yaman (supra, pp. 147 and 152), that the expedition of 473 was undertaken by command of the Fatimite Khalīfah, and that its purpose was the reinstatement of the Sulaymanites, in the place of Abu Hāshim Muḥammad son of Jafar, who had renounced the Fatimite supremacy, and any desired that of the Albert level.

and proclaimed that of the Abbasides.

lbn al-Athir mentions in his Chronicles (vol. x. pp. 19 and 38) that aş-Şulayhi made himself master of Mecca in a.u. 455, and won praise by establishing order in the city, by adepting measures for the importation of food, and by extending protection to the pilgrims. He draped the

ing that as-Sulayḥi proclaimed the supreme authority of the Fatimite Khalīfah al-Mustanṣir, proceeds as follows:—

When as-Sulayhi raised his standard on the mountain of Masar. where he was supported by a number of people of the tribes of Sinhān, of Yam, of Jusham and of Habrah, a large army advanced against him led by (Ja'far) son of the Imam al-Kasim ibn 'Aly, hereinbefore mentioned,\* and by a man named Jaffar ibn al-'Abbās, who was a Shāfi'ite and greatly respected in the western districts of Upper Yaman. He marched along with Ja'far son of al-Kāsim at the head of 30,000 men, but was attacked in his encampment by as-Sulayhi in the month of Sha'ban of the year above mentioned. He was killed along with a large number of his followers and his army dispersed. As-Sulayhi then ascended the mountain of Hadur, took possession of it, and seized the fortress of Yana'.† Ibn Abi Hashid collected an army, and an engagement took place between them at Sauf, a village between Hadur and Bir Bani Shihab. Ibn Abi Hashid was killed together with one thousand of his followers. The name of the place has become proverbial in Yaman, in the phrase Slaughter of Sauf (i.e. great carnage). As-Sulayhi then proceeded to San'ā and captured it. The whole of Yaman submitted to him, its hills and its plains (etc. as in 'Omārah).

At p. 48, l. 16, al-Khazraji says that aṣ-Ṣulayḥi subdued the whole country, from Mecca to Ḥaḍramaut, but that Ṣaʿdah held out against him for a time, under the descendants of au-Nāṣir (Aḥmad). He however succeeded in slaying their chief and captured the city.

و اظهر الدعاء الى المستنصر بالله معدّ بن الظاهر العبيدى فلما ظهر بمسار و كان معه فيه قوم من سنحان و يام و جشم و هبرة حضرة ابن الامام القاسم بن على المذكور اولا في جمع كثير و رجل يستى جعفر بن العباس شافعي المذهب كان رجلا مجابا في مغارب اليمن الاعلى فسار مع جعفر بن القاسم في ثلثين الفا فاوقع الصليحي يجعفر بن العباس في محطته في شعبان من السنة المذكورة فقتله و قتل

<sup>\*</sup> See supra, Note 8.

<sup>†</sup> Al-Hamdani mentions Yana (p. 106, l. 12) as one of the places situated at the foot or on the lower slopes of Jabal Hadur, which, he says, is so named after the ancestor of the Prophet Shu'ayb. Hadur is one of the mountains of the Sarat of Alhan, which extends from Nakil as-Saud to Haraz, and it must not be confounded with Hadur Bani Azd (Hamdani, p. 68), farther north, one of the mountains of al-Masani. (See Glaser, p. 42–43.)

the Berber tribe of *Katāmah* that they were the people, bearing a name derived from *mystery* (al-Kitmān), who were destined to be champions of the Mahdy. (Ibn al-Athīr, viii. 24, Makrīzi, i. 350.)

In a curious extract from the Dastār al-Munajjimīn printed by Professor de Goeje, one of the appendices to his work on the Karmathians of Bahrayn, it is stated that 'Obayd Allah, on starting from Egypt for North Africa, was attacked by robbers at a place called at-Taḥūnah. They plundered him of a large portion of his possessions; but his heaviest loss was that of certain books, in which the occult sciences of the Imāms, his forefathers, were contained. When 'Obayd Allah's son al-Kā'im, continues the writer, was sent forth on his first invasion of Egypt (A.H. 301), he succeeded in capturing the robbers, and he recovered possession of the books. On hearing thereof, the Mahdy rejoiced with exceeding joy. "The recovery of these books," he exclaimed, "is of itself a sufficient conquest." The anecdete, somewhat more briefly told, is to be found also in Ibn al-Athīr.

Note 27 to p. 21.—See Dieterici's Mutanabbi, p. 695, where the line quoted stands as follows:—

Note 28 to p. 22.—The first of these two lines of verse is not given by al-Janadi, nor have I found it elsewhere. The name  $Asm\bar{a}$  is regarded as derived from the verb wasama, with which the first line begins, and which signifies to mark, but it is also connected with the verb sama to be lofty,  $sam\bar{a}'u$  the sky, and with ism a name. Queen Bilķīs is mentioned in Note 41.

Note 29 to p. 24.—This, according to both al-Khazraji and Ibn Khallikān, was in A.H. 453. Al-Janadi adds (p. 183 obv.) that aṣ-Ṣulayḥi's envoys were Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, father of Sayyidah, who was killed at Aden by the falling in of a house at a time when his daughter was still in her childhood (Ah., p. 268), and that the other was Abu Saba Aḥmad ibn al-Muzaffar, father of Sulṭān Saba ibn Aḥmad. He furthur mentions that aṣ-Ṣulayḥi sent the Fatimite Khalīfah valuable presents, comprising seventy swords with cornelian handles. Al-Khazraji, after mention-

was a village in the district of Harāz, to which he adds, "also in the district of an-Najm, situated where the country of Yaman commences." Hamdāni tells us (p. 120, 6) that the tribe or family of an-Najm inhabited al-Mahjam. He also mentions a place named az-Zawāhi (p. 100, 16), but it is distinctly described as situated in the district of Saḥūl and in the country of Dhu 'l-Kalā', in other words therefore, in Mikhlāf Ja'far. I feel quite at a loss to suggest how these various statements are to be reconciled with one another.

Note 26 to p. 19.—This book is spoken of under the same title by al-Janadi and Khazraji, *Kitāb uṣ-Ṣuwar*. It is mentioned in the Bibliographical Dictionary, the Kashf aẓ-Zunūn, in which it is stated that if the book ever existed, it consisted of three (astrological) treatises written by Aristotle.

It will be seen that Ibn Khaldūn gives the book in the possession of 'Amir the name of Kitāb al-Jafr. In his Prolegomena (translated by Baron de Slane), Ibn Khaldūn enters into considerable detail on the subject. The book, he tells us, was said to have been originally in the possession of Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiķ (the sixth Imām) and it contained particulars relating to the descendants of 'Aly, revealed by divine grace to Ja'far and other leading members of the family of 'Aly. Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiķ was said to have communicated its contents to a certain chief of the sect of the Zaydites, who committed them to writing. The book was named after the original copy Kitāb al-Jafr, because it was written upon sheets of kid-skin or vellum.\*

Ibn Khaldūn remarks that the chain of tradition, whereby it is sought to vindicate the authority of the book, is faulty. What became of the original volume, he further states, is not known. But the Fatimites asserted that 'Obayd Allah was acquainted with its contents, and they cite examples in proof of the knowledge he and his associates had acquired of the future, as shown, for instance, in the case of Ibn Haushab (Manṣūr al-Yaman), who, when he sent Abu 'Abd Allah ash-Shiya'y to North Africa, knew that there the destinies of the family of 'Aly were to be fulfilled, and the foundations of their empire to be laid. Abu 'Abd Allah himself, on his arrival in Africa, announced to the men of

<sup>\*</sup> See also Kashf az-Zunun, s.v. al-Jajr.

adds, possessed, as a general rule, the country on the east of a line drawn from San'ā to Ṣa'dah and the Banu Ḥāshid that on the west. The latter owned also the district of al-Waḥsh, the western portion of the province of Saḥūl, lving next to the country of Dhu 'l-Kalā' and enclosed by the streams that combine to form the River Zabīd. (Hamdāni, p. 100, 20)

Note 24 to p. 18.—Jabal Burā' is described by Hamdāni as a north-westerly extension of Jublān Raymah, standing between Wādi Rima' and Wādi Sahām, precisely as is shown in Dr. Glaser's map. The name al-'Amad (?), I have not met with elsewhere. Li'sān, according to Dr. Glaser's map and as described by Hamdāni, extends to the western slopes of Harāz. Masār is one of the important group of mountains known by the name of Harāz.

It will be seen by what follows at p. 44, that most of the strongholds above mentioned, were held at a subsequent period by the family of Muzaffar the Sulayhites. Among other places there mentioned are Makr, az-Zarf and Dhu Rassah, touching which I have met with no information. Kawarīr is referred to by Khazraji (supra, Note 5). For Zafār we may perhaps read Zafirān, mentioned by Yākūt as a fortress situated on the Mountain of Wusab. The mountain of Raymah stood in the neighbourhood of Thauman, and is consequently a different place from Jublan Raymah above referred to. 'Omārah speaks elsewhere (pp. 4 and 132) of Raymut al-Ashā'ir, and al-Janadi of Raymat al-Manākhi (supra, Note 6). See also Raymah in Hamdāni, p. 68, 4. The fortress of Raymat al-Kalā' of the last mentioned (p. 125, 22), is referred to as separate and distinct from Raymah, and he speaks also of Mount Rayman in the same locality, that is to say, next to the mountain of Ba'dān (p. 71, 16; 100, 21; 125, 6). Ba'dān and Raymān appear to have been the names of tribes inhabiting the province of Sahūl (p. 100, 7), after which the mountains were doubtless named. Jublan was likewise (p. 103, 17) the name borne by the ancestor of certain Himvarite tribes.

The word Rayman must probably in certain cases be understood in its natural sense, a hill.

Note 25 to p. 19.—Al-Janadi (fol. 183 obv.) and also al-Ahdal and al-Yāfi' write ar-Ravrāḥy بالراء و لخساء المهملتين. Yāķūt repeats the statement in our text that az-Zawāhi

places in the province of Sahūl (p. 100, l. 16). It is men-

tioned by the author of the Marasid. Wuhāzah is described by al-Hamdāni as part of the lowlying lands of the district of Dhu 'l-Kalā' and contained a castle of the same name, also called Subā' (p. 68, l. 6; 78, 15). The name Baybars is without doubt erroneous. Al-Janadi and Khazraji write Yaris (إبريس). The same writers have Zahrān and Sa'b (Sha'b?) instead of Dahwān and Sha'r. Yākūt says that al-Khadrā and al-Yābis are a fortress (sic) on Mount Wuşab. Al-Janadi says of Shāhit that it had formerly been the abode of kings, but that it had lost its importance. It is mentioned by Yākūt, but he adds nothing to what we are told by 'Omarah. He includes the verses given in our text, which he doubtlessly borrows from our author. Their point consists in the double signification of the principal words, and their more obvious meaning is so gross, that I have gladly exempted myself from the task of rendering it in English. I may here mention that al-Hamdani explains (p. 84, l. 12) that the word

Jubjab, mentioned a few lines farther on, is marked on Manzoni's map (Gebgeb), and is referred to by Hamdāni, (p. 68, l. 5, 12; 104, 17). Wuṣāb al-'Aly and Wuṣāb al-Asfal are identified by Glaser with Jublān al-'Arkabah, which Hamdāni tells us (p. 103, 12) stood between Wādi Zabīd and Wādi Rima', adding elsewhere (p. 71, 22) that Wādi Rima' flows between Jublān al-'Arkabah and Jublān

al-Ghā'it is used in Yaman to signify the desert.

Raymah.

Note 23 to p. 18.—The Hamdanite sister tribes of Hashid and Bakīl were, as is mentioned by Ibn Khaldān on the authority of al-Bayhaķi and of Ibn Hazm (supra, p. 175), the progenitors of most of the subdivisions of the Bunn Hamdan. The Bann Bakīl and Bann Hāshid were closely allied, and held high rank among the most powerful Arab communities in Yaman. And they have, in fact, continued, as is shown by Niebuhr, to occupy that position down to the present day. The Banu Yām, to which the Sulayhites and the family of Zuray' belonged, were a subdivision of the Banu Hāshid.

According to Hamdāni (p. 109), the country of his tribesmen extended from Ṣan'ā to Ṣa'dah.\* The Banu Bakīl, he

<sup>\*</sup> Ṣa'dah belonged to the Banu Khaulān and in pre-Islamitie times it bore the name of Jumā' (Hamdāni, p. 67.)

places by Omarah (supra, p. 131), there seems to me reason to suspect that the two may turn out to be, at least to all

intents and purposes, one and the same place.

Khadid is so written in Müller's Hamdāni. In the British Museum MS. of Ibn Khaldūn, it is pointed Khudad. Yāķūt has Khadad, and he merely says that it was a fortress situated in Mikhlāf Ja'far. Hamdāni tells us (p. 78, l. 17), that it stood at a distance of an hour's journey from the castle of the Wuhāzites, and that it contained a magnificent palace.

It is reached by two roads leading to the gates of the eastle, near each of which there is a supply of water. Close to the road on the south side there is a cistern (Karīf?) known by the name of al-Wafayt, excavated in black rock. Its depth is fifty cubits. Its width twenty, and its length fifty cubits. It is protected and surrounded by a wall, to prevent accidents. The other source of water supply is close to the northern gate. It is a pit in the rock like a well, lined with masonry composed of flag stones. There are steps whereby the water can be reached from the summit of the castle, with the help of torches, both by day and by night. It takes an hour's time to reach the water, and a person at the entrance of the well cannot be distinguished from above.

The Castle of Khadid must, I conclude, have stood on the north or north-west of 1bb.

'Azzān, according to Yākūt, stood on the mountain of Raymah in the country of al-Manākhi, not far, therefore, from al-Mudhaykhirah. Yākūt mentions also 'Azzān-Khabt on Mount Sabir near Ta'izz, and 'Azzān-Dhakhir, which he says stood on Mount Sabir likewise. Bayt 'Izz, as we have seen (Note 6), stood in the country of al-Manākhi; and ash-Sha'ir, so written by al-Janadi, the place where Sa'id son of Najāḥ met his death, must likewise have been in that neighbourhood, or near the banks of the Wadi Sahul. instead of Nur has Anwar (supra, Note 19). This place is mentioned by Yākūt, who says it stood in Mikhlāf Kayzān. Hamdani makes mention of Kaynan, which, he says, was in the district of Sahūl, and in the northern part of the country of Dhu 'l-Kalā' (p. 100, l. 15; 68, 6). An-Naķīl (the mountain pass) is doubtless Nakil Sayd, near Yahdib al-'Uln, or the rained city of Zafār. Sāhūl stood in the district of Dlm 'l-Kalā', and it is likewise the name of a stream that flowed into Wādi Zabīd. (Hamdāni, p. 68, l. 4; 71, 15.) Instead of Shawāķi we must read, as in al-Janadi, Shawāfi, which according to Hamdani was one of the inhabited

Note 20 to p. 16.—Ma'n ibn Zā'idah, of the Ishmaelite tribe of Shaybān and of the great Sept of Rabī'ah, was appointed governor of Yaman by the Abbaside Khalīfah al-Manṣūr 'Abd Allah. His life is given by Ibn Khallikān (de Slane, vol. iii. p. 598), and from al-Janadi (fol. 27 obv.) it appears that he was Governor of Yaman from A.H. 145 to 151. It will be seen that the claim of the Banu Ma'n of Aden to be descendants of Ma'n ibn Zā'idah is mentioned by Ibn Khaldūn and distinctly contradicted by al-Khazraji (see the preceding note), as well as by 'Omārah.

Note 21 to p. 17.—The Imām Mālik ibn Anas al-Aṣbaḥi was the founder of one of the four great schools into which the Sunnite Muhammadans are divided. He was born, lived and died at Medīnah, for which reason he is styled *Imām of the City of the Flight*.

Note 22 to p. 17.—The places mentioned on this and the preceding page were situated, as will be seen, in the Mikhlaf Ja'far, but, with few exceptions, I have been unable to ascertain their position. Dumlūwah is mentioned by Niebuhr in his Description of Arabia (p. 212) and is marked upon his map, a short distance east of Taizz. Hamdani's description of the fortress will be found in Note 111. The fortresses of Sabir and Dhakhir stood without doubt on the mountains after which they appear to be named. These two mountains, according to al-Hamdani, are separated by an opening, in which stands the town and fortress of Jabā, the residence of the Banu Kurandy (p. 99, l. 6). Mount Sabir, he adds (l. 21), separates Jaba from Janad. The valley of 'Unnah, so named after a sub-tribe of Himyar, was watered by a stream which flowed into the Wadi Zabid (Hamdāni, p. 71, l. 16; 100, l. 5). I find no mention of Sawā (supra, p. 131) in al-Hamdāni, nor of Samadān, which is stated to have been one of the most important fortresses in Yaman. According to Yākūt, the former stood upon Mount Sabir.

The Mountain of *Habb* was, according to Hamdāni, in the country of Dhu Ru'ayn (p. 101, l. 12). It cannot have been far from the town of *Ibb*, perhaps to the eastward, and overlooking the valley that extends downwards and sweeps round Jabal Khubbān. I do not find the name of Ibb in Hamdāni, and although it and Habb are mentioned as separate

mosques. He venerated the early Companions of the Prophet and followed the good examples of those who protected their names from insult. He was free from all taint of new doctrines. He was slain (and died a martyr) in the year 515, and was buried in the mosque of al-Ja'āmi (al-Ju'fy?).

I omit the words that follow, evidently an imperfect rendering of the passage in 'Omārah, wherein he speaks of the fortresses and territories taken by a family of the tribe of Bakīl and by that of 'Abd al-Wāḥid.

و تغلب عليه ولاة الجبال و اهل الحصون على ما تحت ايديهم من ذلك فتغلبت همدان على صنعاء كما ذكرنا اولا و تغلب بنو معن على عدن و لحج و ابين و الشحر و حضرموت و ليسوا من ولد معن بن زائدة الشيباني و تغلب بنو الكرندى و هم قوم من حمير على السَمَدُان و هو حصن عظيم الخظر و على حصن السَوا و على حصن الدملوة و حصن صبر و حصن دَخِر و على حصن التعكر و هو الحاكم على المعانة ظاهرة و دولة قاهرة و تغلب ابو عبد الله الحسين بن التبعى على حصن حب سلطنة ظاهرة و دولة قاهرة و تغلب ابو عبد الله الحسين بن التبعى على حصن حب و هو نظير التعكر و على عزان و خدد و بيت عز و حصن الشعر و حصن البور و النقيل و السحول و الشوافي و تغلب بنو وايل بن عيسى على وحاظة و حصونها و النقيل و السحول و الشوافي و تغلب بنو وايل هولا من ذى الكلاع و الهم متاثلة أو و يم محافة يرون انهم اشرف بنى ادم على الاطلاق و من بنى وايل ماحب الكرم العريض و الثنآ المستفيض كان رجلا صالحا يوثر مذهب السُنة على غيرة و يصحب الكرم العريض و الثنآ المستفيض كان رجلا صالحا يوثر مذهب السُنة على غيرة و يصحب القرا و العبّاد و يوثر عارة المسجد و يعظم مذهب السُنة على غيرة و يصحب القرا و العبّاد و يوثر عارة المسجد و يعظم مقدة و توفى مقتولًا ﴿ سنة خمس عشرة و خمسمائة و قبرة في جامع المعامى .

Al-Khazraji has borrowed these particulars from al-Janadi, but in the Paris MS. of the latter (p. 183 obv.), the sense is partially obscured by what seems to be a copyist's error, the omission probably of one, or it may be, of two lines. I have therefore preferred Khazraji's version.

وهم اهل المعافر و حصونهم كالسوآ و السمدان و الدماوة و صبر و ذخر . ا \* ثم تغلبوا على حصن المتعكر و هو لحاكم على الجند و كثير من مخلاف جعفر . شهيدًا . J . انور . ا، †

scheme to which Sa'id son of Najāḥ fell a victim, is related further on, and it may be noticed that he is there styled Prince of Sha'ir.

Al-Hamdāni says (p. 54, l. 21) that the family of Kurandi belonged to the Banu Thumāmah, descendants of Ḥimyar al-Asghar (ancestor of the Banu Ya'fur and Banu Auzā').

The following is al-Khazraji's enumeration of the petty dynasties that sprang up in Yaman upon the death of Ibn Salāmah in A.H. 402, and of the territories and fortresses which they appropriated (fol. 83):—

The governors of the mountain districts and fortresses took possession of that with which they were entrusted. Among others, the Hamdanites seized upon San'ā, as already mentioned.

The Banu Ma'n took possession of Aden, of Lahj, of Abyan, of Shihr and of Ḥadramaut. They are not descendents of Ma'n ibn Zā'idah the Shaybānite. The Banu Kurandi, a family descended from Ḥimyar, possessed themselves of Samadān, an exceedingly important fortress, of the strongholds of Sawā, of Dumlūwah, of Sabir, of Dhakhir and of Ta'kar, a fortress which commands Janad.\* They made themselves masters of (large portions of) the provinces of Ja'far, of 'Unnah and of al-Ma'afir. 'Omārali says of the Banu Kurandi that they held brilliant sway over their possessions, and were a conquering race of kings. Abu 'Abd Allah al-Ḥusayn ibn at-Tubba'y took possession of the fortress of Ḥabb, which resembles in strength at-Ta'kar, also of Azzān, of Khadid, of Bayt 'Izz, of the fortresses of Sha'ir, of Abwar (Anwar), of Naķīl, of Saḥūl and of Shawāfi.

The Banu Wā'il ibn 'Īsa seized upon Wuḥāzah and upon its strongholds, Yarīs, Zahrān, al-Khaḍrā, Sa'ab and Yafūz. The Banu Wā'il are descended from Dhu 'l-Kalā'. They are an ancient race of rulers, but they are a silly folk, who fancy themselves to be absolutely the noblest of mankind. Among others of the family, was As'ad ibn Wā'il, noted for his generous qualities and for the praise of which he was the theme. He was a pious man, and upheld the orthodox sect of the Sunnis, above all others. He sought the companionship of Kur'ān readers and of worshippers, he held in high honour the practice of frequenting the

Al-Janadi tells us (fol. 191 rev.) that the castle of Ta'kar above Dhu Jiblah was demolished in A.H. 594 by the Ayyubite Sultan

al-Mu'izz Isma'īl.

<sup>\*</sup> The name of this fortress, and of that of the same name at Aden, is thus given in the Kamūs, Ta'kar, and it would appear to have been generally so pronounced. But in Müller's Hamdāni, it is for the most part written Ta'kur, which, or its alternative Ta'kir, is perhaps the more correct orthography.

from slipping down the shaft. The umbrella had square ribs made of Khalanj wood, equal in number to the segments and of the same length. They were light in weight and coated with gold. were fitted with small hooks and there were rings to correspond, the hooks and rings fastening into one another. The umbrella could be closed and opened after the manner of the folding segments of a leathern purse (?). The stem was surmounted by a ball the shape of a pomegranate, above which was another similar ball of a smaller size. Both were of gold, studded with jewels, conspicuous (by their brilliancy) to the spectator. The umbrella had a valance, which encircled the opening and was of corresponding material. The valance exceeded a span and a half in depth. Below the pomegranate-shaped ball, there was a space of about three finger-breadths. Upon the ring, to which the extremities of the segments were attached, being placed on the end of the shaft, the ball was fitted over it. It was wrapped in a piece of Dabīkite cloth of gold,\* which was removed by the bearer upon the umbrella being delivered to him.

Note 19 to p. 16.—Al-Janadi states (fol. 182 obv.), that when the Karmathian dominion came to an end (A.H. 304), Yaman became subject to three families or dynasties, between whom the whole country was divided. The Banu Ziyād ruled over Zabīd (Tihāmah) and Aden. Ṣa'dah and the country on the north were in the possession of the Zaydite Imāms. Janad as well as the city and province of Ṣan'ā was held by the Banu Ya'fur.

As'ad ibn Ya'fur appointed the Himyarite family, the Banu Kurandi, to be governors of the province of Janad. When, upon the death of Ibn Salāmah in A.H. 402, the governors appointed by the Banu Ziyād usurped absolute power over their provinces, the Banu Kurandi likewise declared their independence. They were deprived of their kingdom by 'Aly the Sulayhite, and the deposed prince, as will be seen, was one of the chiefs who accompanied as-Sulayhi to al-Mahjam, and one of the few whose life was spared by Sa'id son of Najāh. Some of these fortresses, as is stated by Ibn Khaldūn, were restored to the Banu Kurandi by al-Mukarram Ahmad son of 'Aly, and of these they continued in possession until they were deprived of their principality by Ibn Mahdy. Abu 'Abd Allah al-Ḥusayn ibn at-Tubba'y appears to have been the chief of the family at the time of its restoration. The part he took in the

<sup>\*</sup> Dabik was a small Egyptian town near Tinnis, on an island in Lake Menzalah.

the MS. of Khazraji, it is given by Dayba', and it is moreover mentioned by Ibn al-Mujāwir (Sprenger, p. 150), as distant three parasangs from 'Ārah. Next to Bāb al-Mandab our MS. has as-Suḥāri. Hamdāni writes Ṣuḥāri, Ibn al-Majāwir (apud Sprenger, p. 149) gives the name as in our text, but he places Suḥāri north of Khauhah, and it is so marked on the Admiralty chart. Al-Hirdah and 'Itnah, as stated in the preceding note, are mentioned by Hamdāni as the ports of al-Mahjam. For al-Mufajjar we may perhaps read Hajar (Hamdāni, p. 188, Sprenger, 133). Duwaymah and Hamiḍah are referred to by al-Mukaddasi (p. 69 and footnote), and the last-mentioned by Hamdāni (p. 52, l. 14 and 120, l. 16).

Hamdani says (p. 51, 13) that Hamidah stood near a mountain which he calls *Kudummul*. The name *Kotumble* appears on the Admiralty chart, but is given to a small

island near the coast. See Müller's Notes, p. 33.

Note 17 to p. 12.—Niebuhr heard a precisely similar anecdote (vol. i. p. 302), with the addition that in order to prevent a repetition of so troublesome a miracle, the donor of the money ordered the tomb of the royal saint, who takes the part of the Prophet in the modern version of the story, to be securely walled up.

Note 18 to p. 15.—Makrīzi, in his Khitat (vol. i. p. 448) gives the following description of the Imperial umbrella, which was borne on state occasions over the head of the Khalīfah:—

The umbrella was composed of twelve segments, each three and a third cubits in length and one span (cubit?) in width at the lower end.\* The upper extremities were extremely narrow. They were joined together and fitted round the end of the stem. This was a lance-shaft made of ash and enclosed in tubes of gold. The uppermost tube, which was close to the head of the shaft, was provided with a ledge forming part of itself and projecting to the extent of a thumb's width. The extremities of the segments were made fast to a golden ring, which was loosely fitted on to the head of the shaft, the latter being here reduced in thickness. The ring, coming in contact with the ledge, was supported and prevented

<sup>\*</sup> Makrīzi has previously mentioned that the umbrella, as well as the Khalīfah's robes, was white, the Fatimite colour. The colour of the 'Abbasides, it will be remembered was black, to this day that of the covering over the Ka'bah at Mecca.

not given as a seaport, which the latter is. In Khazraji the name is written Hayrān, and Jizān may perhaps be better identified with Hayrān, which is mentioned by Hamdāni (p. 120) along with Wadi Tashar, as a town in the country of the Baun Ilakam. Al-Musā id is called by Khazraji as-Satid, and the name is so written in al-Hamdani (p. 119, 1. 26). Al-Mahni and Riyāh (?) are given by Khazraji, but I have nowhere else met with any mention of them. Instead of al-Lith, Khazraji has al-Habt (Khabt?), but al-Lith is mentioned by Ibn Khurdadhbah (p. 148) and by Hamdani (p. 120, I. 16). Al-Baydā and Wādi Rukhmah (?) by the same writer in the next line. Khazraji writes  $B\bar{\iota}\iota$  al-Baydā instead of al-Baydā, but Ibn al-Mujāwir, according to Sprenger, gives it the same name as in our MS. Khazraji has Bir Adam instead of  $B\bar{\imath}r\bar{a}d$ . We may perhaps read Aydam, the name given by Ibn al-Mnjāwir (Sprenger, p. 131.) The names of the first stations travelling southward from Mecca, as given by him, are as follows:—

From Mecca to al-Karīn, then to al-Baydā, then to Aydām. Next to Wādi Muḥram (Yalamlam?) where the Yamanite pilgrims assume the Iḥrām.

Sabakhat al-Ghurāb is so given by Khazraji. Ibn al-Mujāwir (Sprenger, p. 150) mentions a place al-Baydā in the desert or Kā of Sabakhat al-Ghurāb, near Aden, which I do not know how to account for. Al-Karīn is mentioned by al-Muķaddasi, as standing between Mecca and Juddah, Na mān, or Na man al-Arāk, is described by Yāķūt and is also mentioned by Ibn al-Mujāwir (Sprenger, p. 125).

The following is Khazraji's version of the road between Yalamlam and Mecca:—

Then the travellers reach Yalamlam, the  $Mik\bar{a}t$  of the people of Yaman (the place where the Yamanite pilgrims assume the garb and commence the coremonies attendant upon the performance of pilgrimage). Yalamlam has a well, constructed by Ibn Salāmah. Next is  $B\bar{\imath}r$  (the well of)  $Ad\bar{\imath}m$ , which yields an abundant supply of drinking water. It is ten fathoms in length (depth) and it is five fathoms in width. Then the roads diverge. He whose destination is Mecca reaches  $Bir\ al\text{-}Bayd\bar{a}$ , a well constructed by Ibn Salāmah, next  $al\text{-}Kar\bar{\imath}n$  and then Mecca.

Of the places on the maritime road, al-Makhnak is mentioned by Hamdani (p. 188, l. 14). 'Athr (?), on the southern coast, I was once inclined to think might be the same as 'Abrah of Hamdani (p. 188, l. 15); but although omitted in

As to 'Aththar, according to Hamdani as quoted above, it stood north of Baḥāt Jāzān, which may be presumed to be the same as Gizan of the Admiralty chart. At p. 51 he calls the place 'Athr, but the Arabs, he continues, generally pronounce the name 'Aththar. It is, he says, the port of Baysh (the same perhaps as Bish of modern maps). 'Itwad, he adds, is a village in the plains of 'Aththar, both which places, he continues, are well-known haunts of (See also p. 127, l. 16.) "Etwid" is mentioned on the Admiralty chart. Al-Ahdal (fol. 5 obv.) says that 'Athr (sic) was a village situated between Hali and Harad, and, he adds, has long been in ruins. Opposite it, he continues, is an island that bears its name. Mukaddasi, who I need hardly remind the reader writes at a very much earlier date, calls 'Aththar (sic) a large and well-known city. At Baysh, where the Sultan or chief resides, the air, he says. is healthier and the water purer.

The only map upon which I have found 'Aththar to be marked, is a Spanish sixteenth century map of the world,

of which a copy exists in the India Office Library.

Note 16 to p. 12.—Of the numerous other places described as standing on the pilgrim roads from Yaman, besides those referred to in the preceding notes, there are several which

I am not able to identify.

Dhāt al-Khayf stands in Khazraji (fol. 60) Dhāt al-Hubayt or al-Khubayt. Mauza' must surely be the "emporium" marked on Plolemy's map, but it is somewhat puzzling to find it described by our author as an inland town. Ibn al-Mujāwir, however, mentions it (apud Sprenger, p. 149) as a seaport south of As-Suhāri, al-Khauhah and Maushii (travelling from north to south). Al-Hamdani mentions the town, but is not clear as to its precise position. Al-Judūn is written in Khazraji al-Ḥadūn. Ad-Dijā is somewhat vaguely described by Yāķūt as a town near Zabīd. Both al-Jaththah and 'Irk an-Nasham are omitted by Khazraji, but al-Jathth الخت is mentioned in the Marāsid as a village in Yaman. Al-Wadiyāni is mentioned by Yākūt as an important town in the province of Zabīd, from which a large revenue is collected; but it will be observed that 'Omarah invariably speaks of it as north of Mahjam and Maur. Jizān might be taken to be the same as Gizan or  $B\bar{a}hat J\bar{a}z\bar{a}n$  mentioned in the preceding note, but it is tions Utaynah. At p. 120, l. 1, we read Itah instead of the diminutive form 'Utavaah, and the author says that it and al-Hirdah are the ports of al-Mahjam. Al-Mukaddasi

(p. 53) writes Itnah.

Next to Utaynah, Hamdani mentions Hirdah, then Munfahik Jābir, a dangerous headland, where (violent) winds are frequent. Its limits extend to Sharjah, the seaport of the country of the Bann Hakam. Next Bahat Jazan and on to Aththar. At the headland of Aththar the sea, he says, is remarkable for its heavy waves. See also p. 188, where, as well as at p. 120, the author mentions Wadi Harad among other places in the country of the Hakamites.

Al-Alidal (fol. 5 obv.) says that Sharjah is the port of Harad, Sāhil Harad, and Khazraji gives it the name of Sharjat Harad, which practically conveys the same mean-

ing.

Ibn Hatim tells us (fol. 2 obv., see Note 101), that Harad was also called Mahall Abi Turāb. I find "Harrad" marked upon Walker's and other modern maps of Arabia. Its situation corresponds with the indications given by the Arab writers, and I think we may conclude that the port of Sharjah stood at or not far from the spot, which on the Admiralty chart bears the name of Ras Musahib, about thirty-three miles north of Luhayy, or it may be somewhat farther south. It is hardly necessary to say that the village of the name of Sharjah, marked on Niebuhr's and subsequent maps south of Zabīd, is an entirely different place. I have met with no mention of it in any of the Arab writers I have had occasion to consult.

of the following year, when the last Sultan of Yaman, defeated and flying before the invader, was killed near San'ā.

It is a somewhat remarkable circumstance that whilst an Egyptian army was occupied in subjugating Yaman, the Turks under Sultan Selim were engaged in the conquest of Egypt, and Tumān-Bav, the last Mamfük Sultān, was hanged by order of Selīm at Cairo, a few days before the Sultan of Yaman was killed.

The Egyptian army in Yaman comprised, according to Dayba', a formidable body of 1000 men armed with matchlocks, lent to al-Ghūri by Sulian Selim. These, however, had been supplied, not for purposes of conquest, but to assist the Egyptians in resisting the Franks, who had made their appearance in the southern seas, and were intercepting the road to India.

R. A. S. vol. xiv. p. 240), that the word al-Kayyūm, in the Ayat al-Kursy, ought in accordance with the definition of the commentators, to be rendered the Watchful, or the Vigilant.

كان معاذ اذا تهجد من الليل قال اللهم نامت العيون و غارت النجوم و انت حي فيوم اللهم طلى بجنة بطىء و هربى من المار ضعيف اللهم اجعل لمي عندك هدى ترده الى يوم التياءة آنك لا تخلف الميعد .

When Mu'adh devoted a night to watchfulness and prayer, he

was in the habit of using the following words:-

"O God, the eyes of men are closed in sleep, the stars are sinking into the mighty deep, whilst Thou, the Living, Thy never-ending watch dost keep. O God, my yearnings for heaven have been tardy, my strivings to escape the fires of hell have been weak. O God, grant unto me true guidance, in Thy keeping, which Thou wilt restore to me on the day of resurrection. And verily, thou wilt not fail in Thy promises."

Note 15 to p. 11.—Sharjah and 'Aththar were two important seaports on the coast of Northern Yaman. I am not able to identify their precise position, but careful comparison of the information supplied by various writers renders it possible to determine their sites approximatively, pending the time when further inquiry, or perhaps investigation on the spot, may enable the point to be settled with absolute precision.

Ibn Bututah landed at Sharjah on his way down the Red Sea, in the fourteenth century. He describes it as a place occupied by merchants of Sa'dah. Then he sailed to the New Haven,\* where, however, he did not land, and then

on to al-Ahwāb.

Al-Hamdāni, in describing the coast of Yaman, proceeding from south to north (p. 52), next after Kamarān men-

<sup>\*</sup> The New Haven, Marsa 'l-Ḥādith, is doubtless either Luḥayy or Ḥudaydah. The earliest mention I have met with of the former is in Dayba's account of the invasion and conquest of Yaman by the forces of the Egyptian Sulṭān al-Ghūri. The army, composed of Circassians, Kurds and other Asiatics, landed in the Island of Kamarān in Dhu 'l-Ḥa'dah a.h. 921 (December, 1515). Their first operations were directed against the seaport town of Jadīdah (Ḥudaydah?), which was looted and destroyed. The Governor of Luḥayy tendered his submission and actively assisted the invading army in its advance into the interior. Zabīd was taken in Jamād Awwal, 922. The conquest of the country was completed in Rabī 'Awwal

continues, as titular sovereigns, for thirty-eight years. Next followed a struggle between Najāḥ and Anīs, which endured for three years, until 412, when Najāḥ became supreme ruler. He and his descendants and their wazīrs, adds al-Janadi, ruled for 145 years, including the three years of war between Najāḥ and Anīs, that is to say, from 409 to 554, when Zabīd was captured by Ibn Mahdy.

The original passage of which the above is the substance, will be found in Note 98. In the MSS, both of al-Janadi and Khazraji, the year 407 is given as the date at which the Ziyādite dynasty came to an end, and so it is also to be found in Dayba' and in al-Ahdal. Al-Janadi's own words, however, show conclusively that A.H. 409, as in our text, is the correct date.\* It must be remarked that 'Omārah tells us Zabīd was founded in A.H. 204, the year in which the Imām ash-Shāfi' died. Al-Janadi (fol. 29 obv.) gives the same date for the conquest of Tihāmah and for the foundation of the city, stating, however, likewise, that Ibn Ziyād arrived in A.H. 203.

The freedman of Abu 'l-Jaysh, Rushd, the master of Husayn ibu Salāmah, is also so styled by al-Janadi and by İbu Khallikān. Al-Khazraji and Ibu Khaldūn give him the name of Rashīd.

The assassin of the last Prince of the Ziyādite dynasty is called in our text Nafīs, نفيس, and so also in Khazraji. Ibn Khallikān and Ibn Khaldūn give him the name of Kays, انفيس; Al-Janadi that of Anīs, انفيس. He specifies the orthography and vocalization of the name and elsewhere returns to the point (see Note 65). He is followed by al-Ahdal (p. 264 obv.), but the latter adds that other writers call him Nafīs.

Note 14 to p. 10.—Mu'ādh ibn Jabal, of the tribe of Khazraj, was sent to Yaman by the Prophet, and remained there until the latter's death. He himself died at 'Amwas (Emmaus) in A.n. 18. His life is given by Ibn al-Athīr in his biographies of the Sahābis, the *Usd al-Ghābah*, "the Lions of the Jungle" (Bul. ed. vol. iv. p. 377). It contains the following passage, which tends to bear out a suggestion I have elsewhere had occasion to offer (Journal of the

<sup>\*</sup> All Arabic students are aware how easily the words signifying seren and nine may be mistaken for one another, and how frequently the mistake occurs.

tinues, died in A.H. 289, after a reign of thirty-eight years (sic). Next to Ibrahim followed Ziyad son of Ibrahim, who did not long reign and the date of whose death the writer is unable to give. Abn 'l-Jaysh Ishāk succeeded his brother Zivād, and is said to have reigned eighty years. He is stated by Khazraji to have died in A.H. 391, for which we must read 371, as in our text and in Janadi. This would place his accession in A.H. 291, and would give a duration of two years to the reign of his brother and predecessor Ziyād. The latter may have been the prince who is reported to have been killed when Zabid was captured and looted by the Karmathians under 'Aly ibn Fadl (supra, p. 200); but as the capture of Zabid must have occurred after A.H. 292, when Ibn Fadl conquered Mudhaykhirah, it may with at least equal plausibility be conjectured that it was really Abu 'l-Javsh who was attacked, and that he did not lose his life. But how, on the other hand, are we to believe that Abu 'l-Jaysh, at the end of a reign of eighty years, left an infant son to succeed him? (See Note 98.)

Al-Mas'ndi says (vol. iii. p. 35) that in his day (A.H. 332) or shortly after) the Prince of Zabīd was Ibrahīm ibn Ziyād, which adds to our difficulties. The Prince, he further tells us, bore the surname Sāhib al-Harmali, which

I have nowhere else met with.

A valuable date is supplied by a dinar, published by Mr. S. Lane-Poole in the Journal of the Numismatic Society (1887, part iv.). The coin purports to have been struck by Abu 'l-Jaysh Isḥāk, at Zabīd, in а.н. 346, and it bears the name of the 'Abbasside Khalīfah al-Mutī' (а.н. 334-363).

Of the last princes of the dynasty we are told next to nothing, and even their names are doubtful. That of the infant successor of Abn 'l-Jaysh was, according to our text, either 'Abd Allah, or Ziyād. According to al-Janadi and Khazraji, it was 'Abd Allah, or Ziyād, or Ibrahīm. the death, in A.H. 402, of Husayn ibn Salāmah, who we are told, ruled the country as Wazīr for about thirty years, we find another child on the throne, the last of his race, to whom al-Janadi gives the name 'Abd Allah. In our text he is called 'Abd Allah at p. 13 and Ibrahīm at p. 15. was assassinated in а.н. 409.

Al-Janadi (fol. 184 rev.) says it may clearly be shown, that the Bann Ziyad held supreme rule for one hundred and sixty-eight years, from A.H. 203 to 371. From that date until the death of the last prince in 409, they reigned, he

map published by Dr. Glaser in the "Mittheilungen," but he mentions its name, and says that it stands due west of Jabal Maswar.

'Omārah, still following Ibn Ḥaukal and al-Iṣṭakhri, proceeds (supra, p. 7) with an account of Shibām. Besides one in Ḥaḍramant, there were two places in Yaman of that name. One stood on the mountains of Ḥarāz, situated between Wādi Sahām and Wādi Surdud (Ḥamdāni, p. 105). The other, which Ḥamdāni calls Shibām-Akyān, stood close to Kaukabān, at the foot of the mountain of Dhukhār, whence the river Surdud has its source (ib. p. 106-7). Both these places are marked upon Dr. Glaser's map.

The province of Akyān, according to Hamdāni, belonged to the Hawwālis or Banu Ya'fur. He adds that the country was the scene of the contests, whereby Ya'fur ibn 'Abd ar-Raḥmān, in the days of al-Mu'taṣim, of al-Wāthik, and

of al-Mutawakkil, raised himself to power.

Yākūt, in his Mushtarik, mentions still another place named Shibām, three parasangs north-east of Ṣan'ā, but this,

I think, requires confirmation.

Shibām in Ḥaḍramaut was, says Hamdāui, the chief city of the province. It had thirty mosques, but half the town was in his day in ruins. Its original name, he adds, was Shibāt (pp. 86, 1. 25; 87, 1. 25).

Note 12 to p. 8.—The "statement of revenue" and the particulars that follow are simply borrowed, with some slight exaggeration, from Ibn Haukal (De Goeje's ed. p. 20), and the same remark applies to the information supplied (supra, pp. 5 and 7) respecting As'ad ibn Ya'fur and Ibn Tarf. In Ibn Haukal, the distance from Sharjah to Aden is stated at twelve, instead of at twenty days' journey.

The 'Aththariyah dinār, according to al-Mukaddasi (p. 99), was two-thirds of a mithkal, the standard or original weight of a dinār. It would therefore be equal to about seven shillings in gold of modern money. See also Professor de Goeje's glossary to Ibn Ḥaukal and al-Mukaddasi, p. 296.

1bn Haukal calls the Prince of Hali al-Khazāmi, but Müller's edition of al-Hamdāni (p. 120, l. 12, and 14) gives the reading al-Hirāmi.

Note 13 to p. 9.—According to Khazraji (p. 78), Muhammad ibn Ziyād died in A.H. 215. His son Ibrahīm, he con-

the banks of the Wādi Lā'ah, an important affluent of the Wādi Maur, one that retains its name to the present day.  $\Lambda$ similarity of name, taken by itself, must, it is true, count for little and may, indeed, at times be very misleading.\* But other evidence is not wanting. Al-Hamdani tell us, p. 69, 1.1) that La'ah was situated in the Sarat or mountain-range of al-Masaui'. At p. 112, he tells us that La'ah marked the beginning of the country of Hashid, north-west of San'a. Other passages from the same author are to the same effect (p. 106, l. 23; 113, l. 19; 193, l. 12). We are distinctly told, moreover (supra, pp. 194, 195, etc.), that 'Aden-Lā'ah was in the neighbourhood of Hajjah and of Jabal Maswar, both which will be found on Dr. Glaser's map. Al-Janadi tells us (fol. 6 obv.) that 'Aden-Lā'ah, "one of the towns of Hajjah in which Mansur al-Yaman proclaimed the 'Obaydite supremacy," had long been in ruins.

Al-Hamdani mentions another important mountain in the Masani' range, Jabal Tukhla (pp. 69 and 190 sqq.). In his detailed account of the mountain, of the roads that wind round it, its villages and strongholds, the productiveness of its soil, its healthy climate, its freedom from noxious animals and insects, our author writes in a glowing

style, by no means usual with him.

Though not attaining the elevation of the highest summits of the Masāni', it overlooks, he tells us, a wide extent of country. On the south, Bura', Harāz and other mountains are distinctly visible. On the west, the view extends from the centre of the country of the Hakamites to Mahjam, and the white stream of the Wādi Maur is seen glistening through the haze that rests upon the plains of Tihāmah. Farther away is spread the sapphire-tinted sea, and, in the extreme distance, those endowed with superior powers of vision may distinguish the Farasān Islands. On the east the view is obstructed by the higher range of the Masāni'.

Jabul Bayt Fā'ish, he tells us, is the name of one of the highest summits of Mount Tukhla.

I feel somewhat at a loss to identify the mountain on the

<sup>\*</sup> Reynaud, in his translation of Abu 'l-Fada's Geography, has thus been misled into correcting a supposed error of his author. He adds a footnote to his translation, in which he declares that Sharjah was not a scaport. It is true that Niebuhr mentions an inland village named Sharjah, south of Hays.

Note 11 to p. 6.—It must be through a corruption of the text that 'Omārah is made to speak of Ibn Fadl as "Sheykh of Lā'ah," a designation which could only be properly given to his colleagne and eventual rival Ibn Ḥaushab or Mauṣūr al-Yaman. I have omitted in my translation, the conjunction that appears in the MS., هذه و لاعة, which reduces somewhat the difficulty of making sense of the passage. It seems to be intended to signify that the town of Aden-Lā'ah was in the neighbourhood of al-Mudhay-khirah. That this is incorrect is shown with sufficient clearness by 'Omārah himself, when he tells us that Mudhay-khirah stood in the province of Ja'far (see Note 6).

perfect.

Al-Mukaddasi mentions al-Mudhaykhirah in his enumeration of towns in Yaman (p. 53 and p. 70), along with Janad, Dhamār, Yaḥsib (or Yahdib), Khaulān, Saḥūl, etc. Hamdāni mentions the place only twice in his Geography, but he tells us (p. 68, l. 3 sqq.) that it was situated in the country of Dhu 'l-Kalā', along with ath-Thujjah (which, it may be inferred (p. 75, l. 23), stood at the foot of Ta'kar), and together with Ta'kar itself, Saḥūl, Raymah, etc. At p. 100 (l. 10 sqq.) he tehs us that al-Mudhaykhirah, Thaumān (see supra, p. 207), the mountain of Ba'dān, also Raymah, etc., were in the district of Saḥūl.

Ibn Khaldūn, as will be seen, distinctly says that Mudhaykhirah and 'Aden-Lā'ah were close to one another (supra, p. 173), misled probably by Yāķūt or by Ibn Sa'ıd, from whem, as I have already had occasion to say, he seems

to have borrowed freely.

I may here add that Ibn Khaldūn commits a similar error when he speaks (supra, p. 168) of Aden-Abyan as a separate and distant place from the well-known seaport of Accn. They are in fact one and the same.\*

The town of 'Aden-La'ah stood probably on or close to

<sup>\*</sup> See, inter alia, al-Mukaddasi, p. 85.

campaign against the Mahdyites, Yaman was invaded and conquered by Turān Shah the Ayyūbite and brother of Saladin.

Muḥammad son of Alimad son of Imrān, mentioned at p. 60, must have been brother of Sulṭān Ḥamīd ad-Daulah Hātim.

Note 9 to p. 6.—Wādi Bayhān is marked on Walker's map of Arabia, south-west of Ma'rib and north-east of Dhamār, at about the same distance from either.

Nashwān ibn Sa'īd, who according to Ibn Khaldūn (supra, p. 173), was ruler or chief of Bayḥān, wrote the Kaṣīdat al-Ḥimyarīyah, published some five and twenty years ago at Vienna, by Baron von Kremer, with a translation into German.

A description of Najrān and Jurash, with a sketch of their early history, are given by Ibn Khaldūn (supra, p. 182).

Note 10 to p. 6.—There is evidently an omission here, as I have indicated in the translation.

As to the descriptions of Ṣan'ā, of al-Mudhaykhirah and of Shibām that follow, they are copied almost verbatim from Ibn Ḥaukal.\* The latter borrowed them from al-Iṣṭakhri,† and transferred the passages to his own book, those especially relating to Ṣan'ā and to al-Mudhaykhirah, with such slight alteration, that it is only just possible to pronounce with some degree of certainty, that Ibn Ḥaukal's Geography was the authority to which 'Omārah had recourse. The statement that Ṣan'ā stands on the equator is made by Ibn Ḥaukal, but is not to be found in al-Iṣṭakhri. Yākūt quotes the description of Ṣan'ā as given by our author, but the latter's name is printed 'Imrān ibn Abi 'I-Ḥasan instead of 'Omārah.

The statement that follows in our text, to the effect that the mountain of Mudhaykhirah was twenty parasangs or sixty miles in height, appears in both Istakhri and Ibn Haukal. I do not know how it can be explained. Even if we read circuit for height, it would be a manifest exaggeration.

<sup>\*</sup> de Goeje's ed. p. 31.

<sup>†</sup> Id. p. 24. Iştakhri seems to have borrowed his account of the climate of Şan'ā from al-Hamdāni. See Müller's edition, p. 195, l. 24.

His supremacy was for a time recognized by Ja'far son of the Imām al-Ķāsim, and he maintained his authority on a comparatively secure basis, until he was in his turn driven forth from the city by Ja'far and by Ibn Abi Ḥāshid the Khaulanite. Yaḥya ibn Abi Ḥāshid, to whom the writer gives the title of Sulṭān, died at the commencement of A.H. 440. His son was invited by the people to succeed him and received oaths of allegiance from the Hamdānites. Ṣan'ā was conquered (about A.H. 453) by 'Aly the Sulayhite, whose first manifestation in Yaman, adds the writer, dates from the night of Monday, third of the month of Jamādi 'l-Ākhir of the year 439 (429?), the night of the conjunction of the planet Jupiter.

We have seen (supra, p. 41) that when al-Mukarram Ahmad son of 'Aly transferred the seat of the Sulayhite dominion to Dhu Jiblah in 480, he appointed over San'ā 'Imrān ibn al-Fadl the Yāmite. Upon the death, in a.u. 492, of Saba ibn Ahmad, the city and adjoining country was formed into an independent Principality, under Sulţān Ilātim ibn al-Ghashīm, also a member of the tribe of Hamdān (see Note 42). He died in a.u. 502 and was succeeded by his two sons, by 'Abd Allah, who died of poison after a reign of two years, and then by Ma'n ibn Ḥātim,

who was deposed in A.H. 510.

Another Hamdanite family reigned until A.H. 533, when Hamid ad-Daulah Hatim son of Ahmad son of Imran son of al-Fadl—grandson, therefore, of the governor appointed by al-Mukarram the Sulayhite—was invited by the tribe to assume the crown.\*

He was attacked in A.H. 545 by the Zaydite Imām al-Mutawakkil Aḥmad son of Sulaymān, against whom, however, he succeeded eventually in defending himself. Hātim died in A.H. 556, and was succeeded by his son 'Aly, surnamed al-Waḥīd. 'Aly took the leading part in an alliance, formed in the early part of A.H. 569, against 'Abd an-Naby son of 'Aly ibn Mahdy (see Note 101), and he was the reigning Prince of Ṣanʿā when, six months after his

<sup>\*</sup> It will be seen that, according to the above, Ibn Khaldūn's statement (supra, p. 148), to the effect that 'Imrān ibn al-Fadl became independent at Ṣan'ā and transmitted the crown to his descendants, is erroneous.

The historian 1bn Ḥātim was a descendant of Ḥamīd ad-Daulah.

He was pursued, overtaken, and killed in A.H. 403. But in the following year, the Mahdy was himself expelled from the city, and lost his life near Dhu Bīn, in the course of an attack by the Hamdanites, from among whom a chief of the family of Dahhāk had been called to the throne by the The Mahdy had not yet attained the age of thirty years, and long afterwards his adherents, it is said. believed him to be living. In A.H. 413, the Sharif Jaffar, brother of Husayn the Mahdy, arrived from Sa'dah on the invitation of the Hamdanites and Himyarites, the former of whom, after the death of Husayn, exercised intermittent authority over Ṣan'ā. In 418, a new and unknown pretender appeared at Ma'rib, who proclaimed himself Imām, under the title of al-Mu'id li-din Illah (He who brings the people back to the religion of God). He succeeded in making himself master of San'ā,\* but was killed in 421, during which and the following year, severe famine prevailed throughout Yaman. In 422 the Imamate was claimed by Abu Hāshim al-Hasan son of 'Abd ar-Rahmān, who was accompanied by his son Hamzah, from whom the Hamzite Sharifs derive their distinctive appellation. † He possessed himself of San'ā, from which Ibn Abi Hāshid escaped, whilst Mansūr ibn Abi 'l-Futūḥ tendered his submission. Abu Hāshim's authority endured until A.H. 429, when he was driven forth by the Hamdanites. On their invitation, after an interval of two years, Ja'far son of al-Mansūr al-Kāsim re-established his rule over the city. The next seven years were occupied in conflicts, during the course of which Abu Hashim, on the invitation of Ibn Abi Hāshid returned and recovered possession of San'a for a brief period. Meanwhile a new pretender to the Imamate, named Abu 'l-Fath Nasir the Daylamite, had appeared. Aided by the Hamdanites, he captured and plundered Sa'dah, and next made himself master of San'ā. ‡

<sup>\*</sup> I can find no trace of this personage in the Zaydite historians.

<sup>† 1</sup> do not find the date of Abu Hāshim's death. His son Hamzah was killed in A.H. 459 fighting the troops of 'Aly the Sulayhite.

<sup>‡</sup> An-Nāṣir Abu 'l-Fath the Daylamite was a descendant of Zayd son of Hasan (see the genealogical table added to Note 107). He arrived in Yaman, from Persia, between A.H. 430 and 440, and is said to have been killed by 'Aly the Sulayhite shortly after 440.

Ja'far son of Manṣūr al-Kāsim is likewise stated to have made war upon the troops of as-Sulayhi (see *iujra*, Note 29).

(fol. 105 obv.), that the Rasūlite Sultān of Yaman regained possession of the fortress of Kaukaban from the Banu Hawwāl.

San'a, until its conquest by 'Aly the Sulayhite, became the scene of perpetual strife, not only between the rival tribes of Hamdan and Khanlan, but also between various pretenders to the dignity of Imam. In 389, the Imam al-Mansur al-Kāsim son of 'Aly appeared from the country of the Banu Khath'am. With the assistance of the Hamdanites, he drove the Imam Yusuf son of Yahva from Sa'dah and placed the city under the command of his son Jaffar. He next reached Raydah,\* where he received the submission of Jaffar son of ad-Dahhāk and of the people of al-Bann. He thence despatched to San'ā a Zaydite Sharīf, named al-Kāsim ibn Husayn, a descendant of the Imām Zayd son of 'Aly Zayn al-'Abidīn, and the Zaydite sectaries readily submitted to his authority.+

As'ad son of 'Abd Allah the Ya'furite had established his residence at Kahlan, and he recognized the supremacy of the Imam al-Kasim. Dut ere long the Zaydite Sharif renounced his allegiance to al-Mansur al-Kāsim ibn 'Aly, and declared himself in favour of the anthority of the lmām Yūsuf son of Yahya. The Imām al-Kāsim died in A.H. 393. San'ā became the scene of prolonged strife, a prey to contending factions of rival Imams and Arab families, among which Hamdanites and Khaulanites played a prominent part, but none able to establish a settled or permanent government. In A.H. 401, Husavn son of al-Kasim declared himself, as has been done by so many pretenders, both before and since his time, to be the Mahdy, whose coming, according to an old tradition, was foretold by the Prophet. He obtained a large following among the Himyarites and Hamdanites, who abandoned the cause of the Zaydite Sharif. The latter was driven out of Ṣan'ā.

<sup>\*</sup> Raydah was a town of considerable importance, in the district of al-Baun.

<sup>†</sup> I find no mention elsewhere of this "Zaydite Sharif."

<sup>† 1</sup> have mentioned (supra. p. 171 footnote) that Dr. Glaser has Kohlan on his map, north-east of Hajjah, probably the old fortress of the Banu Ya'fur. Yākūt says that the Yamanites pronounce the name Kuhlan, but he calls the place a Mikhlaf. Hamdani mentions it as the name of a totally different place, in the neighbourhood, it would appear, of Yarim or Dhu Ru'ayn. Kuhlan, according to the Kamus, was the name of an Arab tribe.

and he died in A.H. 350. He was succeeded by his brother Sapūr, with whom Daḥḥāk continued in alliance. In the following year they made an unsuccessful attack upon the Khaulanites. They were put to flight, and whilst endeavouring to escape to Dhamār, Sapūr was overtaken by al-Asmar and killed.

Dahhāk now tendered submission to the Prince of Zabīd, Abu 'l-Hasan (Abu 'l-Jaysh?) ibn Ziyād. Al-Asmar the Khaulanite, on the other hand, offered the throne to the Amir 'Abd Allah ibn Kaḥṭān (grand-nephew of As'ad ibn Ya'fur), by whom the offer was accepted (A.H. 352). He entered San'ā, whence Dahhāk hurriedly fled. Next followed a series of struggles between the contending parties, in which a Rassite Imām, Yūsuf son of Yahva son of an-Nāsir Ahmad, took a prominent part, with the result of his being for a time recognized as sovereign Prince of the city and province.\* 'Abd Allah succeeded, however, in recovering his authority, and he enjoyed a long but disturbed reign. In а.н. 379 he was able to invade Tihāmah at the head of an army, with which he attacked and utterly defeated "Ibn Ziyād." † Zabīd was taken and sacked, and 'Abd Allah, having abolished the Abbasside Khutbah throughout his dominions, proclaimed the supremacy of the Egyptian Fatimites. † He died in A.H. 387 and was succeeded by his son As'ad. But the fortunes of the Banu Ya'fur, as one of the great ruling families of Yaman, were now at an end. The last vestige of their authority in the city of San'ā disappeared. Their condition became at best that of obscure and petty chiefs, and we are henceforward left in ignorance even of their names. We find mention of them, however, so late as A.H. 679, when we read in Khazraji's 'Ukūd (fol. 115 obv.) as well as in Ibn Ḥātim

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<sup>\*</sup> The name of the Imām Yūsuf son of Yaḥya is mentioned by the Zaydite writers, but I can find no account of his career. The author of the Jawāhir gives him the title of Dā'y, and simply says that he was contemporary with al-Manṣūr al-Kāsim. The latter was surnamed al-'Ayāni, after the name of the place in which he proclaimed himself in A H. 389.

<sup>†</sup> Husayn ibn Salāmah, we have been told, was regent from A.H. 372 to 402.

<sup>‡</sup> The Fatimite Khalifah al-'Aziz reigned from A.u. 365 to 386. It deserves perhaps to be here borne in mind that 'Abd Allah was, through his mother, grandson of Ibn Fadl the Karmathian. (Supra, p. 207.)

not long endure. He died and was succeeded by his son As'ad.

In A.H. 288, Ṣanʿā was conquered by the Rassite Imām al-Hādy (see Ṭābari, iii. p. 2204 and Ibn al-Athīr, vii. p. 352). He imprisoned the chief members of the family of Yaʿfur, but they were released and escaped to Shibām,\* where Asʿadʾs authority over his followers was maintained until he was able to compel the Imām to abandon Ṣanʿā. The city was finally conquered by the Karmathians, in A.H. 299 according to both al-Janadi and al-Khazraji.†

Upon the death of 'Aly ibn al-Fadl the Karmathian, in A.H. 303, As'ad speedily re-established his authority in Yaman, and it endured until his death in A.H. 332, the year in which al-Mas'ādi commenced writing his Golden Meadows, in which he describes in glowing terms the wealth

and power of the Himyarite Prince.

Ibn Khaldūn says (supra, p. 141) that As'ad was succeeded by a brother named Muhammad, but after As'ad's death, the Banu Ya'fur never again recovered the brilliant position to which he had raised the family. The ensuing twelve years were occupied in the suppression of repeated attempts at rebellion, accompanied by incessant strife between the various members of the family.

In A.H. 345, the Rassite Imām of Ṣa'dah, al-Mukhtār, son of an-Nāṣir Aḥmad son of al-Hādi, acquired possession of Ṣan'ā, but before the end of the year, he was assassinated by a powerful Hamdānite chief, known by the name of Paḥḥāk. A freedman of the Banu Ya'fur, 'Aly ibn Wardān, supported by Paḥḥāk, was recognized as Prince of Ṣan'ā. He was barely able to withstand the opposition of the Khaulanites, led by al-Asmar Yūsuf ibn Abi'l-Futūḥ,

<sup>\*</sup> Shibam-Akyan? See Note 11.

<sup>†</sup> See Note 138. According to the *Ḥadā'ik*, al-Ḥādi acquired possession of Ṣanʿā in 297, and appointed his son over it as Governor. The Imām died, as will be seen (Note 127), in a.h. 298.

The particulars that follow hereabove are for the most part taken from Dayba' (seventh chapter), that is to say therefore, from Khazraji at second hand.

<sup>‡</sup> Vol. ii. p. 55, of Barbier de Meynard's printed text and translation.

<sup>§</sup> Al-Kāsim, surnamed al-Mukhtār, is mentioned by the Zaydite historians, but they do not reckon him among the Imāms, nor do they say that he was assassinated.

in 265, the mosque of San'ā according to the design which, al-Janadi says, it still retained in his own day. Mulpunmad was assassinated by his son Ibrahīm, and the latter, according to al-Janadi quoting Ibn al-Jauzi,\* is said to have murdered not only his father, but also his uncle, his consin and his father's mother.† This occurred, he adds, six months before the death of al-Mu'tamid, in Muhuram, therefore, of A.H. 279. Ibrahīm continued the alliance with the Ziyādite Princes, but his reign did not long endure, and he was succeeded by his son As'ad, in whose days the Karmathians or Ismailites acquired dominion over the greater part of Yaman. Al-Janadi here proceeds with his account of their conquests and of the subjection of As'ad to 'Aly ibn al-Faḍl, which is included in this volume.

The statement that Muhammad ibn Yafur was assassinated by his son Ibrahīm is not contained in Khazraji's version of the history of that period (fol. 29). His account, which at this particular point, differs materially from that

supplied by al-Janadi, is to the following effect:

Ibrahim, he says, continued to administer the affairs of the kingdom after his father's return from Mecca. A rebellion broke out at San'ā some time after A.H. 270, and the insurgents offered supreme authority to Jafar ibn Ahmad (ibn Ibrahim?) al-Manākhi. Eventnally the entire family of the Banu Ya'fur were driven out of the city, and Muhammad ibn Ya'fur was shortly afterwards killed at He was succeeded, not by Ibrahim, but by Shibām. a nephew, 'Abd al-Kādir, son of Ahmad ibn Ya'fur, a circumstance that may perhaps be accounted for by the charge made against Ibrahim of being the assassin of his father. 'Abd al-Kādir retained power for only a few days. A governor, 'Alv ibn Husayn Juftam, arrived from Baghdād in Safar 279, the next month after that in which, according to Janadi, Muhammad lost his life. Juftam ruled until A.H. 282, when he returned to Trak. Ibrahim ibn Ya'fur now attained absolute sovereignty, but his reign did

<sup>\*</sup> The writer quoted by Janadi is perhaps the grandson of 'Abd ar-Raḥmān ibn al-Jauzi, namely, Abu 'l-Muzaffar Yūsuf ibn Kizughli, generally known as Sibt ibn al-Jauzi. He was author of a history, Mirāt az-Zamān, which the author of the Kashf az-Zunūn says consisted of forty volumes. A small portion of the work exists in the Library of the British Museum.

<sup>+</sup> Janadi, fol. 29 rev.

Tubbas or ancient Himyarite Kings, and Ibn Khaldūn, in his chapter on the Rassite Sharifs of Sa'dah, likewise speaks of them as of the posterity of the Tubbas. Elsewhere, when describing the genealogies of the Yamanite princes and tribes (vol. ii. p. 243), he gives us the pedigree of the family of Yafur, from which, however, it seems difficult to trace their descent from the Tubbas, excepting inasmuch as they were of the posterity of Zur'ah (Himyar the

younger), son of Saba the younger.

Among their ancestors were two who bore the name of Dhu Hawwal,\* whence probably the surname the Hawwalites, by which the family is frequently designated. Ya'fur ibn 'Abd ar-Rahman, founder of the dynasty, is first heard of, according to Janadi, under the Governorship of Aytākh, who was appointed over Yaman by the Khalīfah al-Mu'tasim, according to at-Tabari, in A.H. 225 (vol. iii. p. 1302). Al-Wāthik (A.H. 227—232), replaced Aytākh by Jaffar ibn Dinar, who had formerly ruled over the country, but had been deposed in favour of Aytakh. The appointment of Ibn Dinar took place in A.H. 231, according to Ibn al-Athir, and he tells us that the new Governor proceeded to San'ā accompanied by a force of 4000 horse and 1000 foot soldiers. Janadi says that Ibn Dinar attacked Ya'fur ibn 'Abd ar-Raḥmān, but that peace was eventually concluded between them. Al-Mutawakkil, who succeeded to the Khalifate in A.H. 232, appointed Himyar ibn al-Härith. The new Governor was unable to withstand the attacks of Ya'fur, and was at length compelled to return a fugitive to 'Irāk. Al-Mutawakkil's assassination occurred shortly afterwards (A.H. 247), and Ya'fur made himself master of San'ā and of Janad, but not of Tihāmah, which since A.H. 204 was in the possession of the Banu Zivād.

Ya'fur was succeeded by his son Muḥammad ibn Ya'fur. He recognized the supremacy of the Khalīfah al-Mu'tamid (A.H. 256—279), who in A.H. 259, formally invested him with the Government of San'ā. Hadramaut and Janad were included in the dominions of Muḥammad ibn Ya'fur, but he owned allegiance to the Ziyādites and paid them tribute. He started on the pilgrimage in A.H. 262, after appointing his son Ibrahīm to be his deputy. On his return he built,

<sup>\*</sup> The name is pointed Ḥiwāl in Müller's edition of Hamdāni (see Note 11). Yāķūt, s.r. حميب writes Ḥawwāl.

Al-Mudhaykhirah, as will be seen, was re-captured from the Ismailites by As'ad ibn Ya'fur, in or shortly after A.H. 303. The city was destroyed, and Janadi adds that it continued in ruins down to his time. It will be noticed that Jabal Thaumān was, in the writer's days, known under the name of Mountain of Khaulān.

Note 7 to p. 5.—For Diyār Kindah, Shihr and Mirbāt, see supra, pp. 177, 180 and 182. See also de Goeje's ed. of Ibn Ḥaukal, note to p. 32 (vol. iv. p. 432), whence it appears that a note appended to the Paris text in the sixth century of the Hijrah, describes Mirbāt as a seaport situated at a distance of one and a half days' journey from Zafār, whilst according to Yākūt the distance is five parasangs. All these places are marked on modern maps.

Note 8 to p. 5.—We have seen that Ibn Ziyād was sent to Yaman as  $Am\bar{i}r$ , a word of somewhat doubtful meaning, since it may be taken to signify a Prince, a Governor, or a military Commander. But it is tolerably clear that he was not intended to supersede the Governors of the province of Yaman, whose residence was at Ṣan'ā, and who continued to be appointed by the Khalīfah al-Ma'mūn and his successors long after the foundation of the Ziyādite Principality.

The family of the Banu Ya'fur, who eventually established themselves as a virtually independent dynasty at Ṣan'ā, was, according to our text, descended from the

native writers I have at my command, and the name in its application to the town in question, is perhaps of more modern date

Al-Hamdāni mentions another place, Manāḥi, written, according to Müller's edition, with the letter ha not kha. He describes it (pp. 82, 12; 110, 6, 8) as situated at the junction of the two main streams of the Wādi Khārid—one of which flows down from San'ā. The other has its chief sources in the neighbourhood of Shibām-Akyān and Hadūr Bani Azd. Its upper course bears, according to Dr. Glaser's map, the name of Wādi Khuzāmir and, lower down, that of Wādi Shuwābah (cf. Hamdāni, p. 82, l. 6, and p. 110, l. 6). Among its affluents is, as shown by Dr. Glaser, the small stream of Dhī Bīn (or Dhū Bīn), in Balad as Sayad (Hamdāni, p. 82, l. 8, and 111, 25). The town of Dhū Bīn, the burial-place of the Imām Ahmad ibn Ḥusayn, is frequently mentioned in the histories of the Zaydite Imāms.

also the greater part of the passage relating to Ibn Ziyād's freedman Ja'far, as is shown in the notes I have appended to the Arabic text. Yākūt begins by stating that Mudhay-khirah stood on Mount Sabir, which I need hardly say is

an error. (See infra, Note 11.)

Abu Ja'far al-Manākhi was descended, according to Janadi, from Dhu'l-Muthlah (غوالملك); but cf. Hamdāni p. 100, l. 25 and 26), the Himyarite, and from Dhu'l-Manākh. His posterity continued in existence down to the writer's days, and they were known as Sultāns of Ķiyād (اقاض) Bayt 'Izz, Raym (Raymah?) and Karm 'Amīm. Ibrahīm Abu Ja'far possessed himself of Mount Raymah as well as of Thaumān, and it acquired the name of Raymat al-Manākhi. He made himself master of the greater part of Mikhlāf Ja'far.

Some further particulars touching the petty dynasty of Manākhi, are supplied in the accounts preserved by al-Janadi and Khazraji, of the circumstances under which the Karmathian or Ismailite doctrines were established in , Yaman. Mudhaykhirah, it will be seen, was conquered by Ibn Fadl. Its ruler at that time, says al-Khazraji (who derives his information from the same source as al-Janadi), was Ja'far ibn Ahmad (Ibrahīm?) al-Manākhi, after whom Mikhlaf Ja'far is named. Aly ibn Fadl marched against him in A.H. 291, but was defeated and compelled to fall back upon the country of Yāfi. months later, in A.H. 292, he again attacked the city and he succeeded in gaining possession, first of Mudhaykhirah and next of the fortress of Ta'kar. Ja'far ibn İbrahim (sic) fled to Tihāmah and reached al-Kurtub in the valley of the river Zabid. He was assisted with troops by the Prince of Zabīd (Abu 'l-Jaysh Ishāk?). With these he resumed the struggle. A celebrated battle was fought, says Khazraji, in Wadi Nakhlalı, in which Ja'far ibn Ibrahim (sic) and his nephew Abu 'l-Futūh were killed. Ja'far's rule, adds the same writer, endured from A.H. 249 to 292, forty-three years.\*

<sup>\*</sup> Hamdāni (p. 75, l. 9) says that "Ja'far ibn Ibrahîm al-Manākhi" was killed at or near the fortress of Khawālah, situated close to one of the sources of the Wādi Nakhlah.

Dr. Glaser visited the town of Menakha near Shibām-Ḥarāz, which I need hardly say is geographically quite distinct from Mikhlāf Jafar, or the country of al-Manākhi, as it is sometimes called. I find no mention of Manakha in Hamdāni or other

bore the name of  $B\bar{a}b$  Ghulājiķah. The road leads to Ghulāfiķah and to al-Ahwāb. The former, he says, served at one time as the port of Zabīd, but it fell into decay and was superseded by al-Ahwāb, which was in his time known under the name of al-Buķ'ah. The third gate, on the north, bore the name of  $B\bar{a}b$   $Sah\bar{a}m$ . It led to Wādi Rima' and Wādi Sahām. The fourth gate,  $B\bar{a}b$  al-Kurtub, on the south, led to Wādi Zabīd and thence to the village of Kurtub, situated upon that river.\*

Al-Khazraji next enters into lengthy details touching the extent of the walls, in which it is needless to follow him. In describing the city walls and bastions, he quotes the work of Ibn al-Mujāwir, written about A.H. 630, a book freely used by Sprenger, in his valuable work upon Eastern Geography, under the title of Tarīkh al-Mustanṣiry. It may be worth remarking that in the Leiden MS. of al-Khazraji, the word, excepting in one instance, is written

al-Mustabșiry.

Note 6 to p. 4.—'Omārah's statements touching the foundation of al-Mudhaykhirah and on the derivation of the name Mikhlāf Ju'far are mentioned, but absolutely contradicted by al-Janadi. The city of Mudhaykhirah, situated on Mount Thaumān, was built, he says (fol. 182 rev.), by Ja'far ibn Ibrahīm al-Manākhi. Elsewhere, in his chapter on the Abbasside governors of Yaman, he says (fol. 28 rev.), that the founder of the principality was Ibrahīm ibn Abi Ja'far al-Manākhi, who conquered Mount Thaumān in the days of al-Ma'mūn. Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, appointed Governor of Yaman in A.H. 213, marched against al-Manākhi in the following year, but was defeated and killed. Janadi specifies the orthography of the name  $\hat{g}$ , but adds that the form of the word is that of the dual of  $\hat{g}$ .

Yāķūt gives 'Omārah's description of Mudhaykhirah, as

<sup>\*</sup> Johannsen gives most of these particulars (pp. 120, 253, 261) as they are borrowed from al-Khazraji by Dayba', but having misread اسفل for اسفل, a not inexcusable error in the absence of diacritical points, he has missed the sense of the writer's words regarding the name Buk'ah. Khazraji writes: انتقل البندر الي قربة It will be observed that there is room for doubt whether the name Buk'ah is meant to apply to Ghulīfikah or to al-Ahwāb.

of the Ziyādite's companions claimed to be descended, was, as is indicated by his name, son of the Omayyad Khalīfah Hishām. He was slain in A.H. 132, one of the many victims of the first Abbasside Khalīfah 'Abd Allah as-Saffāḥ, the Blood-spiller. Ibn Ziyād's companion, it will be observed, is also designated the Marwānite, after his ancestor the Khalīfah Marwān, father of 'Abd al-Malik.

The Banu Taghlib were a Ma'addite (Ishmaelite) tribe descended from Rabi'ah son of Nizār. The Taghlibite companion of Muhammad ibn Ziyād bore the same name as Muhammad (al-Amin), son and successor of Harin (ar-Al-Amin was deposed from the Khalifate in favour of his brother 'Abd Allah al-Ma'mīn, and in A.H. 198 he was captured and slain by Tāhir ibn al-Husayn, the general in command of al-Ma'mūn's troops. The new Khalīfah, it is said, never ceased secretly to lament the slaughter of his brother. On one occasion, at the sight of Tähir, he burst into tears, and when asked the cause of his grief, he replied that he wept at the remembrance of a thing, the mention of which was dishonour and its suppression mourning. The circumstance was reported to Tahir, who, greatly alarmed, solicited and obtained the government of Khurāsān, where he soon became practically independent, and founded the dynasty known as that of the Tähirites.

Note 5 to p. 4.—Al-Khazraji, at this point of his history (p. 78), enters into certain particulars touching the town of Zabid. The city, he says, is circular in form. It stands half-way between the mountains and the sea, at a distance of about half a days' journey from either. On the south flows the river Zabīd\* and on the north the river Rima'. Elsewhere (p. 81), the same writer describes the walls of Zabīd, which he says were originally built by Husayn ibn Salāmah, rebuilt by Mann Allah al-Fātiki, in A.H. 520 and odd years, again by the Bann Mahdy, and again, in A.H. 589, by Sayf al-Islam Tughtakīn the Ayyūbite. It has, he says, four gates. One on the east called Bab ash-Shibarik, leading to Shibarik, a village situated on the river Zabīd, and thence to the fortress of Kawarir. One on the west, which in his day was called Bāb an-Nakhl, but which at an earlier period

<sup>\*</sup> Al-Janadi tells us that the city of Zabid was named after the river (fol. 29 obv.).

Ibn Zivād's descent seems to be traced through Zivād's son 'Obayd Allah, the same who took a leading part in the slaughter of the Imām Ḥusayn, grandson of the Prophet, a memorable event which Gibbon has made familiar to English readers. Ziyād himself, the ancestor of the founder of Zabīd, was regarded as son of Abu Sufyān, brother therefore of Mu'awiyah the first Khalifah of the Omayyaddynasty. The circumstances of his birth were such, it is true, as to cast grave doubt upon his claims. He was therefore generally known by the surname Ibn Abihi, the son of his father. Mu'awiyah eventually acknowledged him as his brother, far less, there is reason to suspect, out of conviction, than for the purpose of disarming an ambitious and dangerous sub-Ziyād owed, probably, much of his success and influence to his talent as an orator. It is related of him. that when a young man, barely over twenty years of age, he preached a Khutbah at Medinah, the eloquence of which filled his hearers with admiration. "How marvellous a talent hath God granted to that youth!" exclaimed 'Amru ibn al-'As. "Were his father of the tribe of Kuraysh, it were easy for him to drive the Arab nation before him with a switch!" "By Allah," answered Abu Sufyān, "I know who is his father." 'Aly, who was close at hand; turned round and stopped the discussion of so dangerous a topic: "Silence, Abu Sufyān, for thou well knowest, were 'Omar to hear thy language, its punishment would quickly follow!" Ziyād was born in the first year of the Hijrah and died in а.н. 53.

Suleymān ibn Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik, from whom one

ibn Aḥmad. It was suppressed, we are told, by Dinār ibn 'Abd Allah, sent for the purpose, at the head of a strong force, by al-Ma'mūn. The insurrection is said to have occurred in the country of the 'Akkites. There is some difficulty in reconciling the story with the statement that the district in question was, at that time, absolutely subject to Ibn Ziyād. But it may well be that the latter's rise in the Tihāmah of Yaman was far less rapid than is represented by 'Omārah. Al-Hamdāni, who died in A.H. 334, indeed tells us (p. 103) that, from the time of al-Mu'taṣim (A.H. 218—227) to that of al-Mu'tamid (A.H. 256—279), a certain family of the Banu Shurāh (subdivision of the tribe of Dhu Ru'ayn the Himyarites) exercised sovereign rule over the Tihāmah of Yaman. Elsewhere (p. 120, l. 7) he says that the Banu Shurāh held paramount sway, at Zabīd, over all the neighbouring Arab tribes. See also p. 119, l. 23.

as Khaulān-Kuḍā'ah.\* The tribes of Hamdān and of Khaulān were by far the largest and most powerful tribes in Yaman.

There were many other subdivisions of the branch of Murrah. Among these may be mentioned the tribe of Marahr (son of Yafur—see Hamdani, p. 67, 25, and Yakutiv. 570),† that of Kindah and its sub-tribes Sakūn, Tujīb and Saksak, also the Banu Lakhm, and Banu Judhām.

There remains to be noticed the great Arab stem of Kuḍā'ah, respecting which the generally accepted opinion is that they are descendants of Mālik son of Ḥimyar. Some, however, contend that Kuḍā'ah was son of Ma'add and that his descendants are İshmaelite Arabs, whilst on the other side it is held that he was only the adopted and step-son of Ma'add. According to another version, the Banu Kuḍā'ah were expelled from Najrān by the Banu 'l-Ḥārith ibn Ka'b the Azdites, and it is said that they went to the Ḥijāz and there became allied with the Ma'addites. The sub-tribes of Kuḍā'ah are very numerous. It may be sufficient to mention here the Banu Kalb, Banu Tanākh, Banu Jarm, Banu Nahd, Banu 'Udhrah and Banu Fahm. I have already stated that the Banu Khaulān, according to some accounts, were a sub-tribe of Ķuḍā'ah.

Note 4 to p. 4.—Most of what precedes is reproduced, almost verbatim, by Yākūt in his article on Zabīd. Ibn Khaldūn, in his account of the descendants of Abu Tālib (vol. iv. p. 115), repeats what he tells us in his history of Yaman (supra, p. 141) touching the Khalīfah al-Ma'mūn's motives for sending Muḥammad ibn Ziyād to that country. He was sent, he says, on a mission to suppress the rebellion of the Alides, who, under the leadership of Ibrahīm al-Jazzar (the Butcher), threatened to detach the province from the rest of the Empire. And Ibn Ziyād, he continues, was chosen by al-Ma'mūn on account of the intense hatred he was known to entertain against the family of 'Aly.‡

<sup>\*</sup> In Müller's edition the passage referred to occurs at p. 107. See also pp. 109 and 113. It will be observed that Yāķūt supplies us with a different reading.

<sup>†</sup> Ibn al-Athir describes the Banu Ma'āfir as a Himyaritic tribe (vol. viii. p. 499).

<sup>‡</sup> Another rebellion is stated to have occurred in Yaman in A.n. 207 (Tabari, iii. p. 1062), led by the Alide 'Abd ar-Rahman

spects seemed sunk into a depth of utter hopelessuess, became the chief means that eventually brought about the triumph of his cause. He accepted the refuge they offered him and he bestowed upon them the title of al-Anṣār, the Defenders, whilst the small party that accompanied him on his flight from Mecca, received the designation al-Muhajirān, the Emigrants or Refugees. The Ghassanite Azdites gradually travelled northwards and eventually reached Syria, where they founded the kingdom known as that of Ghassān, which endured under Roman supremacy, until the conquest of Syria by the Muslims. Other two tribes of the stem of Mālik are the Banu Khath'am and Banu Baŋīlah, descended from al-Ghauth, father of al-Azd. But according to some authorities these two tribes were Ma'addites.

The third great stem of the Kaḥṭānite Arabs consists, as already mentioned, of the descendants of 'Arīb, brother of Mālik. It subdivides itself into four branches, three of which, the Banu Tayy, Banu Madhhii and Banu Murrah, comprise a large number of sub-tribes. The fourth is the tribe of Ash'ar, the associates of the Banu 'Akk in the Tihāmah of Yaman.

The Banu Tayy abandoned Yaman shortly after the dispersion of the Azdites, and settled for the most part in Northern Arabia, near the mountains of Ajā and Salma, whence they spread into 'Irāķ and into the Syrian desert. Among the sub-tribes of the Madhḥijites are the Banu Ju'fi, Zubayd, Ḥakam, and Sinhān, derived from Sa'd al-'Ashīrah son of Madhḥij, also the Banu 'Ans, Banu Murād Banu Jald, Banu Ḥurab, Nakha', Munabbih or Janb, and the Banu 'l-Ḥārith ibn Ka'b, who conquered Najrān and dwelt there for many centuries. According to some versions, the Banu Sinhān and Ḥārith were included in the designation Janb.

From the Banu Murrah were descended the Banu Khaulān, who are described as sons of 'Amru son of Mālik son of al-Hārith son of Murrah and their kinsmen the Banu Jurrah sons of Rakla son of 'Amru son of Mālik. Other authorities, however, pronounce the Banu Khaulān to be a sub-tribe of Kudā'ah, sons, that is to say, of 'Amru son of al-Hāf son of Kudā'ah. Al-Hamdāni, if the version given by Yāķūt (vol. iv. p. 437-38) can be trusted, admits two separate tribes of the same name, one of which he distinguishes under the name of Khaulān al-'Āliyah, and the other

Saḥūl, Auzā' and Dhu Aṣbaḥ. It will be noticed that many places in Yaman were named after the tribes by which they were inhabited.

The other two great Kalitanite stems consist of the descendants of Mālik and of 'Arīb, sons of Zayd son of Kaliān son of 'Abd ash-Shams.

Among the tribes of Mālik, the chief place may be assigned to that of Humdan, descendant of al-Khiyar son of Mālik. The Banu Hamdān branch forth into an almost endless number of subdivisions, all connected together by common descent, and like other Arab sister-tribes, for the most part, though by no means always, in more or less close alliance with one another. Of the Hamdanite subtribes, it may be sufficient here to mention the names of Hāshid and Bakīl (seldom dissociated from one another) the Banu Yām, Jusham and Shihāb. Next in importance to the Bauu Hamdan may be reckoned the Azdites, a name borne by the most important section of the people who inhabited the country of Saba and its capital Ma'rib, at the time of the rupture of the dyke of 'Arim and of the ruin to which that portion of Yaman was in consequence reduced. All but a small section of the Azdites abandoned the country.\* A portion proceeded to Oman. The chief body went to the Tihamah of Yaman, inhabited by the tribes of 'Akk and Ash'ar. Here they settled in the neighbourhood of a Pool named Ghassān, situated between the rivers Zabīd and Rima'. After a lengthened stay, dissensions with the original occupants of the country compelled the Azdites to depart. A portion of the tribe established itself in Najran, in the neighbourhood of the Madhhijites who had long occupied and ruled the country. Another section led by Harithah son of Amru, attacked and overcame the Jurhumites at Mecca and became known as the Khuzā'ah, a designation given to them, it is said, because they "separated" themselves from their brethren led by Tha'labah son of 'Amru. The Azdite sub-tribes of Aus and Khazraj, so named after the two grandsons of Tha labah, possessed themselves of Yathrib (the ancient name of Medinah). Their descendants were the first Arab community to embrace Islam, and their recognition of the Prophet, at a time when his pro-

<sup>\*</sup> This occurred, according to Caussin de Perceval's conjecture, in A.D. 118.

exception only of the few particulars preserved in the pages of the Kur'ān. It is universally held that these people were, like the Kaḥṭānites, descendants of Shem the son of Noah, and it is generally believed that their language was Arabic, a fact positively stated in respect to some of the tribes.

The second great division consists of the race descended from Ishmael son of Abraham. The Ishmaelite Arabs are sometimes termed Nizārites or Ma'addites because they are descended from Nizār son of Ma'add, son of 'Adnān. The precise links in the chain of descent from Ishmael to 'Adnān cannot be authoritatively stated, but the truth of that descent is absolutely unquestioned.

'Adnān is said to have been contemporary with the prophets Jeremiah and Baruch, and with Nebuchadnezzar (Bukht Naṣṣar). The latter, according to Arab tradition, by command of God invaded Northern and Central Arabia, and exterminated all but a small fraction of its inhabitants. Ma'add son of Adnān was at that time in his childhood. He was conveyed, for safety—miraculously, it is said—to the ancient town of Harrān in Mesopotamia. On his return he collected the remnant of his father's people, who had sought refuge with the Yamanites. The Ishmaelite Arabs, according to the commonly received version, are descendants of Ma'add, precisely as the Yamanite Arabs are held to be descendants of Kaḥṭān.

The posterity of Ishmael divide themselves into three great stems. That of al-Ya's son of Mudar son of Nizār, to which belonged, among others, the tribe of Kura'ysh, whereof the Prophet was a member, that of Kays 'Aylān, brother of al-Ya's, and that of Rabī'ah, brother of Mudar and son of Nizār.

The Yamanite tribes are in like manner divided into three great stems, all descended from Saba or 'Abd ash-Shams (servant of the Sun) son of Yashjub, son of Yarub son of Kahtān.

There are in the first place the Himyarites, composed of the descendants of al-'Aranjaj, better known under his surname of Himyar, son of 'Abd ash-Shams. Among the principal Himyarite tribes and those whose names are most frequently met with in the histories of Yaman, were the Banu Shar'ab, the Banu Sharbān, and numerous tribes descended from Zayd al-Jamhūr, such as the tribes of Dhu Ru'ayn or Yarīm, Yāfi', Wuhāzah, Dhu 'l-Kalā', Ḥarāz, Maytam,

general outlines, and I accordingly add to this note an enumeration of the principal tribes of Yaman. Carefully prepared tables have been constructed by F. Wüstenfeld, and they will be found of great service to anyone desirous of studying the Arab tribal system. For the following slight sketch, not having Wüstenfeld's book within easy reach, I have contented myself with following Ibn Khaldūn's chapters on the descent of the tribes, making, however, certain corrections and additions, chiefly derived from Hamdāni's Description of Arabia, from Yākūt's Geographical Dictionary, and, in a small number of instances, from one or two other works.

The subject, it must be remarked is beset with so many discrepancies and with such frequent disagreements, that it would be impossible to supply, within a moderate compass, anything approaching to an exhaustive account of the tribes and of their genealogies, as taught by the native traditionists. Many tribes, moreover, some of common, others of entirely distinct lineage, bear the same name, and their origin is not unfrequently matter of dispute. Hamdāni, speaking of certain Arabs bearing the name of Ja'dah (p. 89-90), who, he says, claimed to be descendants of the Ishmaclite tribe of Ja'dah derived from Kays 'Aylan, makes the remark that it was a common practice for a tribe of desert Arabs to avail itself of such similarity of name, and to assert a claim to identity of lineage with that of a greater and more illustrious namesake. The thing, he continues, was of frequent occurrence and had often come under his personal observation.

The inhabitants of the Arabian Peninsula are by common consent divided into two great Septs or Nations, one of which, the more ancient of the two, is generally known under the designation of the Yamanite tribes, because for the most part they inhabited, and still inhabit, the southern provinces of Arabia. They claim to be the direct descendants of Kahtān, whom the Arabs identify with Joktan of the Jewish Scripture, the ancestor of Hazarmaveth (Hadramaut), Uzal, Sheba (Saba) and others. It is admitted that a more ancient tribal race at one time inhabited the Arab Peninsula, but one the greater part of which has long been extinct, whilst of the remainder it is only known that no traces of its posterity can be distinguished. The traditions respecting the aboriginal race, it is further allowed, rest upon no sure authority, with the

## NOTES.

Note 1 to p. 1.—The  $D\bar{a}^iys$ , a word derived from a verb signifying to invite or summon, were missionaries employed by the Ismailites, to teach and propagate the doctrines of their sect. Their Chief, whose residence, under the Fatimite (or Ismailite) Khalīfahs, was at Cairo, was styled the  $D\bar{a}^iy$  of  $D\bar{a}^iys$ . The title was hardly inferior to that of  $K\bar{a}dy$  of  $K\bar{a}dys$ , and both offices were frequently held by the same person. It has been suggested that the word is the origin of the designation Dey, applied by Europeans to the Viceroys of Algiers.

Note 2 to p. 3.—These words occur in five separate passages of the Kur'ān. That in Ch. xxxv. v. 19 is as follows:—

No burdened soul shall (on the day of resurrection) bear the load that belongeth unto another. And though one call upon another to assume its burden, that other shall not be laden therewith, even though the appeal proceed from its nearest kindred.

Note 3 to p. 3.—The Ash'arites were Kaḥṭānites, descendants of 'Arīb. A noteworthy member of the tribe was Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Aly al-Ash'ari, originator of the religious sect known as the Ash'arites. The 'Akkites are likewise often described as Kaḥṭānites, descendants of Mālık and Kaḥṭān and of 'Udthān. But it is said that the lastmentioned name must be read 'Adnān, and that the 'Akkites are to be reckoned as an Ishmaelite tribe. They removed at an early date to the Tihāmah of Yaman, where they entered into close alliance with the Ash'arites. The two tribes are stated to have been the first to apostatize in Yaman upon the death of the Prophet.

In all works on Arab history and on the geography of Arabia, continual reference is made to seemingly endless numbers of tribes, and more especially is this so when the Yamanite provinces are in question. Readers unfamiliar with the subject, may find it useful to be supplied with its

beguiling the people and in protecting his own followers from persecution. If any person meditated putting him to death, he would say: "I am a Muslim and I bear testimony that there is no God but God. How then can the spilling of my blood or the scizure of my property be lawful unto you?" Thereupon he would be left to go his way. On the approach of death, he appointed as his successor 'Aly son of Muhammad the Sulayhite. The latter's family was originally from al-Aḥrāj (al-Akhrūj), 114 and he was a member of the community of Shī'ahs of Ḥarāz.

152 by the people, who robbed, plundered and murdered them.

Ibn al-'Arjā and Ibn 'Abd al-Hamīd arrived at an agreement, in accordance with which the country was divided between them. Ibn 'Abd al-Hamid abjured the doctrines of Mansur. He built a mosque. in which he placed a pulpit, and the Khutbah was recited therein in the names of the 'Abbasside Khalifahs. He sought out the Karmathians wherever he could hear of them, until they were almost exterminated, and only a small remnant continued to subsist in the neighbourhood of Maswar, who held the doctrines of their sect in secret and who recognized as their chief a man known by the name of [Ibn at-Tufayl. He was slain by Ibrahim. But after the latter's death and during the reign of al-Muntāb son of Ibrahīm, at-Ţufayl was succeeded in the office of Da'y by a person named Ibn Rahim (Ibn Juftam?), a man of resolute character. dwelling-place was kept secret lest al-Muntab or other Sunnites should lay hands upon him, but he was in correspondence with the family of the Mahdy whilst they were at Kayrawan and afterwards in Egypt. It was in his days that al-Mu'izz son of (al-Manşūr billah son of) al-Kā'im son of the Mahdy ('Obayd Allah) came to Egypt and built Cairo, which became his place of residence. When Ibn Juftam felt the approach of death, he appointed over his sectaries a man named Yūsuf ibn al-Asad (?). Ibn Juftam died when al-Hākim (grandson of al-Mu'izz) was on the throne at Cairo (A.H. 386—411). Ibn al-Asad secretly laboured to spread al-Hākim's supremacy, and recognized it himself until he knew that his end was nigh, when he appointed as his successor a man named Suleyman (read 'Amir) ibn 'Abd Allah ar-Rawahy, a native of the district of Shibam. He was a man of great wealth, of which he made use in

ness that he abjured his father's sect, and that he joined that of the Sunnis. The people listened with approval, they rewarded him with their love and they submitted to his authority. One of his brethren, named Ja'far, came unto him. Ja'far condemned his brother's conduct and upbraided him, but his brother would not listen. Ja'far left him in anger and went unto the Mahdy at Kayrawān. He found that 'Obayd Allah was dead and that he had been succeeded by his son al-Kā'im (bi amr Illah). These events, had occurred in the year 322. The son of Manṣūr remained with the new Khalifah.

Meanwhile his brother massacred the members of his father's sect, and drove them forth, until none remained around him but such whose religious tenets were held in secret. Only a small number continued to dwell in the country and they corresponded with the family of 'Obayd (Allah) son of Maymun at Kayrawan. The son of Mansur then went forth from Maswar unto 'Ayn Muharram, which has been previously mentioned, and where there was a man of the family of al-'Arjā, sultāns of that country. The son of Mansur (before starting) appointed a deputy over Maswar, a man named Ibrahim ibn 'Abd al-Majid (al-Hamid?) ash-Shiya'y. He was ancestor of the Banu'l-Muntab, after whom Maswar has been named and is called al-Muntab. When the son of Mansur reached 'Ayn Muharram, Ibn al-'Arjā suddenly attacked him and killed him. Ibn 'Abd al-Hamid, on hearing thereof [tarried at Maswar and proclaimed himself sovereign of the district. The members and women of the family of Mansur who were with him, fled to Mount al-Hashab (Bani A'shab),\* but they were attacked

<sup>\*</sup> The tribe of A'shab son of Kudam dwelt, according to Hamdani, in the mountains between the rivers Lā'ah and Surdud (p. 112, l. 19 sqq.).

and I have attained the results that are known unto you, under the good auspices of the Mahdy, of whose coming the glad tidings were given by the Prophet, whom God bless and hail with salutations of peace." These words he often re-

Upon the death of Mansur, ash-Shawiry, the executor of his will, wrote to the Mahdy, then re-

pented before multitudes of people.

siding at Mahdiyah, informing him of the event and stating that the office of Da'y remained in suspense, awaiting the Mahdy's commands. But he sent also assurances that he was prepared to exercise the office of Day with loyalty and fidelity, apart from the sons of Mansur. One of the latter was entrusted with the letter. He set forth upon his journey, and on arriving at al-Mahdiyah he delivered the letter, with the contents of which he was imacquainted. The Mahdy knew ash-Shawiry, who had aforetimes come unto him with missives 151 from Mansur. He knew him to be well qualified to fulfil the office of Daty, and he feared lest the sons of Mansur should prove inequal to the task. The Mahdy replied consenting to the appointment of ash-Shawiry alone, and the son of Mansur returned to Yaman deceived in his expectations. But he concealed his disappointment and delivered the Mahdy's letter. He and his brethren continued on terms of friendly intercourse with ash-Shawiry, who on his side showed them honour and respect. He did not preclude them from free access unto him. They entered his presence whensoever they pleased, without the interference of a chamberlain. At length, he who had been sent to the Mahdy came unto him, and seizing an opportunity when ash-Shawiry was off his guard, he slew him. He made himself master of the country, and collecting the people from every district, he took them to witwhom mention will be made hereafter.\* Her two sisters fell to the lot of two chiefs. The siege of al-Mudhaykhirah by the Muslims endured for a whole year, and it is said that during all that time As'ad never put off his armour or divested himself of his sword. The rule of the Karmathians was extirpated from Mikhlaf Ja'far, and al-Mudhaykhirah has continued in ruins from that period unto the

present.

As for Mansur, he continued in the condition above described, but (in contrast with 1bn Fadh) he was an able ruler who took pleasure in the performance of good works, the record whereof en-He did not leave the district of La'ah, and he died before Ibn Fadl, in the year 302, after bequeathing his authority to a son of the name of Hasan and to one of his followers, named 'Abd Allah ibn al-'Abbās ash-Shāwiry. Mausūr placed special confidence in this man, and had sent him on a mission with letters and presents to the Mahdy (Obayd Allah), to whom ash-Shawiry became personally known, and whose esteem he also won. Manşūr, on becoming sensible of his approaching death, sent for these two persons and said unto them: "I charge you both with the care of our dominion. Be careful to preserve it, and cease not to propagate the authority of 'Obayd (Allah) ibn Maymun. We are one of the trees his family hath planted, and but for our appeals to their rights and authority, our ends could not have been gained. It will be your duty to communicate, by means of letters, with our Imam the Mahdy, and upon naught shall ve decide without consulting him. I have not gained the dominion we possess by means of great riches nor with the help of multitudes of men. I came to this country unwillingly,

<sup>\*</sup> Sec Note 8.

The death of the physician was soon followed by that of Ibn Fadl, on the night of Thursday the fifteenth of Rabī'u 'l-Ākhir of the year 303. The Muslims suffered under the trials of his usurpation, for a period of seventeen years. When As'ad heard of his death he rejoiced, and so did all the people of Yaman, with exceeding joy. They wrote to As'ad requesting him to attack Mudhaykhirah, and to destroy the dominion of the Karmathians. He collected a strong force from consented and San'ā and its neighbourhood. On his arrival in Mikhläf Ja'far, he was joined by its inhabitants, as also by the people of Janad and of al-Ma'āfir, and the army marched upon al-Mudhavkhirah.

Ibn Fadl had left a son who was known by the name of al-Ghāfā'i, by reason of a whiteness on the iris of his eyes. As'ad besieged al-Mudhaykhirah with his troops. He encamped upon Mount Thauman, which I have hereinbefore mentioned, when speaking of al-Ja'fari. It is now known by the name of Mountain of Khaulan, because it is inhabited by Arabs of that tribe, known under the name of Banu 'l-Bi'm (?). The army remained at this place, and whenever troops issued forth from the city, the Muslims defeated them. This occurred time after time, until the enemy was utterly disheartened and humbled. As'ad then erected mangonels, by means of which most of the houses in the city were destroyed, and he finally captured the place by force of arms. The son of 'Aly ibn Fadl and as many of his followers, members of his family and persons who had embraced his sect, as As'ad could lay his hands upon, were put to death. His 150 daughters, three in number, were captured. As ad selected one, named Mu'adhah, and gave her to his nephew Kahtan, unto whom she bore 'Abd Allah, of

him. The physician, on being summoned, applied poison to his own hair on the front of his head, and his hair was very thick. On entering into the presence of Ibn Fadl, he was ordered to divest himself of his raiment and to put on other garments provided for the purpose. Ibn Fadl then commanded him to draw near for the purpose of performing the operation. He obeyed, and seated himself in front of him. He then produced the lancet and, placing it between his lips, he sucked it, to show that it was free from poison. Then he wiped it upon his hair at the spot where he had placed the poison, some of which adhered to the lancet. He now bled his patient from one of the veins of his hand, and having bound up the wound, he hastily departed. Resting 149 his fears upon the praise he rendered unto God, he travelled forth from al-Mudhaykhirah, hastening to

travelled forth from al-Mudhaykhirah, hastening to rejoin As'ad ibn Ya'fur.

When Ibn Fadl had rested for a while, he began

When Ibn Fadl had rested for a while, he began to feel the effects of the poison. He became aware that he had been deceived by the phlebotomist and commanded him to be sent for, but the man could not be found. Ibn Fadl's desire for his capture increased, and he ordered him to be pursued whithersoever he might have gone, and to be brought back. Soldiers went forth seeking him in various directions, until one of them overtook the physician in Wādi Saḥūl, close to the mosque known by the name of Kaynān.\* He would not surrender, but defended himself and was killed. His tomb is on that spot. It is a mosque for congregational prayer, supplied with a minarct. It is much visited, and blessings attend those who resort to it. I visited it in the year 696.

<sup>\*</sup> Al-Hamdani mentions Kaynan as situated in the province of Sahūl and in the northern portion of the country of Dhu 'l-Kalā', pp. 68, 6, and 100, 15.

required to convict him of atheism, from which

God grant us to be preserved.

Whilst As'ad was acting as deputy for Ibn Fadl, there came unto him a stranger, said to be a Sharif and native of Baghdad. He became an associate and companion to As'ad. It is said that he was sent by the Sovereign of Baghdad for the purpose of contriving the death of Ibn Fadl, and he abode with As'ad for a time. This man, who was a surgeon, had a perfect knowledge of therapeutics, he was highly skilled in venesection, in the cure of wounds and in the administration of beneficial remedies. Perceiving the intensity of As'ad's fear of Ibn Fadl, he said to the Prince: "I have resolved upon making my life an offering unto God, and an alms unto the Muslims, that I may relieve them of this tyrant. Give me now thy promise, that if I return unto thee, thou wilt share with me the sovereignty thou shalt acquire." As'ad gave his consent, and the stranger equipped himself for his undertaking and left the Prince, who was then dwelling in al-Jauf, in the country of Hamdan, in perpetual fear of Ibn Fadl.\* The stranger travelled until he reached al-Mudhay-There he sought the society of the khirah. foremost and greatest officials of the State. attended upon them, bled them, and administered healing draughts and boluses. They mentioned him to Ibn Fadl, praised him and described the skill he displayed, which, it was said, was such that its possessor's services were meet for none but for such as Ibn Fadl or his equals in rank.

On a certain day Ibn Fadl desired to be bled. He inquired for the stranger, who was brought to

<sup>\*</sup> Al-Jauf is the name given to a large district in the country of Hamdān, watered by four rivers, of which the most important is the Khārid (Hamdāni, p. 81).

she said to him: "In hadda min dhi hukmu'l-Amīr."
In is the negative in certain dialects of Yaman, and ahi is used for the relative pronoun illadhi. The sentence therefore signifies: There is no escape from that which is an ordinance of the Amīr, that is to say, of Ibn Fadl.

Such practices are most shameful and pernicious, and they are repudiated by all who follow the doctrines of Ismailism. They are things that cannot be proved against anyone but Ibn Fadl. I have inquired of many persons, from whom correct information can be obtained respecting the doctrines of the sect. They condemned these misdeeds, and I found all agreed in regarding 'Aly ibn Fadl as an atheist, whilst upholding Mansūr al-Yaman as one of the most distinguished and most worthy men of their sect. These opinions are in conformity with the conclusions I have myself arrived at, and they are firmly established in my mind.

When Ibn Fadl in consequence of his partiality for al-Mudhaykhirah made it his place of residence, he appointed As'ad ibn Ya'fur, of whom mention has been made, to be his deputy over San'ā. was not convinced that As'ad had really allied himself with him, and he was, on the contrary, apprehensive of treachery. He therefore made him his deputy at San'a. As'ad was, indeed, keenly desirous to avenge the Muslims, and he was also filled with mistrust and with resentment against Ibn Fadl. He rarely abode at San'a, through fear of a sudden 118 attack. Ibn Jarir says that the heading of Ibn Fadl's letters to As'ad was as follows: "From him who hath spread out the plains of the earth and extended them as a carpet, who maketh the mountains to shake and who hath firmly rooted them, 'Aly ibn Fadl, unto his slave As'ad." Naught besides these words is For eight months he besieged Manṣūr without success. His long detention became grievous unto him, and Manṣūr received information thereof. He sent proposals of peace, but Ibn Faḍl replied that he would not agree thereto, unless Manṣūr sent him his son to remain with him, subject to his authority. It should not, he said, be reported of him that he had departed without gaining his ends, but it should be known and spread among the people, that he had left Manṣūr of his good grace and not for lack of power. Manṣūr complied with his demands. He came, accompanied by one of his sons, unto 147 Ibn Faḍl, who placed upon his neck a golden collar.\*

On his return to al-Mudhaykhirah, Ibn Fadl directed his efforts to the task of legalizing things prohibited by the law and of inculcating liberty to do that which is forbidden. He erected a large building, in which he was in the habit of collecting most of his sectaries, men and women, decked with ornaments and perfumed. The place was lighted with candles and the guests entertained one another with conversation of the most attractive and alluring character. Then the lights were extinguished and each man laid his hands upon a woman, whom having seized he did not abandon, even though she were unto him within the forbidden degrees. Sometimes it happened that what fell to a man's lot did not please him, either on account of his partner's years, or for some similar reason. He might endeavour to escape from her, but she would allow him no excuse. 1bn Mālik relates that a very aged woman once fell to the lot of a certain man. On discovering the fact he desired to slip away from her, whereupon

<sup>\*</sup> According to Khazraji, it was Manṣūr who placed a collar of gold round the neck of Ibn Faḍl.

whose cause he had hitherto professed to labour. He wrote informing his colleague Manşūr. latter answered, reproaching him and saying: "How canst thou renounce the authority of him through whom alone thou hast acquired all that is good, and how caust thou discontinue the propagation of his supremacy? Rememberest thou not the pledges entered into between him and thee, and hast thou forgotten the identical injunctions he placed upon us to act together in harmony?" Fadl heeded him not, but again wrote, saying: "My case is that of Abu Saʿīd al-Jannābi! 141 an evil thing in him that he hath proclaimed himself paramount? If thou dost not come hither and submit thyself unto me, I will make open war upon thee." When Mansur read these words the conviction of Ibn Fadl's treason was forced upon him. He ascended Mount Maswar and occupied himself in strengthening its works. "I have fortified this mountain," he said, "solely against that insolent rebel and against his like, for I perceived in his face the evil that was in him, when we met at San'a." Soon after sending his letter, Ibn Fadl prepared to attack Mansur. He collected for the purpose ten thousand men, the choice of his army. marched from Mudhaykhirah and reached Shibām.\* Repeated battles were fought between his troops and those of Mansur. He then entered the district of La'ah and he ascended Mount Jamimah, a word of which the first letter is moved by the vowel a. It is the same as Mount Fa'ish, near Maswar, and belonged to a tribe known by the name of Banu Muntab.†

<sup>\*</sup> The place here referred to, I presume to be Shibām-Aḥyān. See Note 11.

<sup>† 1</sup> do not find the name Jamīmah in Hamdani's Geography. For Jabal Fā'ish, see Note 11. Dr. Glaser has Dj. Djemīme in lat. about 16° 6', but that can hardly be the same.

slain by Ibn Fadl.\* Zabid was declared lawful spoil. The women were reduced to captivity, and historians relate that about four thousand virgins were captured, besides mothers of children. Ibn Fadl then started with his army for al-Mudhaykhirah, by way of al-Mīrād (?), a mountain east of Zabīd. On reaching a place named al-Madāhīs, or al-Mashākhis, 139 he ordered his criers to proclaim a halt. The troops accordingly halted and were summoned They obeyed and gathered around to assemble. him, whereupon Ibu Fadl spoke unto them, saying: "Ye know that ye have come forth for no other purpose but that of striving for the advancement of the cause of God. Ye have captured a large number of the women of al-Husayb, but I cannot trust them with you, lest they fascinate you by their allurements and divert you from the holy war. 140 Let every man, therefore, slay the women that have accompanied him." They obeyed. The traces of their victims' blood continued visible for many years, and for that reason the place was named al-Madāhīs or al-Mashākhīs. On reaching al-Mudhaykhirah, Ibn Fadl ordered the roads to be closed to traffic, especially the pilgrim "Perform the pilgrimage," he said, "to al-Harf, a place near al-Mudhaykhirah, and perform the minor ceremonies at ath-Thālathi (?)." latter is a valley in the vicinity of al-Harf.†

When Ibn Fadl beheld that his power over Yaman was securely established, he cast off his allegiance to 'Obayd (Allah) ibn Maymūn, for

<sup>\*</sup> See Note 13.

<sup>†</sup> Al-Hamdāni mentions al-Ḥarf (p. 69, l. 5) in the high-lying portion of Sarāt Kudam, not far therefore from Ḥajjah. But if that be the place referred to in our text, it is a long distance from Mudhaykhirah. Thālithah has been mentioned at p. 131, and Note 100, as a place in Mikhlāf Jaffar. See also in Sprenger, p. 153, Hiṣn Thalāth, near Ṣanfā.

occurred. Ibn Fadl alighted at the mosque and caused the channels, provided for carrying away the water, to be closed. He ordered the women, captured at San'ā and elsewhere, to be brought to him, and he ascended the minaret. The women were cast into the water with uncovered faces and 145 naked, and those that found favour in his eyes he took into the minaret and dishonoured. It is said that many virgins underwent that fate.

The water was retained in the mosque. It filled the building up to the ceiling, and the traces thereof may be perceived to this day. The fact is mentioned by the Kāḍi Surayy (ibn Ibrahīm), whose life will be related hereafter (among other

biographies of Jurists).

Ibn Fadl now shaved the hair of his head, and one hundred thousand persons followed his example. He ordered the house of Ibn 'Anbasah to be destroyed, expecting to find a large sum in gold, but only ten thousand dinārs were found, although Ibn 'Anbasah was one of the leading men of San'ā, who fled from the city along with As'ad. On hearing of the destruction of his house, he sickened and died.

When Mansur heard of Ibn Fadl's capture of San'ā he was filled with gladness. He came unto him and they met and rejoiced with one another. Ibn Fadl then went forth unto Ḥarāz \* and besieged al-Mahjam, which he captured. Thence he proceeded to al-Kadrā and took it likewise. He then reached Zabīd, at that period under the rule of Abn 'l-Jaysh Isḥak son of Ibrahīm, son of Muḥammad who came to Yaman from Baghdad. It is said that Abu 'l-Jaysh fied from Zabīd, and according to other accounts, that he fought and that he was

<sup>\*</sup> Khi says, to Ḥarāz and Milhān. The latter, also called Rayshān, is a mountain that overlooks Mahjam. See Yāķūt and Hamdāni, p. 68, l. 25.

daughters and sisters. He proceeded to Janad at the season of the festival, the first Thursday of Rajab.\* He mounted the pulpit and recited the well-known verses of which the following is a copy:—

Seize the tabour, O maiden, disport thyself, sing thy merriest songs and rejoice.

The prophet of the line of Hāshim hath passed away. But another hath arisen, and he of the stem of Ya'rub.

Every prophet hath his law. Hearken now unto the law of this other prophet.

He hath released us from subjection to prayer and to fasts. No longer shalt thou suffer under their burden.

When others pray thou needest not rise; when they fast, eat thou and drink.

Seek not the course between Safa and Marwah,† nor to visit the tomb at Yathrib.‡

Deny not thyself the marriage-bed of thy nearest, whilst consenting to that of the stranger.

How canst thou be lawful unto the stranger, and forbidden unto thy father?

Doth the plant not belong unto him that tended it and watered it in the days when it was yet unproductive?

Wine is lawful as the waters of heaven, and its use is now hallowed by the law. 137

Ibn Fadl's authority acquired increasing strength and stability. He conquered Mikhlāf Ja'far and Janad, and then determined upon attacking Ṣan'ā, at that time under the rule of As'ad ibn Ibrahīm ibn Ya'fur. He marched by way of Dhamār and captured the fortress of Hirrān. Its governor and most of the people accepted the doctrines of the new sect. The remainder took refuge with As'ad ibn Ya'fur. The latter on learning the strength of his enemy's forces fled, and Ibn Fadl entered Ṣan'ā on Thursday, third of Ramaḍān of the year 299. 138

At the time of his arrival exceedingly heavy rains

<sup>\*</sup> See *supra*, p. 10.

<sup>†</sup> One of the ceremonies of the pilgrimage at Mecca.

<sup>#</sup> Medinah.

with admiration for him, they requested him to dwell in their midst. For a long time he would not consent, until, when they persisted in their demand, he told them that he was prevented from dwelling among them by their disobedience to the commands they had received enjoining the practice of righteousness, and by their neglect of the prohibitions to do evil and to indulge in intoxicating drinks and in wickedness. They swore to be faithful unto him, and to obey his commands, whereupon he promised that they should be rewarded. They now began to collect and to pay him the legal alms and tithes, and large sums accumulated in his hands. He attacked Abvan, slew the ruler of the province, declared the country and all it contained to be lawful booty unto his followers, and possessed himself of a large amount of wealth. He then marched upon Mudhaykhirah,\* a large city on Mount Raymah, which was under the rule of the Jaffarite. He attacked him repeatedly, his efforts were crowned with success, and the Prince was slain. His country was declared to be lawful booty, and the women were reduced to captivity. Ibn Malik has entered, in his treatise, into full particulars of these events, but they are not necessary for the purposes of this book and may be deferred to another occasion. Ibn Fadl having reached al-Mudhaykhirah was pleased with it. He there openly avowed his doctrines and made the city the seat of his government. Soon after he declared himself a prophet, and as such he proclaimed to his followers 144 the lawfulness of wine, and of intercourse with their

\* In A.H. 291 according to Khazraji.

<sup>†</sup> Jaffar ibn Aḥmad al-Manākhi, according to Khazraji; but the correct reading seems to be Jaffar ibn Ibnahīm. See Note 6.

<sup>†</sup> A.H. 292 (Khazraji). Al-Hamdāni says (p. 75, l. 9) that Jafar ibn Ibrahim al-Manākhi was killed at Khawālah, close to one of the sources of the Wadi Nakhlah.

whom Abu 'Abd Allah and his brother were slain on the same day, the fifteenth of Jamād al-Ākhir of 143 the year 298.

This man, 'Abd Allah ('Obayd Allah) surnamed the Mahdy,\* was ancestor of the sovereigns of North Africa who afterwards held Egypt. Ibn Khallikān says, touching the 'Obaydites' pedigree, that they were descendants of 'Obayd Allah, and that some persons term them Alides, thereby acknowledging their pretensions. And God is all-

knowing.+

In the foregoing abstract, I have set forth the rise of the Karmathian power in Yaman, the events in which Mansūr, a man of singularly sound judgment, was concerned, and his objects. The history of Ibn Fadl will now be entered into at such length as to make known his achievements and adventures. His pedigree and birth-place have already been mentioned. Those who compiled the history of his life relate that when he parted from Manşūr at Ghulafikah, as hereinbefore stated, he ascended the mountains and proceeded to Janad. Thence he went forth to Abyan, which was at that time in the possession of a man of the tribe of Asbah named Muhammad ibn Abi 'l-'Ula. From Abyan he proceeded to the country of Yāfi. He found its people to be a medley of the basest of mankind. He withdrew into the valleys, and devoted himself to the worship of God. The people brought him food, of which he ate very sparingly, and only at the hands of those who believed in him. They inhabited the summits of the mountains; and, filled

<sup>\*</sup> On his coinage the name is written 'Abd Allah.

<sup>†</sup> See De Slane's Ibn Khallikān, vol. ii. p. 77. The account in our text of the death of Abu 'Abd Allah is evidently borrowed from Ibn Khallikān (De Slane, vol. i. p. 465).

<sup>‡</sup> Khazraji states the contrary, namely, that Ibn Fadl abode on the summit of the mountains and that the people dwelt in the valleys.

Ya'fur) possessed a fortress on the mountain of Maswar, under the charge of a governor, from whose hands the place was wrested by al-Mansur. The latter, seeing that his authority was securely established, now wrote to Maymun informing him thereof, and of his having overcome all opposition. He sent him splendid presents and articles of value. This was in the year 290. Maymun, on the news reaching him, and on receiving the presents, said to his son 'Obayd (Allah): "Behold thy supremacy is now established, but my desire is that it shall be publicly proclaimed only from North Africa." 136 He then sent Abn 'Abd Allah al-Husayn son of Ahmad son of Muhammad son of Zakarīyā, known under the name of ash-Shiya'y (the Shi'ite) and a native of San'ā, to North Africa, and ordered him to organize its people and to subject them to his son 'Obayd (Allah). Abu 'Abd Allah accordingly went forth as he was commanded. He was a man of remarkable ability, one of those whose names, on account of their talents in the science of government, become proverbial. His task was not completed until the year 296, when he wrote to the Mahdy informing him that the people recognized his authority, and he bade him come. (Allah), surnamed the Mahdy, hastened to comply, and arrived in the province of Africa. Abu 'Abd Allah had become possessed of supreme authority, and on arrival of the Mahdy, he delivered it into his hands. His brother reproached him saying: "An evil thing is this that thou hast done! Supreme power was in thine hands, and thou givest it unto another!" He continued to repeat these words until they impressed themselves upon his brother's mind. Abu 'Abd Allah resolved to betray the Mahdy, but the latter received information of what was occurring. He was filled with alarm, and instigated against his rival a person, by

urged upon them the observance of the duty of prayer, and they followed the examples I set them. On arrival at La'ah, I inquired for its principal city, and was directed to it. I proceeded thither and I became an assiduous frequenter of certain of its mosques. I devoted myself to the worship of God, and a large number of persons attached themselves to me. When I perceived that affection for me had taken possession of their hearts, I informed them that I had come to their country for no other purpose but to call upon them to recognize the Mahdy announced by the Prophet, whom God bless and hail with salutations of peace. I made a large number swear to be faithful, and they commenced paying me the legal alms. When a considerable sum had accumulated in my hands, I told them it was necessary I should possess a place of defence, where the alms could be preserved in safety and which should be a treasure-house unto the Muslims. 'Ayn Muharram was accordingly built for the purpose.

142 The fortress belonged to a people known by the name of Banu'l-'Ad'ā, and thither I removed the corn and money that had accrued to me.\* When I proceeded to the fortress, carrying with me my possessions, five hundred men, who had sworn to be faithful, accompanied me, bringing with them their property and their families. I now openly exhorted unto submission to 'Obayd Allah the Mahdy, son of the Shaykh Maymūn, and the people, without exception, showed themselves disposed to conform.''

On gaining possession of the mountain of Maswar, al-Manṣūr adopted the use of drums and of standards. He was attended by thirty drummers, and whatever place he came to, the sound could be heard from a great distance. Al-Ḥawwāli (Ibn

<sup>\*</sup> Al-Khazraji says that 'Ayn Muharram stood at the foot of Mount Maswar.

free of uneasiness respecting him.' Then turning to Ibn Fadl, he said unto him: 'In the name of 141 God! In the name of God! I charge thee to deal righteously with thy companion. Respect him, recognize what is due to him and obey him. knowledge is greater than thine, and it is greater than mine. If thou disregard his authority, thou shalt be deprived of safe guidance.'

"He bade us farewell, and we travelled with the pilgrims until we reached Mecca. We performed the rites of pilgrimage and then proceeded with the pilgrims of Yaman and reached Ghulāfikah. 135 parted after mutual promises not to forget one another, and pledges that each should keep his companion informed of his proceedings. I went forth and arrived at al-Janad, then in the possession of al-Ja'fari, who had conquered it and wrested it from the hands of Ibn Ya'fur.

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"The Shaykh Maymun had solemnly enjoined me to commence the accomplishment of my mission at no other place but at one named 'Aden-Lā'ah, 'for,' he said, 'it is the town in which thy talents will find their field and in which thou shalt accomplish thine objects.' I was unacquainted with the place, and I reached 'Aden-Abyan. I sought information respecting 'Aden-La'ah and was informed that it was in the neighbourhood of Hajjah. I next inquired after any natives of the place who might have come to 'Aden-Abyan, and was directed to certain persons who had come for purposes of trade. I made their acquaintance and frequented their society and contrived to win their friendship. I told them that I was a man devoted to study, that I had heard they were natives of a mountainous country, and that I desired to visit it in their company. They hade me welcome, and when they departed I accompanied them. On the road I entertained them with the recital of traditions.

perceiving] his eminent qualities and his fitness to command, he sought his friendship and his society. Maymūn was a man possessed of remarkable ability, which he employed for the furtherance of his objects. He was learned in the science of the stars, and it became known unto him that Manṣūr was destined to rule, and that he was to be one of the propagators of his son's claims. When Ibn Fadl came and attached himself to him, Maymūn perceived that what he sought was found, Ibn Fadl being a native of Yaman, well acquainted with the

country and with its people.

Maymun, speaking to Mansur said unto him: "O Åbu'l-Kāsim, verily submission to the law of God belongeth to Yaman, wisdom belongeth to Yaman, the foundation of all things is there, all great events have their beginning in Yaman and the issue endureth whilst its star endureth. 134 I am of opinion that thou and our friend 'Aly ibn Fadl proceed to Yaman. Ye shall call upon its people to recognize the authority of my son, and ye shall attain in that country power and dominion." Mansür had learned much from Maymun of the means whereby their ends could be gained. He agreed to what was proposed. Maymun brought him and 1bn Fadl into one another's presence, he made them enter into a mutual compact, and solemnly charged each one to deal justly by his companion. Mansūr's relation is as follows:—

"When Maymun decided upon sending us to Yaman he exhorted and instructed us. He desired me, on my arrival, to conceal my objects, so that they might be more surely attained. Twice repeating the name of God, he charged me with the care of my companion, to protect him, to act justly towards him, and to enjoin upon him the practice of righteousness. 'He is one,' he added, 'unto whom a high destiny is reserved, and yet I cannot withal be

aloud, saying: "Would that (I had been) one of thy companions, O son of the Prophet, when the hosts of the wicked came forth against thee!"

Maymūn was in charge of the mausoleum and his son 'Obayd was with him as assistant.<sup>133</sup> When they beheld the condition of Ibn Fadl, they were filled with the desire to enlist him in their service. Maymūn spoke to him in private and made known unto Ibn Fadl that his son 'Obayd was destined to be the founder of a dynasty, which would be an inheritance unto his descendants, but that this thing could come to pass only after being prepared for in Yaman, at the hands of certain of his missionaries (dā'ys). "That may well be accomplished in Yaman," answered Ibn Fadl, "for ingenuity in the conduct of affairs is general among its people." Maymūn ordered him to remain and to wait until

140 he had considered the matter.

Maymūn was originally a Jew, who regarded Islām with envy. With the object of protecting his own religion, he made outward profession of Islām and devoted himself to the care of the tomb of Ḥusayn at Karbala.\* He was a native of Salamīyah, a city in Syria, and claimed to be a descendant of the family of 'Aly. Most of the Alides deny his pretensions, and God is all-knowing. Ibn Mālik pronounces him to have been a Jew.

A certain man, who belonged to Karbala, entered into terms of friendship with Maymūn. He was known by the name of Mansūr son of (Husayn son of?) Zādān son of Ḥaushab son of al-Faraj son of al-Mubārak, a descendant of 'Akīl son of Abu Ṭālib. His grandfather Zādān was a Dodekite Shī'ah, and one of the chief men of Kūfah, and he appointed his sons to dwell at the tomb of Ḥusayn. When Maymūn came, he attached himself to Mansūr, ſand

<sup>\*</sup> I translate this passage with considerable hesitation. Diacritical points here, as throughout the book, are generally absent.

## ACCOUNT

OF THE

# KARMATHIANS IN YAMAN,

EXTRACTED FROM

THE KITAB AS-SULŪK,

OF

## BAHĀ 'D-DĪN AL-JANADI.

In the days of As'ad ibn Ya'fur, the Karmathians appeared in Yaman, 'Aly ibn Fadl in the country of Yāfi', and Manṣūr ibn Ḥasan, who was known under the designation of Manṣūr al-Yaman.<sup>131</sup>

I will now, therefore, briefly relate their history, as it has been told by Abu 'Abd Allah Muḥammad ibn Mālik ibn Abi 'l-Kabā'il, a Jurist of Yaman and a learned Sunnite. He was one of the persons who joined the Karmathian sect in the days of as-Sulayhi, and he acquired a thorough knowledge of its character. On becoming convinced of the depravity of the Karmathian doctrines, he abjured them, and he composed a celebrated treatise, in which he has described the principles upon which they are founded, he demonstrates their wickedness and warns his readers against their deceptions.

'Aly ibn Fadl, he says, was an Arab of the tribe named al-Aḥdūn (Ajdūn?), who trace their descent from Dhu Ḥadan (Dhu Jadan?). He was a Shi'ite of the Dodekite sect. He went on a pilgrimage to Mecca, and thence he went forth with the pilgrim caravan of 'Irāk, for the purpose of visiting the tomb of Ḥusayn (son of 'Aly). On reaching it he began uttering lamentations and cried

down to him, swore allegiance and placed himself under his protection. This was in the year 649. In 650 he went on the pilgrimage, and the Zaydites of Sa'dah continued under the authority of the descendants of al-Mūti. 130

I was informed in Egypt that the Imam of Sa'dah, previously to A.H. 780, was 'Aly ibn Muhammad, a descendant of the family. He died before that date and was succeeded by his son Salah, who received the oaths of allegiance from the Zaydites. Some of them maintained that he was not a lawful Imam. by reason of his not possessing the qualifications required in the holder of the office. He was in the habit of answering that he was prepared to be whatever they chose, Imam if they pleased, and if not, Sultan. Salah died at the end of A.H. 793 and was succeeded by his son Najāh. The Zavdites refused to recognize him, whereupon he said that he rendered account to God alone. This is what we heard in Egypt, touching the Zaydites, during our sojourn in that country.

And God is the Inheritor of the earth and of all that therein is.

years and for evidence that in his character he fulfilled the requisite conditions. In A.H. 645, certain Zaydites, inhabiting the fortress of Tula (Thula), proclaimed allegiance to al-Mūṭi, a member of the Rassite family. His name was Aḥmad ibn al-Husayn, a descendant of al-Hādy. When the Banu Rassy were driven from the seat of their Imāmate at Ṣa'dah by the Suleymānites, they took refuge on the mountain of Ķuṭābah, east of Ṣa'dah (sic). There they remained, and members of the family successively and uninterruptedly exercised the office of Imām, publicly asserting their right to supreme authority. This continued until the Zaydites recognized Ahmad al-Mūti.

He was a highly trained jurist, learned in the doctrines of his sect, constant in prayer and assiduous in fasting. He received the oaths of fealty in A.H. 645.

His career raised apprehension in the mind of Nūr ad-dīn 'Omar ibn Rasūl. He besieged al-Mūṭi in the fortress of Tula (Thula) for a year, but the Imām was successful in his defence. Nūr ad-dīn relinquished the siege, and set about collecting troops from the neighbouring fortresses for the purpose of resuming it. He was assassinated (A.H. 647), and his son al-Muzaffar (who succeeded him) devoted his efforts exclusively to the fortress of Dumlūwah. Al-Mūṭi increased in power. He made himself master of twenty fortresses, then marched upon Ṣa'dah and wrested it from the hands of the Suleymānites.

They had proclaimed Ahmad, son of their Imām 'Abd Allah al-Manṣūr, and upon al-Mūṭi being recognized as Imām at Thula, they gave Aḥmad the surname of al-Mutawakkil. They had waited for his advance in years, but on al-Mūṭi receiving oaths of allegiance, they recognized Aḥmad as Imām. When al-Mūṭi took Sa'dah, Aḥmad al-Mutawakkil went

and held the Suleymānites in subjection. The Suleymānite sovereignty was lastly held by al-Man-sūr 'Abd Allah son of Aḥmad son of Ḥamzah.\* Ibn al-'Adīm, 129 says that he inherited the throne at Sa'dah from his father. He displayed a hostile demeanour towards the 'Abbaside Khālifah an-Nāṣir (A.H. 575—622), with whom he affected a tone of equality, and he sent his Dā'ys to the Daylamites and to Jīlān, with the result that the Khuṭbah was recited among these people in his name, and that he appointed governors over them. An-Nāṣir endeavoured to raise the Arabs of Yaman against al-Manṣūr by means of subventions, but

could not prevail against him.

Ibn al-Athīr says that al-Mansūr 'Abd Allah, son of Ahmad son of Hamzah, Imām of the Zaydites at Sa'dah, collected troops in а.н. 592 and marched upon Yaman. Al-Mu'izz son of Sayf al-Islām Tughtakīn ibn Ayyūb was filled with alarm, but went forth to meet him, and put him to flight. Al-Manşūr again collected, in A.H. 612, an army composed of Hamdanites and Khaulanites. Great agitation was produced in Yaman, and (the Ayyūbite Sultān al-Mas'ūd (Salāḥ ad-dīn Yūsuf) son of al-Kāmil, at that time sovereign of the country, was filled with apprehension. He had Kurdish and Turkish troops, and the commander-in-chief, 'Omar ibn Rasal, recommended promptitude of action, ere the enemy could gain possession of the fortresses. Disputes broke out among the followers of al-Manşûr, and on being attacked by al-Mas'ūd his army was routed.

Al-Mansūr died in A.H. 630 at an advanced age.† He left a son named Almad, whom the Zaydites raised to the throne. They did not recognize him as Imām, but they waited for the increase of his

<sup>\*</sup> Read 'Abdallah son of Ḥamzah.

<sup>+</sup> Read, in 614, aged 53 years.

who was at Merida in 343 styled himself 'Abdallah son of Aḥmad an-Nāṣir brother of ar-Rashīd, of al-Mukhtār, of al-Muntakhab and al-Mahdy."

Ibn al-Mujāb says that the succession to the Imāmate of the Banu Rassy continued until dissensions arose among them. The Suleymānites came from Mecca, on being expelled by the Hāshimites. They conquered Ṣaʿdah, and the dominion of the Banu Rassy came to an end in the sixth century.\*

Ibn Sa'id relates that among the members of the

family of the Banu Suleyman, there was at the time of their removal from Mecca to Yaman, Ahmad son of Hamzah son of Suleyman. † The people of Zabid besought his assistance against 'Aly ibn Mahdy the Khārijite, who was besieging the city, then under the rule of Fatik ibn Muhammad, of the dynasty of Najāh. He consented on 137 condition of their slaying Fätik, which they accordingly did in а.н. 553. They raised Aḥmad ibn Hamzah (Suleyman) to the throne, but being unable to withstand the power of 'Aly ibn Mahdy, he fled from Zabīd and the city was taken by Ibn Mahdy. Ibn Sa'id adds that 'Isa son of Hamzah. brother of Ahmad, possessed 'Aththar, one of the fortresses of Yaman. Another member of the family was Ghānim son of Yahya. Then the power of the Suleymanites perished throughout the whole of Tihāmah, throughout the highlands, and throughout Yaman, at the hands of the Banu Mahdy. Next afterwards the Ayyūbites conquered these countries

<sup>\*</sup> With reference to the above and to most of what follows, see Note 130.

<sup>†</sup> Read Aḥmad son of Suleymān. See Notes 88 and 130.

<sup>†</sup> Instead of brother of Ahmad, we may perhaps read brother of Yahya (father of Ghānim). See Note 88. But see also supra, p. 167, where Ghānim is said to have been succeeded by a grandson named Isa son of Ḥamzah.

was the author of books that are well known among the dissentient sects.

Aṣ-Ṣūli 128 says that he was succeeded by his son Muhammad surnamed al-Murtada. The people rose against him, and he perished in the year 320, after a reign of twenty-two years. He was succeeded by his brother an-Nāṣir Aḥmad, whose authority was firmly established and passed on to his children after him.

His successor was his son Ḥusayn al-Muntakhab, who died A.H. 324, and he was succeeded by his brother al-Kāsim al-Mukhtār, who reigned until he was slain by Abu 'l-Kāsim ad-Daḥḥāk, the Hamdānite, in A.H. 344.

Aṣ-Ṣūli says that the sons of an-Nāṣir who succeeded to the throne were ar-Rashīd, al-Muntakhab, al-Mukhtār and al-Mahdy.\* Ibn Ḥazm, in speaking of the descendants of Abu 'l-Kāsim (read al-Kāsim) ar-Rassy, says as follows:—"Among others of his posterity there were the princes who ruled at Ṣa'dah in Yaman. The first was Yaḥya al-Hādy, who held opinions on Jurisprudence which I have investigated. They are not widely or fundamentally different from the received doctrines. His father (read, his son) Alımad an-Nāṣir had several sons, of whom the following ruled over Ṣa'dah after him, namely, Ja'far ar-Rashīd, next after him his brother al-Kāsim al-Muhktār, then al-Ḥasan al-Muntakhab and Muḥammad al-Mahdy.† The Yamanite

<sup>\*</sup> For al-Mukhtār, see Note 8 (footnote). The other three names are not mentioned by the author of the Ḥaulā'iḥ, although he enumerates the sons and daughters of an-Nāṣir. See next footnote.

<sup>†</sup> The names of an-Nāṣir's sons, as given by the author of the Hadā'ik, were al-Kāṣim Abu Muhammad (al-Mukhtār), Isma'īl, Hasan, Ja'far, Yahya and 'Aly. The name al-Mahdy Muhammad, cited in the text, may perhaps be referred to the Persian Imām, who died in Tabaristān A.H. 360. But he was a descendant of al-Kāṣim son of Ḥasan, and not a member of the Rassite family. See the genealogical table, Note 107.

son of Hasan the second, (son of Hasan son of 'Aly), of his revolt in the days of al-Ma'mūn, of his recognition by Abu Sarāya and of all that relates to him. Upon his death and upon the death of Abu Sarāya, and upon the failure of their enterprise, al-Ma'mūn issued an order for the arrest of Muḥammad's brother al-Kāsim ar-Rassy, son of Ibrahīm 'Tabāṭabā. He fled to Sind, where he remained until his death in A.H. 245. His son al-Ḥasan (read Ḥusayn) returned to Yaman, and of his posterity were the Imāms of Ṣa'dah in Yaman, where they founded a Zaydite dynasty, which has endured to the present day. 127

Sa'dah is a mountain east (sic) of San'a, on which are many fortresses, the most celebrated of which are Sa'dah, the fortress of Tula (Thula), and the mountain of Kutabah. The whole of that country is named after the Banu Rassy, Yahya son of al-Husayn son of al-Kāsim ar-Rassy was the member of the family who first rose to eminence. He proclaimed himself at Sa'dah, adopted the surname of al-Hady, and received oaths of allegiance in A.H. 288, during the lifetime of his father al-Husayn. He collected a force consisting of his sectaries and other persons, and attacked Ibrahim ibn Ya'fur, or according to other authorities As'ad ibn Ya'fur, who had arisen at San'ā and at Kahlān (?), and who was a descendant of the Tubbas. Al-Hādy seized upon San'ā and Najrān, ruled over them and struck coinage in his own name. But the Banu Ya'fur soon again wrested these places from him, whereupon he 136 returned to Sa'dah, and died in A.H. 298, after a reign of ten years. Such are the particulars given by Ibn al-Mujāb. He adds that Yahya was the author of works treating of things lawful and unlaw-According to other statements, he was an assiduous investigator of religious law. He held

doubtful opinions on questions of Jurisprudence, and

the Banu 'd-Dayyan (Rayyan?) and to the posterity of 'Abd al-Madan (son of Dayyan). Yazīd (son of 'Abd al-Madan), who lived in the days of the Prophet (whom God bless and hail with salutations of peace), made the profession of Islam to Khalid ibn al-Walid. He came as envoy to the Prophet with others of his people, but is not mentioned by Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, and this is an amendment of that writer's omission. 125 Yazīd's nephew Ziyād, the son of his brother 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abd al-Madan,\* was maternal uncle of (the Khalifah Abu 'l-'Abbās) as-Saffāh, who appointed him governor of Najrān and Yamāmah. He left two sons, Muḥammad and Yahya. The fourth century commenced with supreme authority exercised by the family Abu 'l-Jūd ibu 'Abd al-Madān and rulership continued in their hands. War repeatedly arose between them and the Fatimites of Egypt, who at times dispossessed them of Najran. The last of the dynasty was 'Abd al-Kays, who was deposed by 'Alv ibn Mahdy. He is mentioned and eulogized by 'Omarah. 126

And unto God, be He extolled and magnified, belongeth perfect knowledge of the truth.

135 HISTORY OF THE DYNASTY OF THE BANU 'R-RASSY,
THE ZAYDITE IMĀMS AT SA'DAH, THE RISE OF
THEIR DYNASTY AND ITS VICISSITUDES.

We have herein before given an account of Muḥam-mad ibn Ibrahīm, he whose father bore the surname of Ṭabāṭabā, the son of Isma'īl son of Ibrahīm

<sup>\*</sup> Read Ziyād, descendant of Yazīd's brother, was, etc.

Some of the Arab people made it an object of pilgrimage and a place for sacrifices. It was known by the name of ad-Dayr (the Convent). Kuss ibn Sā'idah was in the habit of worshipping at the place. 122 The Kahtanites who settled in the country were a section of the Banu Jurhum, but it was aftewards conquered by the Banu Himyar. They governed the country under the authority of the Tubbas. The rulers bore successively the title of al-Af' $\bar{a}$  (the Viper). One of the Af' $\bar{a}$  of Najran bore the name of al-Falammas (Kalammas?) son of 'Amru son of Hamdan son of Malik son of Muntab son of Zayd son of Wa'il son of Himyar. He was a diviner, and it was to him that the sons of Nizar resorted and referred their dispute, as is mentioned Al-Falammas was governor of in this work. Nairān on behalf of Bilkis. She sent him to Suleyman, upon whom be peace. He became a believer and spread the Jewish faith among his people. He lived to a great age. It is said that both Bahrayn and al-Mushallal belonged to him. 123

Al-Bayhaki says that the Banu Madhhii next invaded Najran and conquered it. Of them were the Banu 'I-Hārith son of Ka'b. Another authority relates that when the Yamanites went forth on the occasion of the floods of al-'Arim, they passed through Najrān. They were attacked by the Banu Madhhij, and it was there that they became dispersed. Ibn Hazm says that the tribe of al-Hārith ibn Ka'b ibn 'Abd Allah ibn Mālik ibn Nasr ibn al-Azd settled, under a peaceful agreement, in the neighbourhood of the Banu Madhhij. 134 wards they wrested the country from the Banu Madhhij and held sway over it. Christianity was introduced into Najran through the means of Favmūn (Faymiyyūn), whose history is commonly found in biographical works.<sup>124</sup> The rulership over Najrān

by the Banu'l-Harith the Madhhijites descended to

Al-Bayhaki says that Mahrah son of Ḥaydan son of ('Amru son of) al-Ḥāf reigned over the countries of Ḥuḍā'ah, and made war upon his paternal uncle Mālik son of al-Ḥāf, Prince of 'Omān, and conquered that province. These people are now no longer borne in remembrance beyond the limits of their own

country.

MIRBAT and ZAFAR, of the same measure as the word nazāl, are two cities of Shihr.\* Zafār was the seat of empire of the Tubbas, and Mirbat was situated on the sea-shore. Both cities are now in Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Mahmūd al-133 Himyari, who bore the surname al-Bākhūdah (al-Hamudi?), was a wealthy merchant. He obtained access to the prince of Mirbat with his merchandise, and gained his confidence. After a time the prince appointed him to the office of wazīr, and upon his death Ahmad al-Bākhūdah (al-Hamūdi) obtained possession of the throne. In the year 619 he destroyed the cities of Mirbat and Zafar, and he built on the sea-coast the city of Zufar, written with the letter z moved by damm, which he surnamed al-Ahmadiyyah after himself. He destroyed the old city because it possessed no anchorage. 121

Najrān. The author of al-Kamā'im (?) says that it is a distinct district and separate from Yaman, others say it is a province thereof. Al-Bayhaki describes it as extending over a space of twenty days' journey. It lies to the north-east of San'ā, bordering upon Ḥijāz. It contains two cities, Najrān and Jurash, of nearly equal importance.† The greater part of the country consists of desert, and its inhabitants resemble the wander-

ing Arabs in their mode of life.

It contained the Ka'bah of Najrān, which was built on the model of Ghumdān, the Ka'bah of

<sup>\*</sup> See Note 7.

<sup>†</sup> Cf Istakhri (de Goeje's ed.), p. 24, and Ibn Haukal, p. 31.

wealth of the inhabitants consists in camels and Their food is flesh, preparations of milk and small fish, with which they also feed their beasts. The country is also known as that of Mahrah, and the camels called Mahriyah camels are reared in it.\* Ash-Shihr is sometimes conjoined with 'Oman, but it is contiguous to Hadramaut and it has been described as constituting the shores of that country. It produces frankincense (lubān, olibanum), and on the sea-shore the Shihrite ambergris is found. It is bounded on the east and on the west (south?) by the shores of the Indian Ocean, on which Aden is situated, on the east (also?) by 'Oman. Indian Ocean extends along the south and on the north Hadramaut, as if Shihr were the sea-shore of the latter. Both belong to one king. Shihr is situated in the First Climate and it is hotter than Hadramaut. It belonged in ancient times to the people of 'Ad, who were succeeded by the tribe of Mahrah, descended from Hadramaut, or according to other accounts, from Kudā'ah. The people who inhabit these sandy deserts are like wild beasts, and their religion is that of the Khārijites, according to the tenets of its branch sect, the Ibadites.

The first of the Kaḥtānites who settled in Shiḥr was Mālik son of Ḥimyar. He revolted against his brother Wā'il (or Wāthil), who was king at Kaṣr Ghumdān. A lengthened war endured between them, and Mālik died. He was succeeded by his son Kuḍā'ah. Saksak son of Wā'il continued the war, until he subdued his enemy, and Kuḍā'ah was restricted to the possession of the country of Mahrah. He was succeeded by his son al-Ḥāf, who was followed by Mālik son of al-Ḥāf. The latter removed to 'Omān, where he thenceforward reigned.

<sup>\*</sup> See Mas'udi (Barbier de Meynard), vol. i. p. 333-41, as also Istakhri and Ibn Ḥaukal.

<sup>†</sup> See Mas'udi, vol. vi. p. 67.

ated, says Ibn Hankal, eastward of Aden on the borders of the sea.\* The chief city of Hadramaut is small, but its provinces are of wide extent. separated from Aden on the one side, and from 'Oman on the other, by sandy wastes known by the name of the Ahkaf (sand heaps). It was the dwelling-place of 'Ad, and it contains the tomb of Hūd, upon whom be peace. In its midst is the mountain of Shabam (Shibam). Hadramaut is situated in the First Climate and twelve degrees distant from the equator. It is reckoned as part of It is a cultivated country and is planted with palms and other trees. Most of its inhabitants uphold the supremacy of the descendants of 'Alv and Fatimah, but they abhor 'Aly for having consented to submit his rights to human judgment. The largest city of Hadramaut in the present day is the fortress of Shibam, in which the horses of the king are kept. Along with ash-Shihr and 'Oman, it originally belonged to 'Ad, from whose people it was conquered by the Banu Ya'rub son of Kahtan. It is said that (the Banu) 'Ad were led to the Arabian Peninsula (to Hadramaut?) by Rukaym son of Aram (Rukaym son of 'Abir son of 'Ad?), who had formerly visited the country in company with the Prophet Hūd. He returned to the people of 'Ad and led them in ships to the country and to its invasion. They wrested it from the hands of its inhabitants, but they were themselves subsequently conquered by the Bann Ya'rub son of Kaĥtān. 120 Kalitan ruled over the country, and it was governed by his son Hadramaut, after whom it was named.

132 Ash-Shihr is, like Hijāz and Yaman, one of the kingdoms of the Arabian Peninsula. It is separate from Hadramaut and 'Oman. Ash-Shihr is so named after its capital. There is no cultivation, neither are there palm trees in the country. The

<sup>\*</sup> de Goeje's ed. p. 32. See also Işatkhri, p. 25.

and the two cities are equally distant from the equator. Among the inhabited places of Yamamah are Tūdih and Karkara.\* According to at-Tabari, Raml 'Alij is between Yamamah and ash-Shihr. is a country of nomads. Yamāmah and Tā'if belonged formerly to the Banu Hizzān son of Ya'fur son of Saksak. The tribes of Tasm and Jadis conquered the country, but were eventually overcome by the Banu Hizzan, who thenceforward ruled over Yamāmah, with the Banu Tasm and Jadīs, as their dependents. The last king of the Banu Hizzan was Kurt son of Ja'far. Upon his death, the Tasmites possessed themselves of supreme power. 'Amlik, whose history is well known, was one of the tribe. The supremacy of the Tasmites was followed by that of the Banu Jadis. Al-Yamamah, 31 after whom the city of Jaww was named, belonged Her history is well known. Yamato that tribe. mah was next conquered by the Banu Hanifah. Of them was Haudhah son of 'Aly, King of Yama-He wore a crown, or according to other accounts, jewels strung together, none of the descendants of Ma'add having ever made use of a crown. After Haudhah, Thumāmah ibn Uthāl reigned over Yamāmah in the days of the Prophet. He was taken prisoner, adopted Islam, and continued steadfast in the faith throughout the days of apostacy. Musaylimah (the false prophet), whose history is well known, likewise belonged to the tribe of Hanifah. Ibn Sa'id reports having asked the Arabs of Bahrayn and certain members of the tribe of Madhhij, to what people Yamamah belonged in his day. He was told in reply, that it was in the possession of Arab tribes descended from Kays 'Aylan, and that the fame of the Banu Hanifah had perished throughout the country. 119

THE PROVINCES OF HADRAMAUT. They are situ\* See Hamdani, p. 164.

are a mixed race, partly descended from the Banu

Khath'am and Bajilah.

Tabālah is in the country of the Banu Nahd, and it is inhabited by a people possessed of considerable power, who belong to the tribe of 'Anz ibn Wā'il. This is the place of which al-Hajjāj was appointed ruler, and which he disdained and relinquished.

### THE COUNTRIES ADJOINING YAMAN.

AL-YAMĀMAH is the first. Al-Bayhaki says that it is a separate country with its own rulers, but the actual fact is that it is part of Hijaz, precisely as Najrān is part of Yaman. Such is also the opinion of Ibn Haukal. Yamamah, as a kingdom, is inferior to Hijāz.\* Its territory is called al-'Arūd, on account of its interposing between Hijaz and Bah-On the east it is bounded by Bahrayn; on the west by the outlying extremities Yaman and Hijāz; on the south by Najrān, and on the north by the Najd (highlands) of Hijaz. twenty days' journey in length, and it is four days distant from Mecca. Its capital is Hajr, written with fath. The city of Yamamah was the seat of kings before the days of the Banu Hanifah. latter afterwards adopted Hajr as their place of residence. Between the two cities is a distance of a day and a night's journey. The high-lying portions of the country are inhabited by sections of the tribesmen of Yarbū', derived from the Banu Tamīm, and of Banu 'Ijl. Al-Bakri says its name was Jaww, and that it was named after Zarkā 'l-Yamāmah, by the last Tubba' (read by Hassan ibn Tubba'). situated, as well as Mecca, in the Second Climate,

<sup>\*</sup> de Gocje's ed. p. 18. There seems reason to suspect an error here, perhaps committed by Ibn Khaldūn himself. Ibn Ḥauḥal writes, speaking of the chief city of Yamāmah نمى دون مدينة (p. 26). See also the corresponding passages in Iṣṭakhri, pp. 14 and 18.

The District of Yarrū' is in the highlands. It was conquered by the Banu 'Abd al-Wāḥid after the death of Ḥasan (Ḥusayn) ibn Salāmah. The inhabitants of the country had seized the frontier places. They were attacked by Ḥasan (Ḥusayn) ibn Salāmah, who made war upon them until they submitted. He built the city of al-Kadrā on the Mikhlāf (read river) Sahām and that of al-Ma'ṣkir on the river Dhu'āl. He died in A.H. 402.

THE COUNTRY OF THE BANU KINDAR is in the portion of the highlands of Yaman that borders upon Hadramaut and upon Abjar and ar-Raml. The Banu Kindah were ruled by a dynasty of kings, and their capital was Dammūn, which is mentioned by

Imru 'l-Kays in his poems.\*

THE COUNTRY OF MADHILI adjoins the mountainous district of al-Janad, and it is inhabited by the Banu 'Ans, Zubayd and Murād, sub-tribes of the Banu Madhhij. A portion of the Banu 'Ans are in North Africa, allied with the native wandering tribes. The Banu Hurab, a subdivision (read kinsmen) of the Banu Zubayd, inhabit the country between Mecca and Medinah in Hijāz. The Banu Zubayd of Syria and Mesopotamia are a subdivision of the tribe of 'Ta'y, and do not belong to the tribe here in question.

The Country of the Banu Naho lies in the hollows of the Sarawāt and so also Tabālah. The Sarawāt (plural of Sarāt) are (the chain of mountains) between Tihāmah on the one side, and the highlands 30 of Yaman and of Ḥijāz on the other. They bear a resemblance to the back (sarāt) of a horse. The Banu Nahd are derived from Ṣuḍā'ah, and they settled in Yaman in the neighbourhood of the Banu Khath'am. The Banu Nahd are like wild beasts, and the vulgar call them as-Sarwa. Most of them

<sup>\*</sup> See Hamdani's Geography, p. 85.

the quotation (from al-Bayhaķi). To the tribe of Hamdān belonged the family of Zuray', who exercised sovereignty and held the office of Dā'y at Aden and at al-Juwwah. The Banu Yām, the tribe of the Sulayhites, are one of the subdivisions of the Banu Hamdān. The Banu Hamdān are Shī'ahs. At the present time they carry heresy in their country to an extreme, and most of them

are Zaydites.

THE COUNTRY OF (the BANU) KHAULAN, according to al-Bayhaki, is situated in the east of the highlands of Yaman, adjoining the country of the Banu The Khaulanites possess the strongest fortresses of the highlands and of Mikhlaf Ja'far. They invaded the province of Ja'far in the days of the Sulayhite dynasty, and the Banu 'z-Zarr, who were members of the tribe, possessed themselves of the fortresses of Khudad, of Ta'kar and of others. The Banu Khaulān and the Banu Hamdān are the greatest tribes in Yaman. The Khanlanites have many sub-tribes, and they dispersed themselves throughout the countries of Islam, but at the present time not a tent of the tribe is to be found elsewhere but in Yaman.

THE DISTRICT OF THE BANU ASBAH is situated in Wadi (valley of the) Saḥūl. Dhu Asbaḥ, from whom they claim descent, has been mentioned in tracing the genealogy of the Tubbas and Akyāl (kings, descendants of Himyar).

THE DISTRICT OF YALLSUB borders upon that of the Banu Asbah. Yallsub and Asbah were brothers.

The District of the Banu Wā'ıl. The chief city of this province is Shāḥiṭ. Its ruler was As'ad ibn Wā'il and the Banu Wā'il are a tribe of Dhu'l-Kalā'. The latter are descended from (Ḥimyar and) Sabā. They conquered the country upon the death of al-Ḥasan (Ḥusayn) ibn Salāmah, governor of the highlands on behalf of the Banu Najāḥ (read Ziyād).

Aḥmad al-Mūṭi. He was a Jurist and a pious man. Nūr ad-Dīn ('Omar) ibn Rasūl besieged him in the fortress for a year. He collected troops for the purpose of (renewing?) the siege, but he died in 128 A.H. 648 (read 647). His son al-Muẓaffar (Yūsuf) became absorbed in the siege of ad-Dumlūwah, whilst al-Mūṭi acquired great power and became possessed of the fortresses of Yaman. He marched upon Ṣa'dah and the Suleymānites, whose Imām, as has been related in the history of the Banu Rassy,\* was Aḥmad al-Muṭawakkil, swore allegiance to him.

Kutābah is a lofty mountain on the east of Sa'dah, upon which stands a castle and villages. The Banu 'l-Hādi made it their place of refuge when the Suleymānites took Ṣa'dah from them, and there

happened that which we have related.

HARAZ and MASAR. Haraz is part of the country of the tribe of Hamdan, and it is also the name of one of their sub-tribes, to which as-Sulayhi belonged, 118 whilst the fortress of Masar, in the district of Haraz, is the place where he first manifested himself. Al-Bayhaki says (of the Banu Hamdan) that their country is in the eastern (read western) portion of the highlands of Yaman.† They became dispersed after the appearance of Islam, and there are now no wandering communities of the Banu Hamdan elsewhere but in Yaman. They are the greatest tribe of Yaman. It was with their support that al-Mūti rose to eminence. They became masters of several fortresses in the highlands. where they possess the districts of the Banu Bakil and Banu Hashid, the two sons of Jusham, son of Ḥabwān (read Khaywān) son of Nauf son of Ham-Ibn Hazm ‡ says that the sub-tribes of Hamdan branch forth from Bakil and Hashid. End of

<sup>\*</sup> Infra, p. 189. † See Note 23. † Ibn Ḥazm the genealogist died in A.H. 456.

bequeathed by the son of his paternal uncle al-Mukarram, Lord of Dhu Jiblah. (The Egyptian Khalifah) al-Mustansir appointed him supreme Dā'y, and he died in A.H. 486 (read 492). His son 'Aly gained possession of the royal fortress of Ashyah. Al-Mufaddal was unable to prevail against him, but eventually contrived an artifice whereby he brought about his rival's death by poison, and the fortresses of the Banu Muzaffar passed into the possession of the family of Abu 'l-Barakāt. Al-Mufaddal died and was succeeded by his son Mansur. The latter after a time disdained the kingdom bequeathed to him by his father and sold all its fortresses. parted with Dhu Jiblah to the Zuray'ite Da'y, Prince of Aden, for one hundred thousand dinars. sold also the fortress of Sabir, after having sworn the oath of divorce that he would not do so. wife was consequently divorced from him and was taken in marriage by the Zuray'ite. Mansur enjoyed a long life. He succeeded to the throne at the age of twenty and reigned for eighty (thirty?) years.\* The fortress of Ta'izz was taken from him by 'Aly ibn Mahdy.

SA'DAH is a kingdom adjoining that of San'ā and situated on the east thereof. It contains three seats of government, Sa'dah, Jabal Kuṭābah † and the fortress of Thulā, besides other strongholds. The entire country is known as that of the Banu'r-Rassy, whose history we have already related (infra,

p. 184).

The Fortress of Thulā is the place that first witnessed the rise of al-Mūṭi, who restored to the Banu 'r-Rassy the Zaydite Imāmate, of which they had been deprived by the Banu Sulcymān.‡ The adherents of the Rassites withdrew to Jabal Ķuṭābah, and in the year 645 they swore allegiance to

<sup>\*</sup> See Note 99. † See Note 130. † See below.

'Aden-Lā'ah is close to al-Mudhaykhirah.\* It is the place in which the Shī'ah doctrines were first openly preached in Yaman. The Dā'y Muḥammad (read 'Aly) ibn al-Faḍl was a native of 'Aden-Lā'ah, and it was to that place that Abu 'Abd Allah ash-Shīya'i, the Ismailite missionary to North Africa, came. It was there also that 'Aly son of Muḥammad the Sulayhite studied in the days of his youth. 'Aden-Lā'ah was the chief centre for the propagation of the Ismailite doctrines in Yaman. Muḥammad ('Aly) ibn al-Faḍl was the Dā'y in the days of Abu 'l-Jaysh ibn Ziyād and of As'ad ibn Ya'fur.

BAYHĀN is mentioned by 'Omārah among other districts in the mountains.† It was possessed by Nashwān ibn Sa'īd the Kaḥṭānite (and Ḥimyarite).

Ta'ızz is one of the greatest of the mountain fortresses that overlook Tihāmah. It has always been one of the royal strongholds. It is now the seat of the Rasulite dynasty, and it is regarded as one of the chief cities of their kingdom. Among other Yamanite kings by whom it was inhabited, was Mansūr son of al-Mufaddal son of Abu 'l-Barakāt, of the family of the Sulavhites (read the Himyarite). His father was (became) possessed of Ashyah and made himself master of the fortresses owned by the Banu Abi 'l-Barakāt and by the Banu 'l-Muzaffar. His son Mansur inherited them, but sold them one 127 after the other to the Da'y the son of al-Muzaffar and to the Zuray'ite Dā'y (read, sold them to the Dā'y Muhammad ibn Sabā the Zuray'ite), until none remained to him but Ta'izz, of which he was deprived by Ibn Mahdy.

THE FORTRESS OF ASHYAH is one of the greatest of the mountain strongholds, and it contained the treasures of the Banu Muzaffar. It was owned by the Dā'y al-Manṣūr Abu Ḥimyar Sabā son of Aḥmad son of al-Muzaffar the Sulayḥite, to whom it was

<sup>\*</sup> See Notes 10 and 11.

<sup>+</sup> See Note 9.

San'ā by Ibrahīm (son of Muḥammad son of Ya'fur), who possessed Sa'dah, San'ā, Najrān and other places in the highlands of Yaman. The Banu 'r-Rassy, the Zaydite Imāms, made war upon the Banu Ya'fur and conquered Sa'dah and Najrān. The Banu Ya'fur had recourse, for protection against their enemies, to the walls of the castle of Kaḥlān. Al-Bayhaki says that the castle was strengthened by As'ad ibn Ya'fur and that he fought against the Banu 'r-Rassy and against the Banu Ziyād in the days of Abu 'l-Jaysh Ishāk.

The Fortress of As-Samadān is also a dependency of San'ā. It contained the treasury of the Banu 'l-Kurandi the Himyarites, until the fortress was taken by 'Aly aṣ-Sulayḥi. Al-Mukarram restored to them some of their fortresses, which they held until they were deprived of power by 'Aly ibn Mahdy. They possessed the province of Ja'far, in which the city of Dhu Jiblah and the fortress of at-Ta'kar are situated. The Mikhlāf Ja'far consists of the provinces of Janad and of Ma'āfir. The seat of government of the Banu Kurandi was Samadān, a fortress stronger than Dumlūwah.

The Castle of Minhāb is one of the castles dependent upon Ṣan'ā, situated in the highlands. It was taken by the Bauu Zuray' and was appropriated by a member of that family, al-Mufaḍḍal, son of 'Aly son of Raḍi son of the Dā'y Muḥammad son of Sabā son of Zuray'. The author of the Kharīdah "gives him the title of Sulṭān. He further mentions that al-Mufaḍḍal was owner of the castle of Minhāb and that he was alive in the year 586. After his death the castle passed into the possession of his

MOUNT AL-MUDHAYKHIRAH is near San'ā. The province of Ja'far was founded by Ja'far, freedman of Ibn Ziyād Sultān of Yaman, and was named after him.

brother al-A'azz ibn 'Aly.

The Banu Kurandi, descendants of Ḥimyar, were Kings in Yaman before the days of the Sulayhites, and were dispossessed by the latter. They owned the province of Ja'far and its fortresses, the province of Ma'āfir, that of Janad, of Ḥaḍ,\* and the fortress of Samadān.

The fortress of Masdud was afterwards held by Mansur son of al-Mufaddal son of Abu 'l-Barakāt, who sold it to the Banu Zuray', as already mentioned.

SAN'A was the capital of the dynasty of the Tubbas before the days of Islam, and was the first city built in Yaman. It is said to have been built by 'Ad, and it was called Uwal (or Uwwal), signifying primacy, in the dialect of the country. 115 Kasr Ghumdan, in its neighbourhood, was one of the seven temples. It was built by ad-Dahhāk and dedicated to Zuhrah.† It was an object of pilgrimage, and was destroyed by 'Othman (the third San'ā is the most celebrated city of It possesses, it is said, a temperate climate. At the commencement of the fourth century, it was subject to the Banu Ya'fur, a family dating from the days (descendants?) of the Tubbas. but they resided at Kahlan, and San'a did not acquire celebrity as a royal seat (at that period), until it became the residence of the Banu Sulayhi. It was conquered by the Zaydites and then by the Suleymanites, after it had been held by the Sulayhites.

The Castle of Kahlar is one of the dependencies of San'ā, and it belonged to the Banu Ya'fur, a family (descendants?) of the Tubbas.‡ It was built near

<sup>\*</sup> The name Ḥaḍ حَضْ is not in the printed edition. It looks, I think, like a copyist's error for حصى.

<sup>†</sup> Commonly regarded as the Arabian Venus.

<sup>†</sup> Dr. Glaser marks upon his map a place Kohlān, about ten miles N.E. of Ḥajjah, a position which does not correspond with that mentioned in our text. But Ibn Khaldūn's statements must not unfrequently be received with caution. See Note 8, footnote.

in the Mikhlaf (province) of Ja'far. Al-Mufaddal had introduced into the fortresses of the province, a large number of Khaulanites belonging the tribes of Bahr, Munabbih, Rizāh (Rāzih?) and Sha'b (Sha'b-Hay). When al-Mufaddal died, the Khaulanites seized the fortress of Ta'kar, but Dhu Jiblah continued in the possession of Mansūr son of al-Mufaddal, under the guardianship of Savyidah, as already related. Muslim ibn az-Zarr the Khaulanite suddenly arose and captured the fortress of Khudad from 'Abd Allah ibn Ya'la the Sulayhite. 'Abd Allah fled to the fortress of Masdud and Sayyidah appointed Muslim ibn az-Zarr successor to al-Mufaddal. She acted with scrupulous good faith towards him and towards his two brothers (read sons) 'Imran and Suleyman. He died and his son Suleymān succeeded him in the joint possession, along with Sayyidah, of the fortress of Khudad, replacing his brother (read his father) Muslim. She married him to the daughter of the Kā'id Fath, governor on her behalf of the fortress of Ta'kar, of which Suleyman contrived by treachery to dispossess him. The Khaulauites extended their hands (oppressively) over the people, and Sayyidah sought assistance against the two brothers from the Banu Janb. 'Imran and Suleyman were the Queen's advisers, and it was they who by her orders expelled the Da'y Najib ad-Daulah from the city of Janad and from Yaman.

The Fortress of Masdud is one of the (great) fortresses of the province of Jafar, which are five 125 (sic) in number, namely, Dhu Jiblah, at-Tafkar and Khudad. When the Bann Khaulān wrested Khudad from the hands of 'Abd Allah ibn Yafa the Şulayhite, he took refuge, as we have mentioned, in the fortress of Maşdūd. The Khaulānites took it from him likewise, but they were dispossessed by Zakarīya ibn Shakīr the Baḥrite.

The Castle of Dhu Jiblah is one of the fortresses of the Mikhläf of Ja'far. It was built by 'Abd Allah the Sulayhite, brother of the Dā'y ('Aly), in a.h. 458. 'Aly's son al-Mukarram removed thither from the castle of San'ā together with his wife Sayyidah daughter of Ahmad, who gained absolute control over her husband. It was she who completed the castle to its full height, in the year 480.

Al-Mukarram, before his death, had committed supreme authority, that of King and of Dā'y, to Sabā son of Aḥmad son of al-Muzaffar the Ṣulayḥite, who occupied the castle of Ashyaḥ. Sayyidah relied for support upon the chief of the Banu Janb, a people who, in pre-Islamitic days, were of small repute, but who gained a conspicuous position in the province of Ja'far. After a time Ibn Najīb ad-124 Daulah came from Egypt as Dā'y. He abode in

the city of Janad and obtained support from the tribe of Hamdan. Sayyidah fought against him, aided by the Banu Janb and Khaulan, until he embarked at sea and was drowned. After the death of her husband al-Mukarram, her affairs were directed by al-Mufaddal ibn Abi 'l-Barakat, who established his influence over her.

AT-TA'KAR, in Mikhlāf Ja'far, belonged to the Banu Sulayḥi and subsequently to Sayyidah. Al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Abi 'l-Barakāt having asked for it, she delivered the place to him and he dwelt therein, until he went forth and besieged the Banu Najāḥ at Zabīd. His absence prolonged itself, and certain faķīhs (Jurists) revolted at Ta'kar, killed al-Mufaḍ-dal's deputy and proclaimed Ibrahīm ibn Zaydān, one of their number, who was uncle of 'Omārah the poet. They asked assistance of the Banu Khaulān, and al-Mufaḍḍal thereupon returned and besieged them, as we have already related.

THE FORTRESS OF KHUDAD (Khadid) belonged to 'Abd Allah ibn Ya'la the Sulayhite, and is situated

two roads, the middle one and that running along the sea-shore, join and diverge at as-Sirrayn.

Apen is one of the kingdoms of Yaman, south of The city is the seat of government, and it  ${f Z}$ abīd. is situated on the shores of the Indian Ocean. has been a place of trade since the days of the It is thirteen degrees distant from the Its soil produces neither crops nor trees, equator. and the food of its inhabitants consists of fish. is the port of embarkation for India from Yaman. It was at first ruled by the descendants of Ma'n son of Zā'idah, who resisted the authority of the Banu Ziyad, but paid them tribute. When the Sulavhites became supreme over the country, the Da'y 'Aly confirmed the Banu Ma'n in their government. But his son Ahmad al-Mukarram afterwards eiected them, and appointed over the country the Banu al-Karam, of the sub-tribe of Jusham son of Yam, his kinsmen, and like himself, descendants of Hamdan. The Banu Zuray', a family of the Banu Karam, became possessed of exclusive power, and they inherited the office of Da'y held by the Sulayhites, as well as their sovereignty, all which has already been related. 'Aly ibn Mahdy was not able to subdue the Zurayites, and he was obliged to content himself with the tribute they paid him, until they were conquered by Shams ad-Daulah Turān Shāh son of Ayyūb, as hereinbefore mentioned.

ADEN-ABYAN is a well-built city in the neighbour-

hood of ash-Shiḥr.\*

Az-Za'āzi' stands in the valleys of Aden, and belonged to the Banu Mas'ūd ibn al-Karam, the rivals of the Banu Zuray'.

AL-JAWWAH was built by the Zuray'ite kings in the neighbourhood of Aden. The Ayyubites made it their place of residence, but afterwards they removed to Ta'izz.

<sup>\*</sup> Sec Note 11.

Ghānim) ibn Yaḥya belonged to that family, and he paid tribute to the Prince of Zabīd. It was from him that Muflih the freedman of Fātik sought assistance against Surūr. Ghānim was succeeded by 'Isa the son of Ḥamzah, who was one of the sons of Ghānim. When the Ghuzz conquered Yaman, Yaḥya the brother of 'Isa was taken prisoner and carried to 'Irāk. 'Isa contrived to obtain his brother's release, and Yaḥya returned to Yaman, where he slew his brother and became ruler of the principality.

AL-Mahjam is one of the provinces of Zabīd, at a distance of three days' journey from that city. The Arabs who inhabit it belong to the tribes of Ḥakam and Ja'far (read Ju'fi?), two sub-divisions of the tribe of Sa'd al-'Ashīrah. Ginger is exported from

that province.

As-Sirrayn is the furthermost place of the Tihāmah of Yaman. It is on the borders of the sea, unwalled, and its houses are built of reeds. It was conquered about A.H. 650 by Rājih son of Ķatādah, Sultān of Mecca, and he possessed a castle at half a

day's journey from the town.

Az-Zara'ib is one of the provinces north of Zabīd. It belonged to Ibn Tarf. He was supported in that district by twenty thousand Abyssinians. When the Dā'y aṣ-Ṣulayḥi arose, he attacked Ibn Tarf at az-Zarā'ib, with about three thousand men, put him to flight and killed all the Abyssinians that were with him.

Ibn Sa'id says, speaking of the provinces of Zabid and of those that border on the middle road between the sea and the mountains, that az-Zarā'ib stands on the Zabīd road, north of that city, and that the road is the great highway to Mecca. 'Omārah says that it is the royal highway, that it is distant a day's journey, or less, from the sea and at the same distance from the mountains, and that the

'Anz son of Wā'il. 114 It is ruled at the present day by the Banu Rasūl, clients of the Banu Ayyūb, and their capital is Ta'izz, which succeeded al-Jawwah, where the Rasūlites at first took up their abode. The Imām of the Zaydites resides at Ṣa'dah in Yaman.

Zabīd (named after its capital) is one of the kingdoms of Yaman. On its north is Ḥijāz, on the south the Indian Ocean, and on the west the Sea of Suez. The city was founded by Muḥammad ibn Ziyād in the days of al-Ma'mūn, A.H. 204. It is enclosed in walls, and a stream of running water penetrates into the city, introduced by its kings. Close to it are low-lying grounds planted with palm trees, a spot resorted to during the dry season.\* Zabīd is now part of the kingdom of the Banu Rasūl. It was formerly the seat of government of the Banu Ziyād and of their freedmen, and it was conquered by the Banu Ṣulayḥi, whose history has been related.

'Aththar, Haly and ash-Sharjah are provinces of Zabīd, in its northern part, and are known as

the dominions of Ibn Tarf. They extend over a distance of seven days' journey by two days', from ash-Sharjah to Ḥaly. From the latter to Mecca is eight days' journey. 'Aththar is the seat of govern-122 ment, and it is situated on the borders of the sea. Suleymān ibn Tarf held the place against Abu 'l-Jaysh ibn Ziyād, and his revenues amounted to 500,000 dinārs. After a time he submitted to Abu'l Jaysh, introduced his name in the Khuṭbah and paid him tribute. At a later period, the kingdom passed into the hands of the Suleymānites, descendants of Ḥasan, and Amīrs of Mecca, on their being expelled from that city by the Hāshimites.† Ghālib (read

<sup>\*</sup> See Ibn Batūtah, vol. ii. p. 167-8.

<sup>†</sup> Touching this statement and others by Ibn Khaldūn to the same effect, see Note 130.

his physicians, for the purpose of selecting a spot with a healthy atmosphere and wholesome water, in which to establish his place of residence. Their choice fell upon the site of Ta'izz, where Turān Shah founded the city, which became the seat of government to himself, to his descendants (read to his successors of the Ayyubite family), and to their freedmen, the Banu Rasūl (who followed the Ayyubites), as we will relate in their history.

With the fall of the Banu Mahdy, Arab sovereignty came to an end in Yaman, and supreme rule was thenceforth held by the Ghuzz and by their

freedmen.

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### THE PROVINCES AND CITIES OF YAMAN.

WE will now proceed to give a brief historical sketch of the capitals and cities of Yaman, one by one, as

supplied by Ibn Sa'id.

Yaman forms part of the Arabian Peninsula and comprises seven royal seats of government. It is divided into two parts. Tihāmah and al-Jibāl (the Tihamah consists of two kingdoms, highlands). that of Zabid and that of Aden. The name Tihamah denotes the low country of Yaman adjoining the sea-coast and extending from as-Sirrayn on the borders of Hijaz, to the extremity of the province of Aden, round by the Indian Ocean. Ibn Sa'id states that the Arabian Peninsula is situated in the First Climate and that it is bounded by the Indian Ocean on the south, by the Sea of Suez on the west, and by the Persian Sea on the east. belonged in ancient days to the Tabābi'ah (the Tubbas). It is a more productive country than the Hijāz. Most of its inhabitants are descendants of Kahtan, but it contains also people of the tribe of

punished the use of wine with death. According to 'Omarah, the penalty of death was likewise inflicted upon any Muslim, of whatever sect, who opposed him, and the wives and children of the condemned were reduced to slavery. His people believed him to be under Divine protection. property was in his hands. He supplied their wants and they possessed nothing, neither money, nor He slew any one of his horses, nor weapons. followers who fled from the field of battle. fornicator, the drinker of wine, the listener to songs, were put to death, and death also was the punishment of any person who absented himself from the Friday prayers, or from the sermon he delivered on Mondays and Thursdays. In matters of Jurisprudence he was a Hanafite.

'Aly ibn Mahdy was succeeded by his son 'Abd an-Naby. The latter's brother 'Abd Allah rebelled against him and obtained possession of Zabīd, where the Khutbah, in which he received the title of Imām, was recited in his name. But 'Abd an-Naby succeeded after a time in overcoming him. He expelled him from the city, and made himself master of the whole of Yaman. There were at that time twenty-five separate governments in the country, all of which he conquered. Aden alone remained unconquered, and 'Abd an-Naby subjected it solely to

the payment of tribute.

When Shams ad-Daulah Turān Shah ibn Ayyūb, brother of Saladin, invaded the country in A.H. 566 (read 569) and overthrew the government of Yaman, he seized 'Abd an-Naby, extorted from him such information as he required, and took from him a great amount of riches. He carried him to Aden, which he captured. Then he went to Zabīd and made it the seat of government. Conceiving ere long an unfavourable opinion of its salubrity, he made a journey to the mountains, accompanied by

steep pass. 'Aly Mahdy gave these people the designation of Ansār, and upon his companions, who had accompanied him from Tihāmah, he bestowed the name al-Muhājirān. He appointed a chief over the Ansār, of the name of Sabā, and another over the Muhājirān to whom he gave the title of Sheykh al-Islām, and whose name was an-Nūbah. With the exception of these two men, 'Aly Mahdy allowed no one to penetrate into his presence.

He now despatched depredating parties into the province of Tihamah, and his success was promoted by the deserted condition of the country adjoining Zabid. He stopped the traffic on the public roads, spread ruin throughout the district, and he penetrated to the castle of ad-Dathir (read Dashir), half a stage from Zabid. He plotted the assassination of the Regent Surūr and succeeded in his design, as has already been related. He now began to harass the city with repeated attacks. 'Omārah says that he attacked it on seventy occasions and besieged it for a long period of time. At length the citizens besought assistance of the Sharif Ahmad ibn Ḥamzah, the Suleymānite Prince of Sa'dah. He gave them aid, but stipulated that they should slay their master Fātik son of Muhammad, and they accordingly killed him in the year 553. Sharif was proclaimed sovereign, but was unable to withstand his enemies and took to flight. Thereupon 'Aly Mahdy seized the city in Rajab 554, but he died three months after his conquest.

He had assumed in the Khutbah the titles of the Imām, the Mahdy, Prince of the Faithful, Subjugator of infidels and of the wicked. He followed the doctrines of the Khārijites, denying the authority 120 both of 'Aly and of 'Othmān, and treated sin as infidelity. He established rules and laws for his sect, which it would be tedious to describe. He

and occupied himself in preaching. He was an eloquent expounder of the Kur'ān, and he foretold events about to occur in his career. His predictions were followed by their fulfilment. The people listened to him with favour and he acquired popu-

larity.

From the year 561 he travelled to and fro on the pilgrimage, preaching to the people in the deserts. At the season of the Mausim he attended it mounted on a dromedary he possessed. When the mother of Fātik gained paramount influence over the Banu Jayyāsh, in the days of her son Fātik son of Manṣūr, she became a firm believer in him, and she released him, his kindred and the families with which he was allied by marriage, from payment of the imposts on their lands. They prospered and were held in honour, they made use of riding horses, and the 119 party they formed became powerful. It became 'Aly's habit to say in the course of his sermons, that

the time was near, meaning thereby the time of his manifestation, a thing that was widely spoken of throughout the country. The mother of Fatik, until she died in A.H. 545, restrained the state officials

from molesting him.

The people of the highlands had induced Ibn Mahdy to bind himself by oath to support them, and in 538 he came forth from (into?) Tihāmah and reached al-Kadrā; but he was defeated and returned to the mountains, where he remained until 541. After that, the Lady the mother of Fātik restored him to his home, and she died in 545. Thereupon he departed and joined the Banu Khaulān, taking up his abode with one of their tribes known by the name of Ḥaywan (Ḥaydān?), the owners of a fortress named ash-Sharaf. The ascent to the castle is of exceeding difficulty and extends a distance of a day's journey from the foot of the mountain, over a painfully laborious road, and through a narrow and

the poet of Alexaudria. The following line is from an ode he wrote in praise of Yāsir:—

Abandon thy home if thou desirest greatness—The crescent, having travelled, becomes a full moon.<sup>112</sup>

Yāsir was the last sovereign of the Zuray'ite dynasty. When Shams ad-Daulah Sayf al-Islām (read Turān Shah), brother of Saladin, invaded and conquered Yaman in A.H. 666 (read 569) he came to Aden, took possession of the city and laid hands upon Yāsir ibn Bilāl. The dynasty of the Zuray'ites came to an end, and Yaman became subject to the Ghuzz (Turks, Kurds, Circassians, etc.), and to their chiefs, of the dynasty of Ayyūb, as we will relate in their history. The city of al-Juwwah, near Aden, was founded by the Zuray'ite kings. The Ayyubite princes, when they became supreme, forsook that city and established their residence at Ta'izz in the mountains, as will hereafter be set forth.<sup>113</sup>

THE HISTORY OF IBN MAHDY THE KHARIJITE AND OF HIS SONS, THEIR RULE IN YAMAN, ITS RISE AND ITS FALL.

This man was a native of al-'Anbarah on the borders of the sea near Zabīd. His name was 'Aly ibn Mahdy, the Ḥimyarite. His father Mahdy was noted for his virtue and piety. 'Aly was brought up in the religious opinions of his father, and he lived in retirement, devoting himself to a religious life. After a time he went on the pilgrimage. He met and became acquainted with certain doctors of 'Irāķ, and he learnt from their preachers the art of warning and exhorting the people. He returned to Yaman, where he withdrew himself from society

attack.<sup>111</sup> Bilāl ibn Jarīr, a freedman of the Banu Zuray', opposed al-A'azz at Aden and desired to transfer the authority exercised over the city by the retainers of the Prince, to Muḥammad son of Sabā son of Abu Su'ūd son of Zuray'. Muḥammad ibn Sabā, in fear for his own safety, fled to Dhu Jiblah and placed himself under the protection of Manṣūr ibn al-Mufaḍḍal, the Sulayhite King of the Highlands of Yaman.

Al-A'azz died shortly after, and Bilal sent for Muhammad ibn Sabā, who thereupon came to Aden. A deed of investure had come from Egypt in the name of al-A'azz. The name of Muhammad ibn Saba was substituted for that of his predecessor. Among the titles of honour which the charter conferred were those of the Great, the Crowned, the Mighty Dā'y, the Sword of the Prince of the Faithful, all which were assumed by Muhammad. gave him his daughter in marriage and placed at his disposal the wealth he had accumulated in his treasury. After a time Bilal died leaving immense riches, which were inherited by Muhammad ibn Sabā and which he devoted to great and benevolent objects. He purchased the fortress of Dhu Jiblah. the residence of the Sulavhite kings, from Mansur ibn al-Mufaddal ibn Abi 'l-Barakat, as we have already mentioned, and he married Savvidah (read Arwa) the daughter of ('Aly son of?) 'Abd Allah the Sulavhite. Muhammad died in A.H. 548 and was succeeded by his son 'Imran son of Muhammad son of Sabā. The affairs of his government were condueted by Yāsir son of Bilāl, and Imrān died in 118 л.н. 560, leaving two infant sons, Muhammad and Abu Su'ūd. Yāsir confined them to the palace, and

exercised supreme power over the State.

He was greatly enlogized and was liberal in his rewards to the poets. Among those who came to his court and wrote in his praise, was Ibn Kalāķis

al-Bayhaki claim to be descended from Ma'n ibn Zā'idah, and who possessed themselves of the city in the days of al-Ma'mūn. They refused submission to the Banu Ziyād, who were obliged to content themselves with having the Khutbah and coinage in their names.

When the Da'y 'Aly ibn Muhammad as-Sulayhi conquered Yaman, he maintained in favour of the Banu Ma'n the protection due to them as Arabs, and imposed upon them the payment of a fixed tribute. But his son Ahmad al-Mukarram expelled the Banu Ma'n from the city and appointed over it 117 the Banu 'l-Karam, a family belonging to his tribe, that of Jusham ibn Yām, a subdivision of the Banu Hamdan. That family was the most nearly related to him in the tribe. The province remained under their rule for a time, but discord arose among them and they became divided into two parties, the family of Mas'ud son of al-Karam, and the descendants of Zuray' son of al-'Abbās son of al-Karam. The latter after severe fighting prevailed over their opponents.

Ibn Sa'id says that the member of the dynasty who first attained celebrity, was the Dā'y Saba son of Abu Su'ūd son of az-Zuray'. He was the first to exercise undivided power over the State, after the disappearance of the Sulayhite supremacy. and his children inherited the throne. attacked by the son of his uncle, 'Aly son of Abu'l Gharat son of Mas'ud son of al-Karam, lord of Za'āzi'. He (Saba) wrested Aden from his ('Aly's) hands, after the infliction of much suffering and at the cost of a heavy expenditure of money on the desert Arabs. He died in A.H. 533, seven months after the capture of the city. He was succeeded by his son al-A'azz, whose place of abode was the castle of ad-Dumluwah, the fortress, which (by reason of its great strength) no enemy ever desires

conditions. The Prince was slain in A.H. 553 and the Sharīf Aḥmad was proclaimed King. But he was unable to withstand ibn Mahdy and fled under cover of night. 'Aly ibn Mahdy possessed himself of the city in 554, and the dynasty of Najāḥ came to an end. Perpetuity belongeth unto God!

116

Abu l'-Jaysh ibn Ziyād.

Rashid the Abyssinian, his freedman.

Hasan (read Husayn) ibn Salamah the Nubian, his freedman.

Marjān, his freedman.

I. Najāḥ, his freedman.

II. Sa'īd.

III. Jayyāsh.

'Abd al-Wāḥid.

Ibrahīm.

IV. Fātik.

Mu'ārik.

Muhammad.

V. Manşūr.

VII. Fātik.

THE HISTORY OF THE DYNASTY OF THE BANU ZURAY' AT ADEN, DA'YS OF THE 'OBAYDITES IN YAMAN, OF ITS RISE AND PROGRESS.

VI. Fatik.

ADEN is one of the strongest cities of Yaman. It is situated on the shores of the Indian Ocean, and has ever been a city of trade since the days of the Tubbas. Most of its inhabitants' houses are constructed of reeds, and in consequence thereof fires frequently break out at night.

In the early years of Islām it was the seat of government of the Banu Ma'n, who according to

from him, she consented, but having surrendered herself to him, she brought about his death by means of a cloth saturated with poison, which caused his flesh to waste away. This occurred in the year 524. He was succeeded in the guardianship of the young Prince, by Zurayk (or Ruzayk), a freedman of the family of Najāh.

'Omārah says of Zurayk that he was a sagacious man, remarkable for his bravery and fitness to command, and father of many children. After a time he became enfeebled, but no one succeeded to a firm hold of his office until the appointment, as wazīr, of Surūr the Abyssinian, who was surnamed al-Fātiki, and who was one of the freedmen in the personal service of the mother of Fātik.

According to 'Omarah, Fatik son of Mansur died in A.H. 531. He was succeeded by the son of his paternal uncle, Fātik son of Muhammad son of Fatik, with Surur as his wazir, the conductor of the affairs of the realm and of the wars with his enemies. Surur was a constant attendant at the Mosque, where he was at length slain by an assassin, whom 'Aly ibn Mahdy the Khārijite employed for the purpose, and who killed him whilst he was engaged in the afternoon prayer on Friday, 12th Safar, 551. The people rose to attack the impious murderer. He killed several attendants of the mosque, but was overpowered and slain. The freedmen of the family of Najāh were thrown into a state of con-They were attacked by 'Aly ibn Mahdy sternation. the Khārijite, who fought many battles with them and besieged them for a long period of time. They besought assistance of the Sharif al-Mansur Ahmad ibn Hamzah the Suleymānite, who ruled over He consented to help them, on condition of their raising him to the throne after killing their master Fātik ibn Muḥammad. They agreed to his of Abu 't-Tāmi (the Exalted), and was celebrated for

his justice.

He was succeeded by his son al-Fātik, who, however, was opposed by his two brothers, Ibrahīm and 'Abd al-Wāḥid. A struggle took place between him and his two brothers, in which he eventually

triumphed. He perished in the year 503.

His slaves raised to the throne his son Mansūr ibn Fātik, a boy below the age of puberty, and they conducted the affairs of his kingdom; but the Prince's uncle Ibrahīm came forth to attack him, and the slaves prepared troops to defend their own and the young Prince's authority. His other uncle 'Abd al-Wāḥid thereupon rose in the city. Mansūr sent to al-Mufaḍḍal son of Abu 'l-Barakāt Prince of Ta'kar, who came professedly to his assistance, but concealing treacherous designs. He heard that the people of Ta'kar had revolted against him, and turned back.

Manşûr remained king of Zabīd until one of his slaves, Abu Manşûr Mann Allah, was appointed his

wazīr and poisoned him, in the year 517.

Mann Allah raised to the throne the Prince's son Fātik, a young child, in whose name he governed the kingdom. The wazīr was accused of attempting the honour of the women of the family of Najah, so that even the mother of the infant king Fatik fled from him, and took up her residence outside the city. Mann Allah was enterprising and brave, and he is celebrated for his wars with the enemy. 115 attacked by Ibn Najib (ad-Daulah), the Dā'v of the Alides, against whom he successfully defended himself. It is he who erected stately colleges at Zabīd for the study of Jurisprudence. He also applied himself to the protection of the pilgrims and it was he that built the walls of the city. But after a time he addressed solicitations to the daughter of Mu'arik son of Jayyash. Perceiving no means of escape and the wazīr Khalf proceeded in advance to Zabīd, where he spread a report of the death of Jayyāsh, and obtained an amnesty for himself. Jayyāsh also came to Zabīd, but remained in concealment.

The Governor of Zabid at that time was As'ad ibn Shihāb, the maternal uncle of al-Mukarram, 114 and along with him 'Aly ibn al-Kunm, wazīr of al-Mukarram. This man entertained feelings of intense hatred against al-Mukarram and his dynasty. The wazīr Khalf contrived to win his confidence and played chess with Husayn the son of 'Aly. After a time he played with the father. won his favour and then revealed to him the plans he had conceived touching the government, informing him that he was an adherent of the family of Najāh. Whilst playing, Khalf was one day speaking in a manner calculated to stimulate the dislike of his hosts to the Sulayhites,\* when 'Aly ibn al-Kumm overheard him. 'Aly questioned him and Khalf revealed his purpose, swearing him secrecy. During that time Jayyash was collecting his Abyssinian followers and spending money upon them, until they gathered to the number of five thousand men. He then suddenly, in the year 482, rose in insurrection at Zabīd. He seized the Government House, but treated As'ad ibn Shihāb with kindness, in consideration of the infirmities with which he was afflicted, and set him at liberty. Jayyash became King of Zabid and of Tihamah and instituted the Khutbah in the name of the 'Abbasides, whilst the Sulayhites recited it in the name of the 'Obaydites. Al-Mukarram unceasingly sent the Arabs on predatory expeditions against Zabid, until Jayyash died at the commencement (read at the end) of the fifth century. He bore the surname

<sup>\*</sup> I have read انتى instead of النجى, but Ibn Khaldūn's story, it will be observed, is not perfectly clear, nor is it consistent with 'Omārah's narrative.

twenty thousand Abyssinians. Al-Mukarram issued forth from San'ā, and put the enemy to flight. He turned their position so as to intercept the road to Zabīd, and Sa'īd fled to the Island of Dahlak.

Al-Mukarram entered Zabīd and proceeded to his mother, whom he found seated at the casement near which were exposed the heads of aṣ-Ṣulayḥi and of his brother. He took them down and buried them. And he appointed over Zabīd his maternal uncle As'ad in the year 497 (read 475). He then departed for Ṣan'ā, but Sa'īd subsequently returned to Zabīd in A.H. 479.

Al-Mukarram wrote to Abu 'Abd Allah ibn Ya'fur (read Abu 'Abd Allah al-Husayn), Lord of the fortress of Sha'ir, desiring him to incite Sa'id against himself, to urge upon him the capture of Dhu Jiblah and to represent, as the motive of his action, that al-Mukarram was absorbed in the pursuit of pleasure, that he lived in a state of subjection to his wife Sayvidah daughter of Ahmad, and that he was afflicted with paralysis. The artifice was crowned with success. Sa'id came forth at the head of thirty thousand Abyssinians, and al-Mukarram prepared an ambush for him below the castle Sa'id fell a victim to treachery. of Sha'ir. troops were routed and he himself killed. head was put up at Zabid on the spot, close to the casement, where the head of as-Sulayhi was formerly exposed. Al-Mukarram became master of the city of Zabīd, and its subjection to the Abyssinians ceased. Jayyash fled accompanied by his brother's wazir Khalf son of Abu 'Lāhir the Marwān-They entered Aden in disguise and thence they proceeded to India, where they remained for six months. They met in that country a diviner, who came from (the island of) Sarandib and who cheered them with happy predictions concerning their future fortunes. They returned to Yaman

who, however, made no attempt to defend him. His troops were scattered and as-Sulayhi was killed, falling, it is said, at the hands of Jayyash. This occurred in the year 473. 'Abd Allah as-Sulayhi brother of 'Aly, was likewise killed, as well as one hundred and seventy men of the family of Sulayhi, and 'Aly's wife Asmā, daughter of his uncle Shihāb, was captured together with thirty-five Kahtanite kings, who had been deprived of their dominion in Yaman. Sa'id sent to the troops that had been despatched against himself and against his brother, granted them an amnesty and took them into his own service. He then marched upon Zabid, which was ruled by As'ad ibn Shihāb the brother of Asmā, wife of as-Sulayhi. As'ad fled to San'ā, and Sa'īd made his entrance into Zabid with Asmā, the wife of as-Sulaylii, borne in front of him in a litter, close to which were carried the heads of 'Aly and of his brother. He placed Asmā in the palace of Zabīd, and set up the two heads opposite the casement of her apartment. The hearts of the people were filled with dread, and Sa'id assumed the title of Nasir ad-113 Daulah (Defender of the State).

The commanders of the fortresses made themselves masters of the places that had been entrusted to them. At San'ā, al-Mukarram son of as-Sulayhi, was thrown into a state of stupor and

all but utter helplessness.

His mother Asmā wrote to him from Zabīd, stimulating and inciting him: "I am great with child," she wrote, "by Saʿīd. Come therefore unto me, before disgrace light upon thee and upon the whole Arab nation." Al-Mukarram thereupon contrived to instigate Saʿīd son of Najāḥ into an attack upon Ṣanʿā, employing as his medium one of the commanders on the frontier, and flattering Saʿīd with promises of victory. 109

Sa'id consequently advanced at the head of

THE HISTORY OF THE DOMINION, AT ZABĪD, OF THE BANU NAJĀH, FREEDMEN OF THE BANU ZIYĀD, THEIR EARLY CAREER AND THE VICISSITUDES THEY UNDERWENT.

'Aly Aş-Sulayıı, as has been related, gained possession of Zabīd from the hands of Kahlan, after having destroyed him (read Najāḥ) by poison in а.н. 452 with the assistance of the slave girl he had sent him.

Najāḥ had three sons, Mu'ārik, Sa'īd and Jayyāsh. Mu'ārik committed suicide, and the two remaining brother stook refuge in the Island of Dahlak, where they abode, occupying themselves in the study of the Kur'ān and of literature. After a time Sa'īd departed, in anger with his brother Jayyāsh, and returned to Zabīd, where he concealed himself in a cave, which he dug for himself in the ground. He then sent for his brother Jayyāsh, who joined him and they remained together in concealment.

It next happened that the Hāshimite Amīr of Mecca, Muḥammad ibn Ja'far, having renounced the supremacy of the 'Obaydite Khalifah of Egypt al-Mustanṣir, the latter wrote to aṣ-Ṣulayḥi, commanding him to make war upon the Amīr and to compel him to maintain the Alide supremacy at Mecca. 'Aly aṣ-Ṣulayḥi accordingly marched from Ṣan'ā, and thereupon Sa'īd and his brother issued forth from their hiding-place. Aṣ-Ṣulayḥi obtaining intelligence thereof, despatched against them a force of about five thousand horsemen,\* with orders to put the two brothers to death. But Sa'īd and Jayyāsh avoided the troops and went in pursuit of aṣ-Ṣulayḥi and his army. They made a night attack upon him at al-Mahjam, which he had reached on his way to

Mecca. He had with him five thousand Abyssinians†
\* Read Abyssinians. See *supra*, p. 83.

<sup>†</sup> See supra, p. 30.

Manṣūr, the son of al-Mufaḍḍal son of Abu'l-Barakāt, became possessed of Dhu Jiblah, and held the fortress until he sold it to the Zuray'ite Dā'y, the ruler of Aden, as will hereafter be related. He established his residence in the stronghold of Ashyaḥ, which had formerly belonged to the Dā'y al-Manṣūr Sabā son of Aḥmad.

Al-Manṣūr Sabā had died in A.H. 486 (read 492), after which discord arose among his children. His son 'Aly succeeded in gaining possession of the castle of Ashyaḥ. He gave annoyance to al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Abi 'l-Barakāt and to the Lady Sayyidah, and they felt themselves helpless against him, until al-Mufaḍḍal at length contrived, by means of poison concealed in a quince, to bring about the

death of his enemy.

The family of Abu 'l-Barakāt possessed itself of the fortresses of the Banu Muzaffar, and al-Mufaddal died soon afterwards, as has been related. Sayvidah undertook the guardianship of his son Mansur, who did not hold independent authority. But upon his advancing in years, he became possessed of the dominion held by his father over the fortress of Ta'kar and its castles, over Dhu Jiblah and its fortresses, and of that formerly exercised by the Banu Muzaffar over Ashyah and its fortresses. After a time he sold the castle of Dhu Jiblah to the Zuray'ite Dā'y, the Prince of Aden, for 100,000 dinars, and he continued to sell his fortresses, one after the other, until none remained unto him but that of Ta'izz, of which he was deprived by 'Aly son of Mahdy, after he had reigned for eighty years and had attained the age of one hundred.\* And God, be He magnified and exalted, possesseth supreme knowledge of the truth.

<sup>\*</sup> See Note 56, the latter part, and Note 99.

of the Banu Yām, the tribe to which the Sulayhites belonged.\* He invited his allies of the tribe of Janb to join him. He appointed an abode for them at Dhu Jiblah, close to his own place of residence, and they supported him in warlike enter-

prises.

Savvidah was in the habit of spending the summer at Ta'kar, where she kept her treasury and valuables. On the approach of winter she returned to Dhu Jiblah. After a time al-Mufaddal remained alone in possession at Ta'kar, without interruption to their friendly intercourse. He departed to make war upon the family of Najāh. A Jurist, who bore the surname of al-Jamal, seized the opportunity to raise an insurrection in the castle of Taikar, assisted by several (or seven) other men of his profession, one of whom was Ibrahim ibn Zeydan, paternal uncle of 'Omarah the poet. They swore allegiance to al-Jamal, on the condition that he should put an end to the supremacy of the Imamites. Al-Mufaddal hastening back besieged them, and the Banu Khaulān came to the assistance of the rebels. Mufaddal adopted a conciliatory and temporizing policy towards the Khaulanites, but perished in the course of the siege, in A.H. 504.

The Lady Sayyidah thereupon came to the spot and prevailed upon the Khaulānites to enter into an alliance, the terms of which she faithfully observed. She constituted herself guardian of the family and son of al-Mufaḍḍal. The castle of Ta'kar passed into the hands of Imrān ibn az-Zarr the Khaulānite and of his brother Suleymān, and Imrān acquired the influence formerly exercised by al-Mufaḍḍal over the Lady Sayyidah. At her death, he and his brother remained sole masters of the castle of Ta'kar.

<sup>\* &#</sup>x27;Omarah speaks of Abu 'l-Barakat as a Himyarite.

pleasure, living in a state of seclusion with his wife. When on the point of death in 484, he bequeathed his dignities to the son of his paternal uncle, al-Mansur Saba son of Ahmad son of al-Muzaffar son of 'Aly as-Sulaylii, Lord of the fortress of Ashvah. 108 He was invested by al-Mustansir the 'Obaydite and made that fortress his place of 110 residence, whilst Sayyidah daughter of Ahmad remained at Dhu Jiblah. He sought her in marriage, but she refused, whereupon he laid siege to the castle she inhabited. Her uterine brother Sulevmān ibn 'Āmir az-Zawāhi assured him that she would not consent, unless commanded by al-Mustansir the Egyptian Khalifah. Al-Mansūr accordingly made application to al-Mustansir, who complied with his request. A eunuch arrived from the Court of the Khalifah, and acquainted the Princess with the purpose of his mission. He recited to her the verse: Unto no believer, male nor female, belongeth liberty of choice when the decree of God and of His Apostle hath gone forth.\* "The Prince of the Faithful," he continued, "marries thee to the Dā'y Mansur Abu Himyar Saba son of Ahmad son of al-Muzaffar, and appoints unto thee a dowry of one hundred thousand dinars in money and fifty thousand dinārs in articles of rarity and value." The contract of marriage was entered into and Saba proceeded from the fortress of Ashyah to Dhu Jiblah, and joined his wife in the Dar al-'Izz. It is said that she sent him a slave girl who bore an exceeding resemblance to herself, that the girl stood at the head of his couch, and that he never raised his eyes unto her until morning, when he returned to Ashyah, whilst the Princess remained at Dhu Jiblah.

The person possessed of paramount influence over the Queen was al-Mufaddal ibn Abi 'l-Barakāt

<sup>\*</sup> Kur'ān, Ş. xxxiii. v. 36

She conducted the affairs of his kingdom. After a time, As'ad ibn Shihāb having collected the tribute of Tihāmah, transmitted it under the charge of his wazīr Aḥmad ibn Sālim, and Asmā distributed the money among the envoys from the Arab tribes. She died in A.H. 477,\* and in 479, al-Mukarram lost possession of Zabīd, which was recovered by Sa'īd ibn Najāḥ. Al-Mukarram removed to Dhu Jiblah in 480 and appointed over

San'ā 'Imrān ibn al-Fadl the Hamdanite.

'Imran became independent and transmitted the sovereignty to his descendants. His son Ahmad assumed the title of Sultan, under which he acquired great celebrity. He was succeeded by his son Hātim son of Almad, but after him there was at San'ā no Prince of any renown, until the city was conquered by the Suleymanites, upon that family being overcome at Mecca by the Hashimites, as is mentioned in their history.† Dhu Jiblah is a city founded by 'Abd Allah son of Muhammad as-Sulayhi in the year 458. Al-Mukarram removed thither by the advice of his wife Sayvidah daughter of Ahmad, who acquired the direction of the affairs of his kingdom, after the death of his mother Asmā. He made Dhu Jiblah his place of residence and built in that city the Dar al-'Izz (the abode of Majesty). He applied himself to contrive the death of Sa'id ibn Najāh and succeeded in his design, as we will relate in the history of Ibn Najāh.

Al-Mukarram became absorbed in the pursuit of

\* Read 479. See supra, p. 37.

<sup>†</sup> See infra, p. 187 and Note 130. It is hardly necessary to add that the Suleymanites never conquered San'ā. Ibn Khaldūn, misled, it would appear by Ibn Sa'īd, has hopelessly confused the Suleymanites and Rassites. But it will indeed be seen that the Rassite Imāms themselves did not at the period referred to, nor for long after it, become permanently possessed of San'ā. And Ibn Khaldūn's statement touching 'Imrān ibn al-Fadl and his descendants, is likewise incorrect. See Note 8, the latter part.

have mentioned, he brought about the death of Najāḥ, freedman of the Ziyādites and King of Zabīd, by means of a slave girl, he sent as a present to the Prince.

He then proceeded to Mecca by command of al-Mustanṣir the ruler of Egypt, for the purpose of putting an end to the 'Abbaside supremacy and to the rulership of the Ḥasanites. He appointed his son, al-Mukarram Aḥmad, his deputy at Ṣan'ā, and he took with him his wife Asmā daughter of Shihāb, as also the kings who had their abode with him, such as Ibn al-Kurandi, Ibn Ya'fur at-Tubba'y, Wā'il ibn 'Isa al-Wuḥāzy, and others. Sa'īd ibn Najāḥ made a night attack upon him at al-Mahjam and killed him. This happened in A.H. 463 (read 473).

He was succeeded by his son al-Mukarram Ahmad, who possessed himself of supreme power and established himself at San'ā. His mother. 109 Asmā daughter of Shihāb, had been captured by Sa'id ibn Najah, on the night of the attack. sent a letter to her son al-Mukarram. "I am with child," she wrote, "by the squint-eyed slave Sa'id, al-Ahwal. Come to me before my delivery, or disgrace will ensue, such as time will never efface." Al-Mukarram started from San'ā in the year 475, at the head of three thousand men. The Abyssinians numbered twenty thousand, but he routed Sa'id ibn Najāh fled to the Island of Dahlak. Al-Mukarram presented himself to his mother, who was seated in the archway (or casement) near which the heads of as-Sulayhi and of his brother were displayed. He took them down and buried them, and unsheathed the sword in vengeance against the city. He re-instated his maternal uncle As'ad ibn Shihāb over Tihāmah as before, giving him Zabīd for his place of residence, and he then departed with his mother for San'a.

'Aly studied under the directions of the Dā'y and received his teaching. When the youth's merits and talent became manifest, the Dā'y showed him his name and particulars describing him, set forth in the book. "Take care of your son," he said to the Ķāḍi, "for he will be ruler over the whole of Yaman."

'Aly grew up a Jurist noted for piety. For fifteen years he was leader of the pilgrimage by way of Tā'if and the Sarawāt. He attained a great reputation, his name became widely known, and people commonly spoke of him as Sultan of Yaman. Dā'y 'Āmir az-Zawāhi died bequeathing to him his writings and appointing him his successor. led the caravan of pilgrims in A.H. 428, according to his previous custom, and during the celebration of the ceremonies of the Mausim,\* he assembled certain men belonging to his tribe, that of Hamdan, who had accompanied him, and called upon them for their assistance and support. They consented and allegiance to him. They were sixty in number, ranking among the most manly members of the tribe.

On his return, he established himself at Masār, a fortress on the summit of one of the mountains of Ḥarāz, which he strengthened. His power waxed great, and he wrote to al-Mustanṣir, then ruling in Egypt, requesting to be allowed to make open proclamation of the 'Obaydite doctrines. He received the desired permission and carried his design into effect. He made himself master of the whole of Yaman, and took up his residence at Ṣan'ā, where he built palaces and made the Yamanite Kings, whom he had conquered, take up their abode beside him. He drove forth the Banu Ṭarf, Kings of 'Aththar and Tihāmah, and in A.H. 452, as we

<sup>\*</sup> Between the 8th and 13th of the month of Dhu 'l-Hijjah.

Kays (Nafīs) and his master Marjān in the place of the child and its aunt. He assumed paramount authority and the coinage was struck in his name. He wrote to the supreme council of the Khalifah at Baghdad, and was formally appointed to rule over Yaman. He continued to exercise absolute sway over Tihāmah and the highlands. and he abolished in the mountain districts, the authority of the rulers appointed by Hasan (Husayn) ibn Salāmah. The neighbouring kings dreaded his power, and he continued in the enjoyment of that high estate until his assassination by 'Aly as-Sulayhi, the representative of the 'Obaydites, who encompassed his death, in A.H. 452, by means of poison administered by a female slave he sent to the King.

Najāḥ was succeeded at Zabīd by his freedman Kahlān. Afterwards aṣ-Ṣulayḥi possessed himself of the city and ruled over it, as will be related.

THE HISTORY OF THE BANU 'S-SULAYHI, WHO RULED UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF THE 'OBAYDITES, AND PROPAGATED THEIR SUPREMACY IN YAMAN.

The Kāḍi Muḥammad ibn 'Aly the Hamdānite, surnamed aṣ-Ṣulayḥi, was the chief of Ḥarāz in the country of the Hamdānites. He was descended from the tribe of the Banu Yām, and there grew up unto him a son named 'Aly. The office of Dā'y for the 'Obaydites was at that time held by 'Āmir son of 'Abd Allah az-Zawāḥi (the Zawāhite), so 108 named after a village in Ḥarāz. It was said that he possessed the book al-Jafr, one of the treasures, it was represented, of the 'Obaydite Imāms, and it was pretended that the name of 'Aly, son of the Ḥāḍi Muḥammad, was mentioned in the book.

or Nubian freedman to another. They acquired absolute control over the state, and the Ziyadite dynasty at length came to an end in A.H. 407 (read

409).

The child died and was succeeded by another, also of the family of the Banu Ziyad, younger than his predecessor. Ibn Sa'id remarks that 107 'Omarah knew not his name, in consequence of the absolute control exercised over the Prince by the chamberlains. He means 'Omarah, the historian of Yaman. It is, however, said that this second child bore the name of Ibrahim. He was placed under the guardianship of his aunt and of Marian one of the freedmen of Hasan (Husayn) ibn Salamah. Marjan became possessed of supreme power. He had two freedmen, Kays \* and Najāh. He placed the infant Prince, the nominal King, under the care of Kays (Nafis), who was appointed to reside at Zabid along with the child. Najāh he appointed over all the provinces other than Zabid, including the cities of al-Kadrā and al-Mahjam. preferred Kays (Nafis) to Najāh, between whom jealousy consequently arose. It was stated to Kays (Nafīs) that the child's aunt favoured Najāh, and was in secret correspondence with him. seized her (and the child), with the concurrence of his master Marjan, and buried them alive. He assumed exclusive and supreme power, adopted the use of the royal umbrella, and put his own name on the coinage.

In extreme anger at what had occurred, Najaḥ placed himself at the head of an army, and marched against Ķays (Nafīs), who came forth to meet him. Several engagements and battles took place and Ķays (Nafīs) was eventually defeated and killed, along with five thousand men of his army. Najāḥ gained possession of Zabīd in A.H. 412, and buried

<sup>\*</sup> See Note 13, last par.

Yaman. Muḥammad (read 'Aly) ibn al-Fadlestablished his authority in their name, in A.H. 340, over Aden Lā'ah and over the highlands of Yaman, as far as Mount Mudhaykhirah.

The country that remained subject to Abu 'l-Jaysh extended from ash-Sharjah to Aden, twenty days' journey, and from his own province to San'ā, five days' journey. When Muḥammad ('Aly) ibn al-Fadl overcame him by spreading recognition of the 'Obaydite supremacy in Yaman, the rulers of the outlying provinces cast off their allegiance to Abu 'l-Jaysh. Among them were the Banu As'ad ibn Ya'fur at Ṣan'ā, Suleyman ibn Tarf at 'Aththar and the Imām ar-Rassy at Ṣa'dah. Abu 'l-Jaysh adopted a conciliatory policy with them.

He perished in A.H. 371. He had extended his kingdom and had increased its revenues. Ibn Sa'īd says that he had examined a statement according to which the revenues of Abu 'l-Jaysh amounted to 1,366,000 'Asharīyah dinārs,\* besides duties levied upon the shipping from Sind, upon ambergris arriving at Bāb al-Mandeb and at Aden-Abyan, on the pearl fisheries, and besides the taxes collected in the Island of Dahlak, which included one thousand slaves. The Kings of Abyssinia, on the opposite shores, were in the habit of offering him presents, and sought his friendship.

At his death he left a young child of the name of 'Abd Allah or Ibrahīm or, as is also said, of the name of Ziyād. His sister and his freedman Rashīd the Abyssinian became the guardians of the child. Rashīd appointed over the highlands his mamluk Ḥasan (Ḥusayn) ibn Salāmah the Nubian. Thenceforth the office of wazīr passed from one Abyssinian

<sup>\*</sup> Read: Amounted in A.H. 366 to one million 'Aththariyah dinārs. It will be observed that Ibn Sa'īd's statement is simply appropriated from 'Omārah, who, as we have seen, borrowed his information from Ibn Ḥaukal. (Note 12.)

was under the rule of Suleyman ibn Tarf, who also submitted.

Muḥammad ibn Ziyād perished, and he was succeeded by his son Ibrahīm. Then followed Ziyād son of Ibrahīm, then the brother of Ziyād, Abu 'l-Jaysh Iṣḥāk son of Ibrahīm. His reign endured for a long period, until he attained the age of eighty years. 'Omārah says that he reigned eighty years over Yaman, Ḥaḍramaut and the maritime islands. When Abu 'l-Jaysh heard of the assassination of the Khalīfah al-Mutawakkil and afterwards of the abdication of al-Musta'īn (A.H. 252) and of the subjection of the Khalīfate to the Turkish freedmen, he discontinued the payment of tribute, and when riding forth, he caused a canopy to be borne over his head, according to the usage of the independent Persian kings. 106

Under his reign Yaḥya son of al-Ḥusayn son of al-Ḥusayn ar-Rassy son of Ibrahīm Ṭabāṭabā arose in Yaman proclaiming the supremacy of the Zaydites. 107 He came from Sind, whither his grandfather al-Ḥāsim had fled, upon the suppression of the insurrection led by his brother Muḥammad and by Abu 's-Sarāya, of which we have related the

history.

Al-Kāsim sought refuge in Sind and there his son Husayn and his grandson Yahya were born. Yahya appeared in Yaman in A.H. 288 and proceeded to 106 Sa'dah, where he made open profession of the doctrines of the Zaydites. He then marched upon San'ā and wrested it from the hands of As'ad ibn Ya'fur, but the Banu Ya'fur recaptured the city and Yahya returned to Sa'dah. His followers gave him the title of Inām and his descendants occupy the country at the present day. We have herein before related their history.\*

It was likewise in the days of Abu'l-Jaysh, that the claims of the 'Obaydites were proclaimed in

<sup>\*</sup> Infra, p. 184.

THE DYNASTY OF ZIYAD UNDER THE SUPREMACY OF THE ABBASIDES.

Among the leading men of Yaman sent up to al-Ma'mun there was one, Muhammad son of Zivad. a descendant of 'Obayd Allah son of Ziyad son of Abu Sufyan. He propitiated the Khalifah, and 105 having engaged to protect Yaman against the Alides, he won his favour and was appointed to the government of the province, where he arrived in A.H. 203. He conquered the Tihamah of Yaman, that is to say, the western country adjoining the sea-coast, and founded there the city of Zabid, which became his place of residence and the capital of his kingdom. He appointed over the highlands his freedman Ja'far. Tihamah was conquered after a struggle with the Arab tribes, and they were subjected to a stipulation that they should not make use of riding horses. Ibn Ziyad became sovereign of the whole of Yaman. His authority was recognized in the provinces of Hadramaut, ash-Shihr and Diyar (the country of the) Banu Kindah, and he acquired the power and dignity formerly enjoyed by the Tubbas (the ancient Kings of Yaman).

There existed at Ṣan'ā, the chief city of Yaman, the Banu Ya'fur; descendants of Ḥimyar, one of the noblest families that had survived the rule of the Tubbas. They exercised supreme authority over the city and owned allegiance to the Abbasides. Besides Ṣan'ā they possessed Bayḥān, Najrān,\* and Jurash. The last of the family were As'ad ibn Ya'fur and, next after him, his brother Muḥammad. The Banu Ya'fur recognized the supremacy of Ibn Ziyād.

'Aththar, likewise one of the kingdoms of Yaman,

<sup>\*</sup> See infra, p. 172, and 'Omārah, supra, p. 6. The Paris MS. writes Tajrāt.

San'ā Fayrūz the Daylamite, who died а.н. 53. In A.H. 72, when 'Abd al-Malik sent al-Hajjāj against Ibn Zubayr, he named him governor of Yaman. When the dynasty of the 'Abbasides was established (the Khalifah Abu 'l-'Abbas 'Abd Allah) as-Saffah appointed over the province his uncle Dā-ūd ibn 'Aly, and upon Dā-ūd's death, in A.H. 133, he replaced him by Muhammad, son of his maternal uncle Yazid (read Ziyād), son of 'Obayd Allah son

(descendant) of 'Abd al-Madan.

Thenceforward the governorship passed successively from one ruler to another, all of whom established their residence at San'a, until the accession of al-Ma'mun to the Khalifate. The missionaries of the Talibites appeared in the provinces, and Abu 's-Sarāya, of the Banu Shaybān, proclaimed in 'Irāk the supremacy of Muhammad ibn Ibrahim Tabataba, son of Isma'il, son of Ibrahim, the latter, brother (read uncle) of the Mahdi, an-Nafs az-Zakīyah (the pure in spirit), Muhammad, son of 'Abd Allah son of Hasan (son of Hasan son of 'Aly son of Abu Tālib). Disturbances increased in violence and Muhammad ibn Tabātabā appointed rulers over the various provinces. He was eventually killed, and Muhammad son of Ja'far as-Sādik was proclaimed in the Hijāz, whilst in Yaman, Ibrahim son of Mūsa al-Kāzim rebelled in A.H. 200.\* He did not succeed in his designs, and he was surnamed al-Jazzār Butcher), by reason of his blood-shedding disposi-Al-Ma'mun sent troops to Yaman, who subdued the country. They removed large numbers of the leading men, and Yaman acquired a settled condition, in the manner we will proceed to relate.

<sup>\*</sup> See Genealogical Table of Imams, Note 107.

al-'Ansi (the 'Ansite), how he drove the governors of the Prophet out of Yaman, how he marched upon San'ā, possessed himself of the city, how he slew Shahr son of Badhan, took his wife in marriage, made himself master of the greater part of Yaman, and how most of its people apostatized. The Prophet wrote to his followers and deputies, as also to all who had steadfastly adhered to the faith. Through the medium of Fayruz son of her uncle, they entered into communication with the wife of Shahr, whom al-Aswad had married. The leading part, in these occurrences, was taken by Kays ibn 'Abd Yaghūth,\* the Murādite. He, Fayrūz and Dadhwayh came to al-Aswad by night, with the concurrence of his wife, and slew him. governors of the Prophet returned to their provinces, and this occurred shortly before the Prophet's death.

Kays became sole ruler at Ṣan'ā and he collected together the scattered soldiery of al-Aswad. Abu Bakr appointed Fayrūz and the Abnas who owned his authority, over Yaman, and commanded the of people to obey him. Fayrūz attacked Kays ibn

Makshūh and put him to flight.<sup>104</sup>

Abu Bakr then appointed al-Muhājir ibn Abi Umayyah to be commander in the war against the apostates of Yaman, and likewise 'Ukrimah ibn Abi Jahl, who was ordered to commence by operating against the apostates of 'Omān, and then to join al-Muhājir. At a later date, Yaman was placed under the government of Ya'la ibn Munyah. He afterwards joined 'A'ishah at Mecca, whence he accompanied her and took part in the battle of the Camel.<sup>105</sup>

'Aly appointed over Yaman 'Obayd Allah ibn 'Abbās, and then 'Obayd Allah's brother 'Abd Allah. Afterwards Mu'awīyah appointed over

 <sup>\*</sup> Also known as Ibn Makshūḥ.

## 103 THE HISTORY OF YAMAN

EXTRACTED FROM THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

## 'ABD AR-RAHMAN IBN KHALDŪN.

THE HISTORY OF YAMAN AND OF THE ISLAMITIC STATES THAT HAVE EXISTED THEREIN SUBJECT TO THE 'ABBASIDES AND 'OBAYDITES, AND OF ALL ITS ARAB KINGS, A GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THEIR RISE AND VICISSITUDES, FOLLOWED BY SEPARATE HISTORICAL NOTICES, UNDER THE HEADING OF EACH CITY AND KINGDOM OF THE COUNTRY, ONE BY ONE.

We have related, in the latter part of the Prophetical History, how Yaman became part of the Islamitic Empire, through the submission of Badhān, its governor under Kisra (Chosroes), to Islām. The people were converted along with him, and the Prophet appointed him Amīr over all its provinces. His residence was at Ṣan'ā, the seat of government of the ancient kings, the Tubbas. When the Prince died, after the Farewell Pilgrimage, the Prophet (may God bless him and hail him with salutations of peace) divided Yaman among provincial governors, subject to himself, and appointed Shahr son of Badhān over Ṣan'ā.

We have likewise related the story of al-Aswad

Soon after the sceptre departed from the hands of our Lord al-Āmir, and al-Ḥafiz succeeded. The first edict that reached the Queen from him purported to proceed from the appointed heir to the Empire of the Muslims.

In the second year of the Prince of the Faithful, the Queen appointed the noble Dā'y Ibrahīm ibn

al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥāmidi.

She next transferred the office of Dā'y on behalf of the Khalīfah al-Ḥāfiz to the family of Zuray'. "Sufficient," said the Queen, "for the Banu aṣ-Ṣulayḥi, is that which they know respecting (the fate of?) our Lord at-Tayyib." \*

Then the office was held by his son Hātim ibn Ibrahīm ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥāmidi, until that time.

It was transferred under the reign of al-Ḥāfiz to the family of Zuray'. One of them (or, the first) was the unparagoned Amīr Saba son of Abu Su'ūd, son of Zuray' son of al-'Abbas the Yāmite, who combined the office of Dā'y with sovereign rule. He was succeeded by his son, the great, the crowned, the powerful Dā'y, Dā'y of the Prince of the Faithful, Muḥammad son of Saba, in whose hands likewise the functions of Dā'y and the royal office were combined.

We have now, in this abridgment, supplied an abstract of the history of the kings of the country of Yaman and of the Dā'ys.

End of the auspicious history. Praise be to God, by whose grace all good works are brought to completion.

<sup>\*</sup> See Note 102. It will be noticed that in Janadi we find the verb على to do instead of على to know.

dynasty of the Fāṭimites. God hath brought him forth from the lineage of the Prophet, like as light is brought forth from light, and the Prince of the Faithful hath obtained, through his birth, showers of brilliant sparks proceeding from the flint and steel of felicity. He hath named him aṭ-Ṭayyib, for the sweetness of his nature, and he hath surnamed him Abu 'l-Kāsim, the surname of his ancestor the Prophet of true guidance, from whose substance his substance hath sprung.

The Prince of the Faithful praiseth God Most High for the grace he hath bestowed upon him by raising a shining star in the firmament of the Imperial dynasty and a light-giving orb in the empyrean of its glory, and for filling him with the thankfulness that tendeth to the continuance of God's mercies, and to an abundant downflow from the beneficent clouds of

His indulgence and goodness.

He prayeth that God may grant unto him, through the birth of this child, the accomplishment of his furthest hopes, that he may through him be linked with the Imāmate as long as day continues to be joined unto night; that God may make this child a refuge for the truly directed, a living proof against them that deny, a help unto them that are under constraint, a succourer unto them that seek assistance, an asylum to them that are in fear, and a source of happiness to the patient; that the world through him may attain its most abundant happiness and prosperity, and that each day, as it ariseth, may disclose its pearly teeth in smiles.

By reason of the lofty rank bestowed upon thee by the Prince of the Faithful and of thy position unequalled and unmatched, I make known unto thee these auspicious tidings, glorious and important and widely celebrated, that thou mayest abundantly rejoice thereat, and that thou mayest spread them among thy servants and divinely favoured people, that they may be equally known to them that are distant and to them that are near, that by knowledge of these tidings the necklace of happiness be strung, and that their sweet fragrance be exhaled as that of fresh aloes-wood from Mandal and of camphor.\* Be this known unto thee and make it known, with the permission of God Most High.

Written on the day above mentioned. May God bless his Apostle our Lord Muhammad and his family the pure Imāms, hail them with salutations of peace, exalt them and honour them unto the last day! 103

<sup>\*</sup> Mandal is said to be the name of a place in India (the Indian Archipelago?), celebrated for its aloes-wood.

as successor to the Imamate, (it was) conceived in the following terms:—

In the name of God the Merciful, the Gracious.

From the servant of God and His beloved, al-Mansur Abu

'Aly al-Amir bi-Ahkam Illah, Prince of the Faithful,

Unto the Honourable Lady, the Queen, the highly esteemed, the pure, the stainless, the unparagoned of her age, Sovereign Lady of the Kings of Yaman, the Pillar of Islām, the Special friend of the Imām, Treasure of the Faith, Support of the true believers, Refuge unto them that seek aid, Protectress of the truly directed, Favourite of the Prince of the Faithful, Guardian of his favoured servants. May God perpetuate her power and prosperity, and grant her increasing support and assistance. Peace be with thee!

The Prince of the Faithful praiseth God, than whom there is none other God but He, and prayeth Him to bless his 101 ancestor Muḥammad, the seal of the Prophets and Lord of the Apostles. May God bless him and his pure family the truly directed Imāms, and hail them with salutations of

peace.

And after. Verily the favours of God unto the Prince of the Faithful cannot be reckoned. Their magnitude is beyond all power of measurement and their limit cannot be defined. The mind of man cannot encompass them. For they are even as the clouds in the heavens, of which one departeth and another ever cometh, as the flashing rays of the sun that perpetually issue forth and envelop the earth, and as the lion whose visits are unceasing, who cometh in the morning

and returneth in the shadows of evening.

But God's noblest gift to the Prince of the Faithful, the greatest and the most widely renowned, the most brilliant in honour and distinction, is that recently conferred upon him by the birth of a child, pure and highly prized, virtuous and pious, on the night that ushered in the dawn of Sunday the fourth of the month of Rabī'u 'l-Ākhir of the year 524. The pulpits of the world have exhaled fragrance on the proclamation (therefrom) of his name, and the hopes of all men, of the people of the plains and of the dwellers in cities, are directed to the wealth-imparting clouds of his beneficence. The darkness of night hath been illumined by the light of his noble presence and by the shining beauty of his countenance, and through him the necklace of disjointed precious jewels are strung, to add increased lustre to the brilliant

Those applicable to the people were of a more lenient character, and I am informed at the present time, that is to say, in the year 553 (read 563 or 564), that the severity with which these laws were carried into effect has been relaxed.<sup>101</sup>

Chapter in which are enumerated the Persons who have held in Yaman the Office of  $D\bar{a}$ 'y for the Fatimites.

OF their number was the Dā'y 'Aly son of Muḥammad the Ṣulayḥite, who combined the office of Dā'y with supreme power as temporal sovereign. Next was his son al-Mukarram Aḥmad the Sulayḥite, who likewise combined both offices. After him Sulṭān Suleymān az-Zawāḥi exercised the functions of Dā'y, but did not hold sovereign rule. Then the Ṣāḍi . . . . . \* ibn Mālik the Ṣulayḥite combined the office of Dā'y with that of Judge, but did not exercise sovereign rule. Next 'Aly son of Ibrahīm al-Muwaffak fi 'd-dīn, son of Najīb ad-Daulah, held the office of Dā'y and exercised sovereign rule, under the authority of the Honourable Lady Queen Sayyidah, over part of her dominions. 102

Then, when the official notification was received from our Lord the Imām al-Āmir bi-Aḥkam Illah, Prince of the faithful—upon whom be peace—bringing to the Queen, his accepted Representative in the country of Yaman, the glad tidings of the birth of his son, our Lord the Imām aṭ-Ṭayyib Abu 'l-Ḥāsim, and of the new-born Prince's designation

<sup>\*</sup> Lacuna in the MS.

prudence. His mother went on a visit to him and he slew her.

As to the faith which his followers placed in him, it was beyond what is commonly held in respect of the Prophets, the blessings of God and His peace be upon them. One of the family of Ibn Mahdy might think fit to kill several of his soldiers, and even though (the latter's comrades were?) able to prevail against the slayer, they abstained, through submission and religious conviction, from killing him. If Ibn Mahdy were moved to anger against one of their greatest chiefs or leaders, the person who had incurred his displeasure would confine himself to a spot exposed to the rays of the sun. He would neither be fed nor given to drink, neither his son nor his wife could approach him, nor durst any person intercede for him, until Ibn Mahdy pardoned him of his own free will. Their perfect submission was such that every man carried to the public Treasury the woollen varn which his wife or daughters had spun. Ibn Mahdy supplied him and his family with clothing. Not one of the soldiers possessed a horse his own property, or could keep one in a stable attached to his dwelling, neither did he possess accoutrements, or weapons, or aught Horses were kept in Ibn Mahdy's stables, and arms were stored in his arsenals. If necessity arose, he distributed among his men the horses and weapons they required. A soldier who fled from the enemy was beheaded. By no means could his life be spared. Whoso drank intoxicating liquors suffered death, and death was the penalty for listening to songs, for adultery, and for absence from the Fridays' prayers or from the two assemblies at which he preached to the people, on Thursdays and Mondays. Anyone who neglected to visit his 100 father's grave on these two days suffered death.

To these laws the soldiery alone were subject.

which I have styled a drop from the ocean of Ibn Mahdy's conquests. And in the foregoing I have not mentioned the country of the Banu Muzaffar, Saba son of Aḥmad the Sulayḥite, nor the districts of Ḥarān (Ḥaraz?), nor Bura', nor the country of Bakīl, nor that of Ḥāshid, nor Jublah (Jublān Raymah?) with its fortresses and provinces, nor Wādi 'Unnah nor Wādi Zabīd, nor other places, such as the valleys of Rim'a and of Raymat al-Ashā'ir, their castles and their villages, Mudhaykhirah and its dependencies, which are several days' journey in extent, Damt and Wādi Taḥlah (Nakhlah?). 100

Now, as to the sect to which 1bn Mahdy belonged and the doctrines he held; he followed the rules of the Hanafite school in the interpretation of religious law, but he added to its fundamental articles of faith, the doctrine that regards sin as infidelity and punishable with death. He held in like manner that the penalty of death was to be inflicted upon all pro-99 fessing Muslims who opposed his teaching, that it was lawful to reduce their captured women to the condition of concubines, their children to slavery, and to treat their country as a land of infidels (Dar al-Harb). I have been told, but the responsibility for truth rests upon the original narrator, that Ibn Mahdy did not implicitly trust the faith of a Muhājir. excepting he proved his sincerity by slaving his own son or his father or his brother. He used to recite the following passage:—Thou shalt not find people who believe in God and in the Day of Judgment, bearing love unto them that oppose God and His apostle, even though such be their futhers, their sons, their brethren or their kinsfolk. He hath inscribed faith in the hearts (of the true believers), and He aideth them with a Spirit proceeding from Himself.\* knew (added the narrator?) a youth among them, who was my neighbour and a student of Juris-

<sup>\*</sup> Kur'ān, ş. lviii. v. 22.

Queen Sayyidah, and those of the Queen herself. The whole of her predecessors' wealth became the property of the Lady Sayyidah. She deposited it in the fortress of Ta'kar, and al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Abi'l-Barakāt gained possession of the castle and of its contents. They were inherited by his son Manṣūr ibn al-Mufaḍḍal. For it is believed that Manṣūr reigned for thirty years and that he died in the decade of his hundredth or of his ninetieth year. 99

Among other places that passed into the possession of Ibn Mahdy, were the fortresses of al-Majma'ah and of Ta'kar, including, it is said, the wealth they contained; also the city of Dhu Jiblah, the chief centre for the propagation of the Fatimite supremacy and capital of the Sulayhites, likewise the city of al-Janad and its dependencies, and in 98 like manner Thalithah and Sharyak, and Dhakhir together with its dependencies. And the possessions of that chieftain, 'Aly ibn Muhammad Prince of Dhakhir, were not inferior to those of Mansūr ibn al-Mufaddal. Ibn Mahdy next acquired the kingdom of the Banu'z-Zarr and the cities of Dhu Jiblah, of Dhu Ashrak and of Ibb, the fortresses and country of the Banu Khaulan, the fortresses of the Banu Rabī'ah, namely 'Azzan, Ḥabb and ash-Shamākhi. He captured Sultan Abu 'n-Nurayn Abu 'l Fath, and the fortress of as-Sawā remained in the possession of Ibn as-Sabā'i (the Khaulānite). Mahdy next conquered the strongholds of the Dā'y 'Imran ibn Muhammad, that is to say, the fortresses of Sāmi' and Maṭrān [and Numayr] situated in the district of al-Ma'afir. He became possessed also of the chief stronghold of Yaman, that which has no equals other than Ta'kar and Habb, that is to say, the fortress of Samadan, the strength of which has become proverbial. No created being can prevail against that stronghold, unless aided by the executors of the Creator's decrees. This enumeration is that

and Lowlands, and all the kingdoms and treasures of the Kings of Yaman have passed into his hands. Muhammad ibn 'Aly, a citizen of Dhu Jiblah, has 97 informed me that the riches of twenty-five Yamanite dynasties have been absorbed into the treasury of Ibn Mahdy. Therein is included the wealth of the nobles of Zabid. None of the slaves of Fatik, the Princesses of his family or the nobles of his dynasty died, but left a large amount of wealth including great sums of money. [All was acquired by Ibn Mahdy]; for he became possessed of their children and women, who revealed to him where their masters' treasures were to be found, their gold and silver ware and ornaments, their pearls, jewels, precious stones and splendid apparel of all kinds. These nobles were as they of whom God Most High hath said: How much they have left! Gardens and springs of water, corn-lands and splendid places of abode and wealth, wherein they spent a life of enjoyment! Thus have we dealt with them, and we have made these things to be an heritage unto another neople.\*

The dynasty of Ibn Mahdy acquired the kingdom of the Suleymanite Sharifs, that the Banu Wa'il Sultans of Wuhazah, a ruling family of ancient and noble race, likewise the surviving members fortresses of the Sulayhite family, unto each of whose holds a wide extent of territory and large revenues were attached. As to the possessions of the King Mansur son of al-Mufaddal son of Abu 'l-Barakat son of al-Walid, the Himyarite, he lost all his strongholds, which it is unnecessary to enumerate, also all his treasures, in which were comprised those of the Dā'y 'Aly son of Muhammad the Sulayhite, those of al-Mukarram Ahmad son of 'Aly, husband of the Honourable Lady the

<sup>\*</sup> Kur. s. xliv. v. 25-27.

acquire sovereign power over the city and people. They pledged themselves to appoint him their King, and the Sharif promised that if they slew their Lord Fātik, he would bind himself unto them by oath. The slaves thereupon rose against their master.

(They were the slaves of Fātik) son of Jayyāsh son of Najāh. This Najāh was the freedman of Marjān, who was the freedman of Abu 'Abd Allah al-Ḥusayn ibn Salāmah, and Ḥusayn ibn Salāmah was the freedman of Rushd the steward, who was the freedman of Ziyād son of Ibrahīm son of Abu 'l-Jaysh Isḥāk son of Muhammad son of Ibrahīm son of 'Abdallah (son of Muhammad) ibn Ziyād.98

The slaves above mentioned slew Fatik in the year 553. But the Sharif found himself unable to defend the people of Zabīd against 'Aly ibn Mahdy. The war continued between them and Ibn Mahdy. Several battles were fought and the citizens sheltered themselves behind their walls, but he at length succeeded in capturing the town. The Abyssinian dynasty came to an end and Ibn Mahdy established himself in the Government House, on Friday the 14th of Rajab of the year 554.

'Aly ibn Mahdy survived the event through the remainder of that month and throughout Sha'bān and Ramadān. He died in the following month of Shawwāl. He held possession of the city for two months and twenty-one days. He was succeeded by his son al-Mahdy and next by his son 'Abd an-Naby. The latter was deposed, and was replaced by 'Aly ibn Mahdy's son 'Abd Allah, but he was afterwards re-instated, and at the present day he is ruler of the whole of Yaman, with the exception only of Aden, whose people have entered into a treaty with him, under the conditions of which they pay him an annual tribute.

'Abd an-Naby is sovereign both of the Highlands

the people of Zabīd, which the Dā'y, however, would not consent to give. Ibn Mahdy tendered me his friendship and offered to place me at the head of all his followers.

On his return that same year from Dhu Jiblah to ash-Sharaf, he occupied himself in contriving the death of the Kā'id Surūr al-Fātiki. The Kā'id was slain in Rajab of the year 551. Among the causes that contributed to the success of Ibn Mahdy against the people of Zabid, was the circumstance that their chiefs were filled with jealousy and envy, at the sight of the eminence attained by the Kā'id Surūr. After his death, the closed gates of evil were thrown open against the Abyssinian dynasty, and the bonds of its stability were unloosed. Ibn Mahdy left the fortress of ash-Sharaf and came down to ad-Dāshir, distant less than half a day's journey from Zabid. The people and Arabs of the district, subjects of the Abyssinians, strove to conciliate him. And whenever one of Ibn Mahdy's people came in contact with a brother or a kinsman, living among the Abyssinians, a tiller of the soil, or a camel driver or cattle-herd in their service, he perverted him.

Thus matters continued until Ibn Mahdy penetrated, with an innumerable host, to the gates of Zabīd. I have been assured by several natives of Yaman, who witnessed the siege of the town, that no people ever withstood their enemies with so much firmness, or fought so bravely as the citizens of Zabīd. They fought Ibn Mahdy in seventy-two engagements, heedless of the slaughter by which their numbers were reduced. They suffered from hunger until their misery constrained them to the necessity of eating carrion. They at length implored assistance of the Zaydite and Rassite Sharīf Aḥmad ibn Suleymān, Prince of Sa'dah. He gave them aid, impelled thereto by his eagerness to

in the early mornings and late at eve, until the country bordering upon the highlands was utterly ruined. The Abyssinians at that time sent liberal supplies to their military stations, but their troops were unable to cope with their enemy for several reasons. Among others, because asli-Sharaf, besides being defended by large numbers of Khaulanites, was in itself an exceedingly strong fortress. Also, because a person desiring to reach the stronghold had to perform a day's journey, or part of a day's journey, through a narrow valley enclosed between two mountains. On reaching the foot of that upon which the fortress stood, the traveller had to ascend a torrent for half a day, ere he could attain the summit. Another reason was, that the torrent which occupied the valley flowed past great gorges, commencing near the low country, in which armies, with large quantities of stores and baggage, might lie hidden for a month before their presence could be suspected. Ibn Mahdy's raiders, when they entered a district in the low country, plundered and burnt, and on daylight appearing, they withdrew to the valley in which were these gorges. There they remained, where none could reach them or venture to attack

Thus he continued to act with the people of 95 Zabīd, until the country was forsaken by its inhabitants. The land ceased to be ploughed, and the roads were deserted. His orders to his people were, to drive away the cattle and slaves, and to kill the prisoners and animals incapable of marching. They obeyed his commands, which stimulated their own greed, struck terror into their enemies, and accomplished the ruin of the country.

I met 'Aly ibn Mahdy in A.H. 549, at the Court of the Dā'y Muḥammad ibn Saba Prince of Aden, in the city of Dhu Jiblah. He was seeking aid against standing the disapproval of the officials of her government and of the Jurists of her time, she granted his request, that God should (thereby) accomplish the things that were ordained.\* 'Aly ibn Mahdy applied himself for several years to the cultivation of his property, which he held free of all assessment, and he thus amassed considerable wealth. When preaching he used to say: "O ye people, the time approacheth. The event draweth nigh! Almost ye may behold with your own eyes the things I have foretold unto you."

The Queen died in the year 545, and hardly had

that event occurred, when 'Aly Mahdy appeared in the highlands, at a place named ad-Dāshir, subject to the Khaulanites [where he remained for a time?.97 Thence he ascended to a fortress named ash-Sharaf, which belonged to a tribe of the sept of Khaulan known by the name of Banu Haywan (Haydan?), a word which is pronounced with a These people he surnamed (in 94 quiescent y. imitation of the Prophet) al-Ansār (the Auxilaries), and those who had accompanied him from the low country, he distinguished by the title al-Muhājirān, (the Emigrants). But he then began to mistrust all his companions and to fear for his own safety. appointed over the Ansar a Khaulanite of the name of Saba ibn Yūsuf, to whom he gave the title of Sheykh al-Islām, and over the Muhājirūn a man [of the tribe of 'Imran], named an-Nuby, who received the same title. He appointed them to be chiefs over the two parties, and none but these two persons was allowed to speak to him, or even to approach him. At times he secluded himself even from them, and they would organize military expeditions into the neighbouring country, on their own authority. This they continued to do, and to harass the people of Tibāmah with raids, both

<sup>\*</sup> Kur. viii, v. 43, 46.

period devoted myself to him, and for the space of a year I was in almost constant attendance upon him. But my father heard that I had abandoned the study of Jurisprudence and that I had given myself up to a religious life. He came from his home, took me from the society of 'Aly Mahdy and replaced me at the college of Zabid. I used to visit 'Aly Mahdy once every month, but when his 93 power waxed great throughout the country, I detached myself from him, out of fear of the people of Zabid. From the year 531 until 536, he continued to preach to the people in the open plains, and on the approach of the pilgrimage season he used to go forth to Mecca, mounted on a dromedary. The Lady, the mother of Fatik son of Mansur, then relieved him, his brethren, his kindred and those under his protection, from payment of the assessment (kharāj) on their lands. In a brief period of time they became prosperous and rich, they rode horses and were such as are described by the poet al-Mutanabby:-

It seemed as though their horses were foaled beneath them— And as though the riders were born mounted upon their horses' backs.<sup>96</sup>

Certain persons, inhabitants of the highlands, were brought to 'Aly ibn Mahdy and an alliance sworn between them. He went to these people in the year 538 and assembled an army, which attained the number of forty thousand men, wherewith he marched to attack the city of al-Kadrā. He was met by the Kā'id Isḥāk ibn Marzūk as-Saḥrati at the head of his people. Ibn Mahdy's army was defeated. Many of his people were killed, but the greater number were spared. He returned to the highlands, where he remained until the year 541. He then wrote to the Queen at Zabīd and asked protection for himself and for his followers, and permission to return to his country. Notwith-

THE INSURRECTION OF 'ALY IBN MAHDY IN YAMAN.

As to his lineage, he was a descendant of Himyar, and his name was 'Alv ibn Mahdy, native of a village named al-'Anbarah, situated on the coast near Zabid. His father was a virtuous and purehearted man, whose son 'Aly was brought up in his religious tenets and followed his examples, in his devotion to religious exercises and to the practice of good works. After a time 'Aly went on the pilgrimage and visited the holy places. He met the pilgrims, the doctors and preachers of 'Irak, and he became filled with the knowledge they imparted to him. On his return to Yaman he led a life of retirement, but he exhorted the people, warning them against association with the soldiery.\* He was an eloquent man, of prepossessing appearance, dark complexioned, with sunken cheeks, bearded, tall, of a spare figure, and marked between his eyes with the traces of his prostrations.95 He had an agreeable voice, which he skilfully modulated in chanting, and a winning manner of imparting instruction. He possessed a wellstored memory, was constant in exhorting, and in expounding the Kur'an and the teaching of the Sufis. He used to speak of things that were reserved to him in the future, and the accurate fulfilment of his predictions became one of the most powerful means by which he won the hearts of the

His career commenced on the coast of Zabīd, in the village of al-'Anbarah, in that of Wāsit, that of Ķudayb, at al-Ahwāb, al-Mu'tafi (?) and the shores of al-Farah (al-'Ārah ?). He used to journey thence, and the respect in which he was held ever increased with the lapse of time. I had at that

<sup>\*</sup> Janadi and Khazraji here add that Ibn Mahdy's public career commenced in A.H. 531.

and after rendering obeisance, he would stop at the royal gate, where he dispensed justice to the people with perfect judgment. (Next he would occupy himself in the transaction of military) business, and at the hour of the midday meal, he returned to his house. There he would rest until the sun began to decline, when he would proceed to the mosque. 793 From that time until the hour of afternoon prayer, he occupied himself exclusively in hearing the authentic traditions of the Apostle of God, whom God bless and hail with salutations of peace! He would then withdraw to his palace, but before sunset he would come forth to the mosque, and after sunset prayer, the Jurists would engage in debates before him until the end of the latest hour for evening prayer, sometimes, however, prolonging their discussions to a later hour. He used then, riding an ass and with only one servant before him, to proceed to the palace of the Queen, to take counsel with her upon public affairs.

Such was his mode of life from the year 529 until he was slain in his mosque at Zabīd (May God be merciful unto him!), whilst performing the third prostrations of afternoon prayer, on Friday the 12th of Rajab [A.H. 551]. He was killed by a man of the name of Mujrim, one of the followers of 'Aly ibn Mahdy. The murderer was put to death that same evening, after killing several persons. The Abyssinian dynasty did not long endure after the death of Surūr. It was subverted by 'Aly ibn Mahdy, who conquered Zabīd and its dependencies,

in the year 554.

92 I will now proceed with an account of 'Aly ibn Mahdy in Yaman. In that chapter I will set forth a summary comprising the outset and the close of his career.

of the King, amounted each year to sixty thousand dinārs, and that he used to pay over to the household of his mistress the Princess, to her retainers and companions and to the persons under her protection, in the form of presents, fifteen thousand dinārs.

ANOTHER PARAGRAPH.—The Kā'id Abu Muhammad

Surūr al-Fātiki—May God have mercy upon him! was in the habit of going forth unto his mosque, after the expiration of half or one third of the night. He was better acquainted than any other person with the places of abode and habitations of the principal people. He used to say that he went forth at that hour, lest any persons spending their nights in anxiety or grief, or others devoted to religious practices, were unable to come into his presence by day, either on account of the crowd or by reason of their bashfulness. After morning prayer he used to go either on a visit to a Jurist, to the bedside of some sick person, to a house where there was mourning for the dead, to a feast or to a wed-91 ding. He did not confine his visits to the great military chiefs, to the learned and to merchants, and neglect those of a humbler rank. soever, on the contrary, appealed to him was attended to. People who believed themselves to be oppressed came into his presence, and stated their case in bold and even in unseemly language. Such a person was safe from all danger of awakening his sense of dignity and pride, or of provoking his anger. If sent for by the Judges, he attended in person, not deputing another to take his place as is done by men puffed up with pride, even though of inferior rank |. He would seat himself opposite the Judge in token of respect, and in testimony of his willing obedience to the ordinances of divine law. [On returning to the palace, after accompanying the Sultan's procession, he would enter,

respect for his exalted rank, and she would say unto him: "Thou, O Abu Muhammad, art not simply our wazīr, but our master and the manly ruler of the kingdom, one whose authority it is not in aught lawful unto us to disregard." He would weep aloud in her presence and bend down his face to the dust, until she would raise him from the ground with her own hands. The women would then withdraw to a short distance at the end of the saloon. whilst he reported to her the measures he desired to be put into execution that year, appointments, supersessions, rewards and sentences of death. would remain seated before the Princess, 92 with the 90 three women standing near him, until he arose for midday prayer. He used to repair for the purpose to his mosque, which stood close to the gates of his palace. It was then impossible to follow him on account of the crowds that surrounded him, composed of people who had been unable to go forth from the city to meet him on his arrival.

## A PARAGRAPH DESCRIBING WHAT I HAVE SEEN IN THE HANDWRITING OF HIS SECRETARIES.

I have seen a list of the gratifications which Surūr was in the habit of conferring, on his arrival at Zabīd, upon the Jurists, Ķādis, and upon the most distinguished scholars, learned in the traditions, in grammar, glossology, theology, and jurisprudence. The whole amounted each year to twelve thousand dinārs, besides gratuities to the military classes, notwithstanding their great numbers.

I have been told by 'Obayd ibn Baḥr and others, that the presents he made each year to the Sulṭān's officials, to the King's nobles, stewards and personal retainers, amounted to twenty thousand dinārs, in addition to the fixed emoluments of each person's office. Others have told me that the sums transferred from his province to the public treasury

He next acquired rule over al-Mahjam, a royal seat of government. The Arabs, the Banu 'Imrān, 89 the Banu Zi'l and the Ḥakamites, dispersed themselves, and the Amīr Ghānim ibn Yaḥya the Ḥasanite, whose dynasty has acquired great renown, separated himself from his allies.

The Kā'id Surūr used to inhabit Zabīd from the beginning of Dhu 'l-Ka'dah (the eleventh month) until the end of Sha'ban (the eighth). Then he would leave Zabid and spend Ramadan at al-Mahjam, occupying himself with the affairs of his province. His expenditure and charities in the month of Ramadan, amounted to a large sum. 'Obayd ibn Bahr, his wazir, informed me that the allowances for his kitchen expenses, in the month of Ramadan, amounted to one thousand dinars a day. I witnessed for several years the ceremonial attending his entrance into Zabid. The people, on his arrival from al-Mahjam, used to go forth from the city in crowds to meet him. They divided themselves into classes and stood on a lofty hill awaiting his arrival. The first to salute him were the Jurists of the Mālikite, the Hanafite and the Shāfi'ite schools. The Prince used to dismount in token of respect, a thing he did for no other class. They were followed by the merchants, after whose departure the soldiery came forth in crowds. entering the city, after saluting and paying due honour to the Sultan, he proceeded to the palace of the Honourable Lady his mistress. On his entering, all who were present, young and old, withdrew, with the exception only of the Lady's slave girl Ghazal, who was his wife's sister, and of two slave girls formerly belonging to her Lord Mansur ibn Fātik. These women conducted themselves according to her pious example and imitated her in her good works. On his approach, the Princess would rise from her seat in token of welcome and of

It was previous to these events that Muffih started from Zabid for Aden, and that when he had reached the distance of half a day's journey, Muhammad son of Fatik son of Jayvash, seeing the town denuded of troops, rose in insurrection, and gained possession of the Government House. The Kur'an readers came into his presence and the people of the city flocked unto him, offering their congratulations. His wazīr was Mansūr son of Mann Allah al-Fātiki. The Queen took refuge, along with her son, in the upper apartments of the palace. The news was brought to the Kā'id Surūr, who commanded the rearguard of the army. He turned back, and having scaled the walls, he entered the town. He proceeded to the back of the Government House, and calling to his mistress, he made himself known unto her, and desired her servants to let down a rope for The eunuchs and women pulled him up with ropes, and entering into the presence of his mistress, he saluted her and quieted her fears. His troops, he told her, were following him. Having selected one hundred slavegirls and fifty eunuchs, he habited them in the garb of men and supplied them with armour and weapons. The casements were then thrown open, and the women and eunuchs cried aloud with one voice: Fātik son of Mansūr! Muhammad son of Fatik was at that moment occupying a raised seat below the windows of the palace. The Kā'id cast a stone which unerringly hit the mark, and striking Muhammad ibn Fatik, bruised his face at the same instant of time when the cry was uttered. He, the wazīrs and their followers instantly fled, and in the evening they left the city by one of its gates. The soldiers did not reach Zabid until noon of the following day. These were some of the circumstances which necessarily operated to bring about Surur's advancement over all other members of the government.

being the most worthy to direct the affairs of the people, to reward and to punish, to bind and to loose. Surūr continued to advance in power and dignity. He eventually succeeded in driving Muflih out of Zabīd, and he made war upon him until his adversary died in the highlands, after prolonged fighting, in which large numbers of men perished on both sides. The final result was the triumph of Surūr, and he became possessed of supreme

anthority.

It has been related to me by Sheykh 'Abd al-Muhsin ibn Isma'il, secretary of the Kā'id Surūr, that he remembered the occasion when the Amīr and Sharif Ghanim, son of Yahya the Hasanite, marched to the assistance of Muflih. "Ghānim," he said, "had a thousand horsemen and ten thousand infantry, all of whom combined with the troops of Muflih. They were joined also by certain Arabs, in great numbers, by the Banu Mash'al, men who spent their lives in the saddle and who were the champions of their age, by the Banu Imran, the Banu Zi'l, the Banu Haram and the Hakamites. 90 All gathered together into one body and advanced against us. Our troops were few in number, and the Kā'id Surūr had written to the people of Zabīd The battle was fought at for re-inforcements. al-Mahjam, which is three days' journey from Zabīd." 'Abd al-Muhsin said he pointed out to Surur, that to attack these people would surely be rashness, his forces being in comparison to theirs as a drop in the sea, or as a morsel between the jaws of a ravenous animal. "Be silent," answered Surūr, "for, by Allah, death will be lighter unto me than 88 defeat." The two armies engaged, and the fortunes of the day went against Muflih and Ghānim and their allies. Thenceforward conviction of the high destinies reserved for Surur acquired double strength in the minds both of his friends and of his opponents.

Among the slaves of Fātik was he with the mention of whom I conclude this account of the Abyssinian dynasty, and whose mention I have postponed to the last, although in order of merit he unquestionably ranks first. He of whom I speak was the noble Kā'id Abu Muḥammad Surūr Amḥarah al-Fātiki. He belonged to the Abyssinian tribe of Amharah, and all I can relate of him is but

as a drop in the sea of his great merits.

Of his early history it may be recorded that Mansūr ibn Fātik, having slain the wazīr Anīs, purchased from his estate the Honourable and pious Lady, the Pilgrim and Lady of Zabid, by whom he had a son, whom he named Fatik ibn Mansur. bought for her son certain young Abyssinian slaves, of whom Surūr was one. He was brought up under her immediate care, and ere long, as he advanced in years, he became distinguished for his superior merits and great qualities. She placed him in charge of the Mamluks, and appointed him chief over all who abode in the palace. He became ruler and director, with the power of showing indulgence and of exercising severity. He was next appointed to the command of a division of the army, and he won popularity among the troops by his kindness and indulgence. He continued to advance in dignity, and became the intermediary between the 87 principal wazīrs and the Sultan, who thenceforward dispensed with the services of the stewards of the The Chief Steward at that time was the Sheykh Sawab, a religious man, who devoted himself exclusively to the worship of God. Whenever he was reproached for his disregard of what had occurred, he would answer that the Kā'id Abu Muhammad Surūr was the authorized holder of the right to command and to forbid, over himself, over his censors, and over the Queen herself, and that in no wise should Surūr's authority be curtailed, he opposed my wishes, and if I happened to be displeased with him, he seemed as if about to part with his life."

An illustration of the above is to be found in an anecdote related by Shevkh Muslim ibn Yashjub, wazīr of the Prince and Sharīf Ghānim son of Yahya the Hasanite. "I came," he said, "from my country as an envoy to Surūr al-Fātiki, to negotiate a truce between ourselves and him. His wazīr 'Obayd ibn Bahr said to me: 'Would that thine arrival had happened either sooner or later! Thou hast come to the Kā'id at a moment when his mind is greatly disturbed.' I waited two or three days without being able to see the Prince, but then Him-86 yar ibn As'ad arrived. 'Now,' said 'Obayd ibn Bahr, 'Himyar having come, the knot that caused thy trouble is unloosed!' 'How is that?' I inquired. 'Wardah, mother of 'Amru,' he answered, 'is angry with the Kā'id, and has sworn that she will not speak to him nor allow him to approach her, until her father shall come to her 'meaning thereby Sheykh Himvar ibn As'ad. That same night," continued Muslim, "we were invited to an assembly, for which were prepared wine and music and perfumes. We had hardly sat down, when the Ka'id approached and we saluted him. We then heard behind a curtain a confused sound of voices and a jingling of gold ornaments, such as never was before. And behold it was Wardah, who, a reconciliation having been effected by Himyar between her and her master, now came to sing to him. An unfavourable impression was produced upon me by the sight of the helplessness and weakness of Surur. He seemed to guess what was passing in my mind, and he recited the words of the poet :-

We are a people whom a woman's large and lustrous eyes will melt-And we are men to whom iron must yield."

of the Lady 'Alam, and the Prince died in the month

of Sha'ban [A.H. 531].89

Wardah, the slave girl of the wazīr Muflih, relates 85 that when her master died in the highlands, at the castle named al-Karish, or al-Mukarrishah, she was asked in marriage by the wazīr Ikbāl, by the Kā'id Surur, by the Kā'id Ishāk ibn Marzuk and by the Kā'id 'Alv ibn Mas'ūd, Prince of Hays. "I made flattering promises to the messenger of each," she said, "but I consulted on the subject my lord Mansur son of Muffih. He indicated his preference for Surur, but recommended me to seek advice of Himyar ibn As'ad. I accordingly sent for him to Tihāmah. 'As for 'Aly ibn Mas'ūd,' said Ḥimvar, 'he has ninety concubines and four wives. As for Ikbāl, he has twenty singing girls; he has moreover Nājiyah, who has been carefully educated by the slave dealers, and the love he bears her son Mansur is carried to an extreme. As for the Kā'id Ishāk ibn Marzūk, he has the daughter of 'Uwayd, mother of his son Faraj, and also Uhdūla, the daughter of his uncle. By Allah, none equal to her treads the ground of Tihamah. I recommend to you the Kā'id Abu Muhammad Surūr al-Fātiki. He is a man of a prudent disposition, and he was reared by the King Fatik son of Mansur (by Mansūr?) and by our Lady the mother of Fatik.' I was married," continued Wardah, "to the Kā'id Abu Muhammad Surūr al-Fātiki. I found him to be one whose thoughts were diverted from the world, from the society of women and from pleasure, by his absorption in affairs of supreme importance. But ere long I made him feel his dependence upon me. I contrived to make myself his intimate companion, and I finally obtained complete ascendency over him. With all his roughness and severity of character, and the shrinking fear with which his female slaves regarded him, he never

for which Ghānim was yearly liable and which amounted to sixty thousand dinārs. He also engaged to add to their territories the wide district of al-Wādiyāni. The Sharīf marched with one thousand horsemen and ten thousand infantry, to the aid of Muflih against the people of Zabīd. The allies were encountered by the Ķā'id Surūr, who defeated Muflih, the Sharīfs and the Arabs, near al-Mahjam. Whilst Surūr was at that place, he received from Zabīd a deed of investiture, granting him the territories and dependencies of al-Mahjam, consisting of Maur and al-Wādiyāni. Surūr established his residence in the province, and Muflih returned to the fortress of al-Karish, where he died in the year 529.\*

His son Manṣūr succeeded him and continued the war with his father's enemies, making them taste of its calamities in many forms. But after a time his followers began to desert him, and their numbers gradually diminished. They were wearied with the sufferings of war and with separation from their homes.

Mansūr surrendered [himself to the Kā'id Surūr, claiming his protection, and accompanied him to Zabīd, where Ikbāl was then wazīr. The young Amīr received a dress of honour] and his father's house was given him as a place of residence. On the following morning he was seized, and at night he was slain in the house of the wazīr Ikbāl. The King Fātik [and the Kā'id Surūr] denounced the act, and the King meditated putting Ikbāl to death, but he resolved to spare his life for a time. I was told by Ḥimyar ibn As'ad, that a messenger from the wazīr Ikbāl bought poison of him. For whom it was destined, Ḥimyar swore he knew not. Ikbāl, by ingratiating himself with the Prince, succeeded in administering the poison to his master Fātik son

<sup>\*</sup> In A.H. 527, according to al-Janadi.

In pursuance of his purpose for the expulsion of Muflih, Surūr then sent the wazīr to Aden, to make war upon Sabā son of Abu Su'ūd and upon 'Aly son of Abu 'l-Gharāt, the Zuray'ites. When he had reached the distance of a night's journey from Zabīd, Muḥammad son of Fātik son of Jayyāsh suddenly rose in rebellion against the Queen and her son, and thereby obliged Muflih to return.

Surur then sought to bring about the departure

of Muflih by writing to the Arab tribes of Zi'l and 'Imran to join in the invasion of the district of al-Mahjam, then occupied by the Ka'id Mas'ud the Zaydite.\* Muflih was thereby compelled to start for al-Mahjam, a distance from Zabīd of three days' journey. He had not accomplished more than one night's journey, when his troops secretly deserted him and returned to the city. He was left with only his personal dependants and marched with them to the mountains of Burā'. He took possession of the fortress of al-Mukarrishah (al-Karish?)87 and he attacked Tihāmah, harassing it with raids, in the early morning and late at eve, whilst the retainers of Fatik attacked him in his encampments. Then leaving his women in the fortress, he joined the Arabs of al-Mahjam, members of the tribes of 84 Mash'al, 'Imrān and Ži'l, accomplished and valiant They gave him, as place of residence, a fortress which belonged to them, situated at a distance from al-Mahjam of half a day's journey or less, known by the name of Dabsan. Muflih despatched depredating parties into the territories of al-Mahjam, and he entered into correspondence with the Amir and Sharif Ghanim son of Yahya the Suleymanite and Hasanite, who then ruled over the province of Ibn Tarf.88 Muffil entered into a pledge with the Sharif and his kinsmen to abolish the tribute they rendered to the Prince of Zabid,

<sup>\*</sup> Or, according to Khazraji, Surūr al-Kurandi.

Honourable Lady the Queen, ('Alam) the mother of Fātik, were brought up in the palace of al-Fātik son of Mansur. Their names were Sawab, Rayhan, Yumn, ['Anbar?] and Rayhān the elder. They were the leading personages, and holders of the highest rank in the state. Besides these there were certain powerful men, likewise educated in the palace, namely Ikbāl, Masrūr (or Burhān?), Bārih (?) and The last mentioned was the chief of both parties, the foremost in influence and in ability. These men spoke in the name of the Sultan. The wazīr, in all the affairs of the kingdom, became as a stranger among them, and by their aid, the authority of the Queen was greatly increased. They contrived also to attach to themselves a large portion of the troops, both horsemen and foot soldiers, and they began to concert measures for the expulsion of Muffih from Zabid. Surur advised them to address themselves to the wazīr on the subject of a pilgrimage, to be performed by the Queen to Mecca, and to ask him to provide her with a sum of thirty thousand dinārs for her expenses. On application 83 being made to the wazīr, he refused, saying that the money could be spent more worthily on the defence of the state against its enemies than in the indulgence of such foolish whims. "Our Lady," he added, "has ample occupation with her spindle and distaff and in the privacy of her own house." continued to press the matter upon him until he exclaimed: "Our Lady wants a totally different thing! See that ye find it for her and it will satisfy her." "What then does she want?" they asked. Muffih's reply and the gesture by which it was accompanied, caused such deep offence, that he could repair the evil only by consenting to the Lady's pilgrimage, by supplying her with the thirty thousand dinars and by sending his son Mansur to accompany her to Mecca.

of 'Abāda,' I replied, 'with all the contents of the farm, its growing crops and its cattle.' The wazīr ordered the lands to be conveyed to me; and they are a possession,' added Ḥimyar, "which has the property of never occasioning loss to its proprietor."\*

To return to the stories told of the wazīr Muflih. Among them is that related by the Sheykh Abu 't-Tāmi Jayyāsh, son of Isma'īl, son of Albūķa. At 82 an early period of the wazīrate of the Sheykh and Kā'id Mufliḥ, Abu 'l-Ma'āli ibn al Ḥabbāb arrived at Zabīd from Egypt. He purchased an Abyssinian slave to attend upon him. The Abyssinian escaped from his master [and attached himself to certain of the wazīr's dependants. Abu 'l-Ma'āli thereupon wrote to the wazīr] two lines of verse as follows:—<sup>86</sup>

Thou art the cloud whose beneficent floods fertilize the outspread earth.—Its bounty, a fortuitous obstacle has withheld from me.

But if its ample and generous showers do not refresh me—Even so its consuming thunderbolts will not come near me.

Muflih, on reading the lines, perceived their veiled meaning, and he awoke to the merits of Abu 'l-Ma'āli. He sent for the youth and returned him to his master accompanied by a gift of four other slaves of the same nation. He invited Abu 'l-Ma'āli to his court and commanded him to compose a eulogistic ode. Abu 'l-Ma'āli obeyed, and recited it in the presence of the wazīr, who rewarded him with five hundred dinārs. Manṣūr son of Muflih gave him likewise three hundred dinārs for another ode written in his own praise, and he took him to Mecca, may God guard it.

I will now relate what occurred to Muflih with the soldiery. Certain men among the slaves of the

\* I need perhaps hardly say that the combination of jingle and pun, which I have here endeavoured to imitate, is a thing much appreciated by Arab readers.

dear to me as my soul. But if she be suitable, I will part with her, even though I die.' 'If the wazīr consent to accept of her,' I replied, 'she is such as will be a suitable present.' 'Speak then of her to the wazīr,' he answered, 'and if he accept her, I will reward thee with one thousand dinārs.'

"We then ordered Wardah to be brought into our presence, together with nine other slave girls. They kissed the wazīr's hand and commenced singing before him, with uncovered faces. I advised the wazīr to pay no heed to Wardah and to pretend admiration of the others. He did so, with the effect of stimulating her master's desire that he should accept of her. After a time 'Othman became intoxicated and slept. The women likewise were overcome with wine, all but Wardah, who, I desired, should retain her faculties. I made use of a pretext to leave the room, and sending for Wardah, I informed her of the facts of the case. 'I have no desire,' she replied, 'but to my lord.' I then requested the wazīr to enter a sitting-room, in which I joined him along with Wardah. He flattered her with promises and coaxed her. I wanted to leave, but he stopped me, saying: 'By Allah, this shall not be.' We returned to the public room, and I swear that the wazīr did not even satiate his eyesight, nor did he allow the girl to kiss his hand when bidding farewell. When her master recovered, we took leave of him. It was near the latest hour for evening prayer, and before it had lapsed, Wardah stood before us. In the morning I went back to Othman. I restored the thousand dinars he had given me, and I questioned him touching a farm in the valley of Dhu'āl.85 The wazīr sent for me in the evening and gave me a dress of honour. daughter Wardah,' he said, 'has sworn that I shall not approach her until I have satisfied you. What, therefore, will content you?' 'The lands

attendance at the Prince's palace, we rode to 'Othman's place of abode. We found sumptuous banquets spread out (for the several classes of guests). For one party alone I counted thirty roasted sheep and thirty vessels of sweetmeats. The banguet at which the wazīr was seated, occupied the front of 'Othman's garden, from one end to the other, a length of fifty cubits. The wazīr on beholding the sight was filled with envious anger against 'Othman, for the arrogance he attributed to him and for the promptitude with which he was able to provide so splendid a feast, composed of four separate banquets. 'Othman next distributed among the members of the wazir's suite three buhārs of sweetmeats, a quantity equal to nine kantars (nine hundred pounds).\* We then withdrew to the wine-room, seven in number, [besides myself, the eighth. I acted as cup-bearer and contrived to produce intoxication in five members of our company, who soon withdrew].84 Thereupon, addressing 'Othman, I said: 'Truly thou art as one of a herd of cattle, deprived of sense. Thinkest thou that the wazîr hath visited thee for the sake of meat or drink? What hath happened to abridge thine understanding and to blind thine evesight? 'Instruct me then how to act,' he replied. I desired him to enumerate his possessions. He spoke of horses and accoutrements, camels and articles of curiosity and of value. I objected to all these things, and I affected to depreciate them. begged me to advise him. I desired him, in reply, to think of a present such as would not be hidden away in a treasury, and which would never be out of the recipient's sight. 'What is wanted,' I added, 'is that the present should, whenever he sees it, remind him of you.' After consideration he 81 said: 'I have nought else but Wardah, and she is \* See Note 71.

him into his confidence. He died at al-Kadrā in the year 553, at the age of upwards of seventy When he visited Zabid, where he had no kinsfolk, he used to take up his abode with me and with other friends, and he was in consequence on terms of familiarity and unreserve with me.

Himvar, proceeding with his narrative, said,

"When the wine began to produce its effects upon 'Othman, he spoke to me as follows: 'I have longed,' he began, 'to meet you, being desirous of settling matters with that tyrannical slave Muffih, and of finding means to be left in peaceful possession of our fiefs and of our property, which we did not acquire in his days and for the possesion of which we are not indebted to his liberality.' I answered that notwithstanding the wazīr's self-sufficiency and pride, he was in reality of a kind disposition and quick to turn back from harsh measures. I promised that on the following day, when Muffih returned from his morning visit to the King, I would, God willing, strive to prevail upon the wazīr to act indulgently. 'I know,' I continued, 'that if he eat at your table and drink of your wine, and if your slave girls sing to him, he will feel shame and will renounce his design.' 'Othman was almost beside himself with joy, though he could not believe that the wazīr would visit him. I advised 80 him to come on the following night, uninvited, to the house of the wazīr, and to announce himself as a guest who desired to be honoured by being allowed to share in the pleasures of music and wine. On the following night, when 'Othman came to us, I advised the wazir to bring forth the singing girls and female cup-bearers. He did so, and he promised 'Othman that he would, on the next day, be his guest. A large sum of money was that night by 'Othman's orders brought to his house. On the following day, after the usual morning

mothers of their children, 83 from Ibn Himyar's presence, for most of their concubines and singers were supplied by him and educated in his house. He had served several of the highland kings, then he had come down to Tihāmah and occupied a confidential position under Ahmad ibn Mas'ūd ibn Faraj al-Mu'taman (the Trusted), governor of Hays. After that he became secretary to Mann Allah al-Fātiki, and then to the Sheykh Abu Manşūr Muflih al-Fātiki. It was from this same Himyar that the kings purchased the poison they used for destroying their enemies. He had brothers and uncles in the 79 country of Bakil and Hāshid, and the tree that produces the poison is grown exclusively on a farm attached to a building, one of their strongholds. The owners carefully preserve the plant, precisely as, in Egypt, that which produces balsam is tended, and they do so with even greater care. All the members of the dynasty of Najah and all those of their wazīrs, who died (by poison), were victims to the drug supplied by Himyar ibn As'ad.\* People of rank, when in his society, used to say to him, "We eat and we drink, O Abu Saba, and we are in your power," whereupon he would laugh and say, "Just so." He was quick with pleasant repartees, possessed a well-stored memory; he was witty, and moreover liberal in bestowing his substance in the service of God and in works of charity. He frequently acted as envoy between the Abyssinian Princes, he repaired breaches of friendship, and grave disputes became, in his hands, matter of easy settlement. He subsequently dwelt at al-Kadrā with the Kā'id Ishak ibn Marzūk as-Sahrati (the Sahratite), from whom he received a liberal welcome, and who took

<sup>\*</sup> Yakut copies this passage in his account of the country of Bakīl (vol. i. p. 706-7). Instead of he writes probably the correct reading, and one which requires the subsequent word Yi to be retained.

sion.

78 revenues of the valley from the year 486 to 524. They were respected and increased in wealth, and ruled over the country. The chieftainship was lastly held by Shat (Suli?), by Taytās, and by 'Othmān the above mentioned. The former two died, and 'Othmān remained alone; but the number of the Ghuzz was now reduced to one hundred horsemen, all aged men. As to their children, born in Zabīd, they did not prosper. They had neither the strength of character that inspires fear, nor the benevolence that gives rise to hope.

The wazīr's secretary Sheykh Himyar ibn As'ad, continuing his narrative, said that he reflected over the means whereby he might succeed in gratifying the wishes of the wazīr, and he found that of which he was in quest. Addressing Muflih, he indicated the means whereby the old distribution of the lands could be annulled. The men, he said, whose services were formerly prized by the state, were now dead, and valuable grants of land had passed into the possession of their children, who were use-He advised the wazīr to act in the matter with firmness, to order all holders of fiefs to leave their estates and assemble at Zabīd, and to transfer the owners to other districts. Upon that policy being carried into execution by the wazīr, it occasioned, said Himyar, great hardship to the great officials of the government, but to none so great as to 'Othman, for the property of those of his companions who had died, had passed into his posses-

"When he was about to depart from Zabīd with his people, and the matter on the point of being irretrievable settled, I went," said Ḥimyar, "to his house. We drank together, and Wardah, as well as other slave girls, sang to him."

None of the people of Tihāmah were in the habit of secluding either their singers or the freed women,

what price,' I asked, 'will then the wazīr purchase her?' 'At whatever price her master demands,' he answered."

Her master was a distinguished leader, a man of high rank in the service of the state, greatly respected and considered. He was commander of the Ghuzz (Turkish or Northern soldiery), whom Jayyash had brought to the country to fight against Saba ibn Almad the Sulayhite. 'Othman was their leader and chief. They numbered four hundred mounted archers, and with their assistance the Abyssinian dynasty defended itself against the Arabs. The body of troops, as originally enlisted by Jayyash, numbered three thousand bows, but when two thousand marched from Mecca for Zabid, Javyāsh repented of his design, perceiving that they would drive him out of the country and seek to take possession of it. In anticipation of their arrival. he sent orders to the officers he had placed in command of the Ghuzz at Mecca, to cast poison into their food, into their drink, and into their raiment. A great number died, and only one thousand horsemen, or less, reached Zabīd. Jayyāsh sent five hundred to the highlands, and they conquered the districts trodden by the hoofs of their horses. When they reached the province of San'ā, Jayyāsh employed a person to spread death among them by poison. They were finally exterminated through the effects of war and of other calamities, and there remained with Jayyāsh in Tihāmah only four hundred and fifty horsemen. He made them a grant of a wide tract of land, extending to a valley (or river) known by the name of Dhu'al, a district inhabited by the 'Akkites and Ash'arites. These lands occupied a width of one day's journey, and in length, from the mountains to the sea, a space of two days or less. They were distant one day's journey from The Ghuzz continued to collect the  $m Zabar{i}d.^{82}$ 

## WAZĪRATE OF MUFLIŅ AL-FĀTIKI.

Muflin belonged to an Abyssinian tribe known by the name of Sahrat. He bore the surname of Abu Mansur (father of Mansur), the latter being the name of one of his sons. (Abu) Mansur was noted among the most distinguished of his contemporaries for his righteousness, and was remarkable also for his knowledge of affairs, for his skill as a Jurist, for his literary culture, for his handsome appearance, his bravery, his clemency, and for the perfection of his talents as a leader. People were in the habit of saying that, had his lineage been that of Kuraysh, every condition required to fit him for the office of Khalifah would have been combined in his person. The retainers of Fatik nicknamed him al-Baghl, the mule. He was called Muflih al-Baghl, and he showed no displeasure nor anger thereat. I was told by his secretary, Himyar ibn As'ad, that he was so named on account of a physical conformation, in which he resembled a muele.

He was distinguished for continence, and was never known to have been the prey of passion, either in his youth or in his mature age. Himyar related in illustration of his master's self-control, that Muflih, when holding the office of wazīr, sent for him one day, and complained that life had become a weari-77 ness unto him through the reports he continually heard respecting the singing of Wardah, the slave girl of the Amir 'Othman al-Ghuzzi, and the descriptions he received of her beauty. He was bent, he said, upon contriving means whereby she might be brought to him. "I answered," said Himyar, "that if the wazīr sought her society for the satisfaction to his desires, my best faculties would be used in his service. 'By Allah!' he replied, 'I have never yet, since the day of my creation, allowed my passions to make me sin against God.' 'At

assertions proved correct, he would give me a certain sum of money, the amount of which I have forgotten. Upon the statement being prepared, he brought forth the money and handed it over to the Jurist Abu Muhammad 'Abd Allah ibn al-Kāsim Ibn al-Kāsim was at that time chief of the Shāfi'ites at Zabīd, and it was under him that I studied the Shāfi'ite doctrines. Surür then assembled the Jurists in rooms, the floors of which were spread with fine sand, and each one sat down apart from the other, tracing his calculations in 76 the sand. Whenever the amount of a share was substantiated, it was transferred from the sand to paper, until the division of the entire estate was completed and proved to be correct. Surūr never moved from the spot until he had divided the money among the Jurists, and he gave me a large share. I returned to my house and placed the gold before the Hadramauti Jurist. "I ask forgiveness of God, O my son," he said, "for whosoever told me that he had beheld one hundred dinars, I used to treat as a liar." He then gave me the money, saying he had no use for it, since I provided him with all that he required. I took him with me, and he died (may God have mercy upon him), after having completed the pilgrimage. When the Abyssinians of Zabid sought to kill me in the year 550, the Kā'id Surūr said unto them, "Is he not the person who solved the problem of the estate of Ruzavk? By Allah! he shall not be slain!"

Ruzayk was not skilled in military administration, neither was he possessed of experience in the management of public business. Ere long he resigned the office of wazīr, and Abu Mansūr Muflili al-Fātiki, who was then absent in the highlands, was called upon to fill his place.

did not take possession of me, owing to my exceeding rejoicing over his learning. He then said to me that if I would consent to halt at the well we had reached, foregoing our journey for that day, he would undertake not to recite his midday prayers without having first solved the problems of the division and acquainted me with the share of each heir, one by one. I agreed to his proposal, and at the hour of the midday meal he handed over to me a complete statement of the division, written by his And, by Allah! a long period of time had been spent, in combined efforts to solve the problem, by 'Othman ibn es-Saffar, by Muhammad ibn 'Aly as-Sahhāmi, and by other experts in the laws of succession, each one of whom affected to regard Ibn al-Labban 80 as a mere learner and follower of his own, in all matters relating to the laws of inheritance, to wills and bequests, to astronomical calculations (?), and to the science of integration and compensation (al-Jabar wa 'l-Mukābilah, i.e. Algebra). For a long period of time, the wazīrs had been in the habit of inviting these men to banquets and of rewarding them with presents, which were fruitlessly divided amongst them.

On our arrival at Zabīd I lodged the Jurist in the inner part of the house, so that none but myself should see him. At night I studied under him the laws of inheritance, and by day the reading of the noble Kur'ān, according to the teaching of Abu 'Amru ibn al-'Alā, s1 the seven readings being one of the subjects upon which the Jurist gave instruction. I next devoted myself to the problem relating to the heirs of Ruzayķ, until I was able to repeat all the particulars to myself by rote. I then presented myself to the Ķā'id Surūr al-Fātiki, and asserted my ability to solve the problem. He was one of the persons most keenly desirous of making purchases from the estate, and he promised that if my

the impossibility of determining the portion belonging to each heir.

In the year 539 I found at Aden an old man, a native of Hadramaut, of the name of Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Hāsib (the Reckoner). He was an accountant, skilled in the laws of inheritance, upwards of eighty years of age, and he was on his way to perform the pilgrimage. He was extremely poor and had never, since God created him, possessed so much as two dinars. He disbelieved the statement of any person who asserted he had seen a sum of one thousand dinars, for he had been brought up in a part of the country of Kindah adjoining ar-Raml. A ship was wrecked on the neighbouring sea-shore, and one of the persons on board, a learned and pious man, was cast on shore on the sands of ar-Raml, in the country of Kindah. This was the Sheykh Ahmad al-Farady the Jurist.\*

I took him to my dwelling-place at Aden, I clothed him and gave orders that he should be hospitably treated and fed, that he be cleansed and that his beard and his hands and feet be stained with henna. Having thus provided for his comfort, we travelled together on the same camel from Aden to Zabīd, balancing one another's weight in the litter on either side. I promised that he should accompany me on the pilgrimage and that I would 75 supply him with all his requirements. He rejoiced thereat, and relying upon my promises, his mind was set at ease.

I spoke to him one night, as we were riding, on the subject of the succession of the family of Ruzayk, in which there were fifty-one separate interests. He rehearsed the particulars as if he were learning them by rote, and continued thus until dawn. Sleep

<sup>\*</sup> The above and the foregoing passages are printed as they stand in the MS. They have suffered greatly at the hands of the copyists, but the general sense is sufficiently plain.

unknown unto this day. Mann Allah's death occurred on the night of Saturday, the fifteenth of Jamādi 'l-Awwal of the year 524.79

He was succeeded in the office of wazīr to Fātik son of Mansūr, by Ruzayk al-Fātiki, a brave and

generous man.

As to his bravery, it has been related to me by Muhammad ibn 'Abd Allah the Yafi'ite and Himvarite, who was secretary to the wazīr, that he saw Ruzayk al-Fatiki one Friday, a memorable day of rivalry between him and Muffih. Seven spears were pointed against him, he wearing a double suit of mail. He cut through the greater number of the spears with his sword, and although two struck him, he retained a firm seat in his saddle. Muflib 74 called out: "Cut down the horse, or the rider will not fall to the ground!" Ruzayk thereupon charged Muffih, and with one blow aimed at the horse's back behind the saddle, he divided the animal into two separate parts. Muflih fell to the ground, and the Banu Mash'al, who are an Arab tribe,\* interposed for his protection. As to his generosity, it was chiefly shown to poets.

No man could eat so much as he, and his power to devour large quantities of food was such, that it became proverbial. He had thirty children, male and female. [After his death], the claims of the heirs to his estate and of those among his children and his children's children who died before the division, passed from one to another. The rights to the succession became subdivided and the problem of the division so complicated, that not one among the Doctors of the law was able to undertake its solution. The wazīr Mnfliḥ, and the Kā'ids Ikbāl and Mas'ūd, retainers of Fātik, were each desirous of making purchases of land and houses from the estate, but were unable to do so in consequence of

of Fātik. Another was the Honourable Lady Riyāḍ. Also the Ladies Umm Abīha, Jinān al-Kubra and Tamanni. The mother of Fātik had no fellow-73 wife but the last-mentioned.

God having decreed the destruction of Mann Allah al-Fātiki, the wazīr fixed his desires upon the daughter of Mu'arik son of Jayyash, who was celebrated for her beauty, and he asked her to surrender herself to him. She offered to ransom herself with forty virgins chosen from among her slaves, but he refused. She made complaint to the adherents of her uncle Fātik and of her cousin Mansūr son of Fatik, but they dreaded the wazīr and could not help her. Thereupon the Honourable Lady Umm Abi 'l-Jaysh said: "I will protect you against him." She brought the daughter of Mu'arik son of Jayyāsh from the royal Palace to her own dwelling, and she then sent a message to Mann Allah:— "You have given rise to reports by your manner of acting," she said to him, "injurious both to yourself and to us. If you had addressed yourself to me, I would have served you effectually and no person would have known." The wazīr was overjoyed and letters passed between him and the Lady, until at length he sent to tell the Princess that he would visit her at her house, in disguise, on the ensuing night. "God," she answered to the messenger, "hath raised the wazīr to an exalted rank, which forbids his doing as he proposes. I myself will visit him at his house." When it was night she accordingly came. She sang to him and he drank, and he was intoxicated with delight. She yielded herself to him, but she then brought about his death by means of a cloth impregnated with a deadly poison. His flesh mouldered away and he died that same night. The son of Mansur buried the body in his stables. The earth was levelled and smoothed over the grave, and its site continues

Zabīd. The fears they entertained of Mann Allah compelled them to fly, and they sought refuge in the highlands. He thereby acquired absolute

power, and his voice became supreme.

Other circumstances in the life of Mann Allah, such as here follow, must be remembered to his discredit. His first act, on being appointed wazīr after the slaying of Anīs, by Manṣūr son of Fātik son of Jayyāsh in the year 517, was to bring about the death of his master Manṣūr by poison, and to set upon the throne the Prince's son Fātik ibn

Mansur, at that time a young child.77

Mansur, his father Fatik and others of the family of Javvāsh left at their death more than a thousand concubines. Every one of these fell into the hands of the wazīr Mann Allah, with the exception of ten women, favourites of Mansur son of Fatik. Among these was the Honourable Lady, the Queen, mother of Fatik son of Mansur. She forsook the palace and built unto herself a house outside the city, wherein the wazir could not penetrate by night, either under a false pretence or with valid reason. Such was her position, notwithstanding that her son was King; but she guarded herself from danger by abandoning her son's palace, and she confided the care of the Prince to the eunuchs, his father's slaves. Another of these women was Umm Abi 'l-Jaysh (mother of Abu 'l-Jaysh), a native by birthplace and breeding. She had a daughter by Mansur, and received the name of Umm Abi 'l-Jaysh on account of the disorders we are relating.<sup>78</sup> She was of surpassing beauty and an accomplished singer. Her life was prolonged down to my time. I was in the habit of entering into her presence and of sitting before her, being trusted with the care of letters that passed between her and Sultan 'Abd Allah ibn As'ad ibn Wa'il the Wuhazite, who had married the daughter she had borne to Mansur son

head. He made a selection from the goods and harim of the wazir. Among that which Mansur acquired by purchase out of the heritage of Anis, was a slave girl, an accomplished singer, named 'Alam, who bore him a son of the name of Fatik. She was the Honourable and pious Lady, the assiduous performer of the pilgrimage by land and by sea, attended by natives of Yaman, whom she protected from the dangers of the journey and against unjust taxation and exactions.

Among other wazīrs, after Anīs, was the Sheykh Mann Allah al-Fātiki, the next after Husayn ibu Salāmah to build walls around Zabīd. In his life are combined things that were creditable to him and others that were discreditable. Of the former were his splendid generosity, his bravery and his gravity of character. He it was who defeated Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah near the gate of Zabīd, and killed of his followers one hundred Arabs, three hundred Armenian archers and five hundred Blacks. was at the end of the year 518.] He fought another battle with As'ad ibn Abi 'l-Futūh, in which upwards of one thousand Arabs were killed. He also granted endowments to the Hanafite and Shāfi'ite Jurists' Colleges, which enriched them beyond all other similar establishments, with lands, articles of utility and convenience, and houses. liberally rewarded his eulogists. I was told by the Jurist Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad ibn 'Alv as-Sahhāmi (the mercy of God be upon him!), who was tutor to the wazīr Mann Allah's sons, that he could remember having bound eulogistic verses in praise 72 of the wazīr, and that they formed ten large volumes, the compositions of excellent, celebrated and wellknown poets. It was Mann Allah who expelled Ahmad ibn Mas'ūd al-Jazali and Muflih al-Fātiki. They were the two leaders of the Abyssinian cavalry, and possessed the power of binding and loosing at

sessed none but the outward attributes of royalty. The Khutbah was recited in their names next after that of the Abbasside Khalifah, the coinage bore their titles, they rode forth under the royal umbrella on festival days, and they ratified the decisions of the Council. But all actual power, that of commanding and forbidding, the conduct of affairs, the defence of the frontiers and the accrediting of envoys, belonged to their slaves the wazīrs, the slaves of Fatik son of Jayyash and of Mansur his son. Although these wazīrs were Abyssinians, no Arab king surpassed them in personal merit or in aught but in nobility of lineage. They were noted for generosity, for their brilliant estate, and for combining renown in war with celebrated achievements in times of peace.

The first to hold the office of wazīr was Anīs al-Fātiki, who was member of an Abyssinian tribe named the Jazalis, to which the kings of the dynasty of Najāh themselves belonged. Anīs was stern and harsh, greatly feared, but brave, celebrated among the people, and just. He fought against the Arabs 71 with the result that they were effectually deterred from making attacks upon Tihāmah. After a time he became arrogant and tyrannical, and raised for himself a vast and strongly-built palace, the halls of which measured thirty cubits in width, and which contained saloons of the width of forty cubits. adopted also the use of the royal umbrella, and struck coins in his own name. He formed at length treasonable designs against his master al-Mansur; but knowledge of his intentions was divulged, through his favourites, to the slaves of Fātik, who contrived a plan for his overthrow. Their master Manşūr son of Fātik [who had attained the years of discretion], prepared a feast in the Government House, to which he invited Anis, and on the arrival of the wazīr he struck off his

quish in his favour one fourth of their country, in return for his alliance and for his aid against 'Abd al-Wāhid son of Jayyāsh. Al-Mufaddal accordingly drove 'Abd al-Wahid out of Zabid and placed the supporters of Mansur in possession of the city. [This was in the year 504.] He then, however, formed a design to act treacherously towards the family of Fatik and to take possession of the coun-70 try. But he received intelligence that the fortress of Ta'kar had been seized by certain Jurists and that they had possessed themselves of an amount of wealth such as no person had ever known. Mufaddal hastily left Zabid, turning himself unto no one, and there happened that which we have already related, how he inflicted death upon himself by poison, on beholding his concubines in the midst of men, and clad in bright coloured apparel, singing with tabours in their hands.

Thenceforward supreme power was held by Mansur, son of Fatik and by his father's retainers. The descendants of Fatik occupied the throne as Princes of the country, and the wazīrs were selected from among the descendants of his slaves. these princes there was Mansur son of Fatik. was Fatik son of Mansur, whose mother was the Honourable and virtuous Lady, the distinguished Pilgrim ['Alam]. When Fātik son of Mansūr died without issue, the succession passed on to the son of his paternal uncle, who bore likewise the name of Fatik, and who was son of Muhammad son of Mansūr, son of Fātik son of Jayyāsh (read son of Muhammad son of Fatik son of Jayyash). His accession took place in the year 553 (read in 531, and he perished in 553). With him the dynasty came to an end, and in the year 554 its power passed into the hands of 'Aly ibn Mahdy, who had rebelled in Yaman.

The descendants of Fātik son of Jayyāsh pos-

Fātik died in the year 503, leaving a son Mansūr, below the age of maturity. His father's slaves placed him upon the throne, but Ibrahim son of Jayyāsh, upon the death of his brother Fātik, collected troops and invaded Tihamah. He was confronted by the slaves of Jayyash, and the two parties halted opposite one another near a village named [Huwayb, in Wādi Zabīd]. The city having been vacated by the officials of Fatik, who held the power of Ibrahim son of Jayyash in small estimation, 'Abd al-Wahid, Ibrahim's brother, arose in arms, took possession of Zabid and seized the Government House. The eunuchs and servants came forth by night with their master Mansur, and fearing 'Abd al-Wahid on his account, they enabled him to escape by letting him down by means of a rope, from the walls of the city. Mansur took refuge with the retainers of his father Fatik, but the people turned away from him and from his supporters, and attached themselves to 'Abd al-Wāhid on his becoming master of Zabid, he being beloved by the troops.

When Ibrahim son of Jayyāsh beheld that his brother had forestalled him in the attainment of supreme power at Zabid and in the possession of the country's strongholds, he joined Husayn ibn Abi 'l-Hafat al-Hajūry, who was at that time at al-Jurayb. The Banu Abi 'l-Hafat belong to the family of the Banu Jurayb son of Sharahbil, and they are regarded as descendants of Hamdan.<sup>76</sup> al-Mansūr son of Fātik and his father's slaves, they sought refuge with the King al-Mufaddal son of Abu 'l-Barakāt the Himyarite Prince of Ta'kar. and at Dhu Jiblah, with the Honourable Lady the Queen Sayyidah, daughter of Ahmad the Sulayhite, at whose hands they met with a hospitable reception. After a time the slaves of Fatik bound themselves by an agreement with al-Mufaddal to relinThenceforward Jayyāsh suffered no material harm at the hands of al-Mukarram, none greater than incursions into the territories of Zabīd. It was in this condition of affairs that Ḥusayn ibn al-Kumm composed the following line, addressed to Jayyāsh upon his slaying the chief Ķāḍi al-Ḥasan (Ḥusayn?) ibn Abi 'Aṣāmah:—

Dost thou flee when al-Mukarram poiseth his lance?—And dost thou display thy bravery against one who neither sought favour nor excited hostility? 75

He alluded also to the same subject in an ode which will be mentioned hereafter.

Thou hast dealt unrighteously, O Jayyash, in slaying al-Ḥasan.— By his wicked slaughter, thou hast destroyed (lit. trans-pierced) the glory (the eye) of his age.

Jayyāsh continued ruler of Tihāmah from 482 until the year 498, when he died, in the month of Dhu 'l-Ḥijjah (the last month of the year). The children he left were al-Fātik son of the Indian concubine, Manṣūr, Ibrahīm, 'Abd al-Wāḥid, adh-Dhakhīrah and Mu'ārik. It is also said that Jayyāsh died in the month of Ramaḍān of the year 500, but the first-mentioned date is the more probable one.

He was succeeded by his son al-Fātik, who however was opposed by his brothers Ibrahīm and 'Abd al-Wāḥid. The former was a perfect horseman as well as benevolent, cultured and generous, whilst 'Abd al-Wāḥid was beloved and trusted by the army. They fought with one another, their father's slaves taking part in their divisions, but eventually al-Fātik son of Jayyāsh triumphed over his brother 'Abd al-Wāḥid. He pardoned him, treated him 69 with kindness, enriched him and conciliated him. As for Ibrahīm, he took refuge with As'ad ibn

As for Ibrahim, he took refuge with As'ad ibn Wa'il ibn 'Isa the Wuhāzite, who received him with such hospitality as has never been surpassed. The slaves of Fātik had meanwhile increased in number and had waxed in power.

me that what had occurred could not long remain concealed from As'ad ibn Shihāb, and in reply I informed him that I had five thousand spearmen in the city. 'Victory is in thy hands,' replied 'Aly; 'declare thyself publicly.' I told 'Aly I was unwilling that harm should befall As'ad ibn Shihāb, who had done all he could for our family and children, and through whose influence they had been spared and treated with kindness. Ibn al-Kumm desired me, in reply, to act therein as I thought proper.'

Jayyāsh ordered the drums and trumpets to be sounded. The people of the city and five thousand Abyssinians rose in arms along with him. Ibn Shihāb was taken prisoner. "Naught can defend us against you, O family of Najāḥ," he said to Jayyāsh, "for man's fortunes are as the buckets of a well (which rise full of water for the benefit now of one, then of another). But such as I ask not for mercy." "And such as thou, O Abu Hassān," answered Jayyāsh, "shall not suffer harm." Jayyāsh treated As'ad and his children with kindness, and sent him forth with all the property he possessed,

and with all his family.

"I took possession," says Jayyāsh, "of the Government House and of its contents, in the morning that followed the night on which my son Fātik was born, and the promises made to me by Ḥusayn ibn

Salāmah were exactly fulfilled.

"Ere a month had elapsed, I was at the head of twenty thousand spearmen, men who were our servants and kinsmen and who were hitherto dispersed in the provinces." Praised be He who exalteth them that were abased, and giveth abundance unto them that were in want!"

<sup>\*</sup> I have suggested in a note to the Arabic text, the substitution—though not altogether satisfactory—of مستضافين for مستضعفين for مستضعفين has since then occurred to me as a more probable reading.

possessions, in accordance with God's decree, it happened that I played chess with Husayn, the poet, son of al-Kumm. No person was present but 67 his father 'Aly, who sat on a raised seat, giving directions to his son. He promised Husayn that if he defeated me, he would send him to al-Mukarram and to Queen Sayyidah, in charge of the revenues of that year, and that he would give him the present that would, as customary, be offered to the Governor of Tihāmah, a sum amounting to several thousand dinars. I purposely played a careless game with Husayn, desiring to conciliate his father, and I allowed him to win. Husayn became intoxicated with joy and gave vent to his feelings in foolish words, with which he exulted over me. bore with him for his father's sake, but he stretched forth his hand and snatched away the black cloth that covered one of my eyes. His father stood up reprobating the act, whilst I arose in extreme anger. An involuntary exclamation escaped me according to the habit I had contracted, and I uttered the words: 'I am Jayyāsh!' It was not possible for me to remain, but 'Aly ibn al-Kumm' sprang after me, bare-footed and trailing his cloak. overtook and stopped me, and then bringing forth a copy of the Holy Volume, he swore an oath upon it, which completely tranquillized me. No person was present, and I also took oath unto him. ordered the palace of as-Sulayhi, the Dar al-'Izz, to be vacated. It was carpeted and hung with curtains and the Indian slave girl was removed thither, together with male and female servants, provisions and furniture. He retained me in his house until night had set in, when he allowed me to depart. I entered the palace and found that the slave girl had given birth to my son al-Fātik, between sunset and the hour of evening prayer. 'Aly ibn al-Kumm came to me that night. He warned

the Abyssinians who were scattered in the provinces, bidding them to be in readiness. When five thousand spearmen had assembled, dispersed in the outskirts of the city and within its walls, I told the wazīr Khalf that a certain sum was due to me by 'Omar ibn Suhaym. I desired him to receive ten thousand dinars and to distribute the money among the men who had assembled, which he did. I (again) saw the wazīr at night, and informed him that my Lord the Kā'id Husayn ibn Salāmah had appeared to me in my sleep. He had promised me that the kingdom we desired to regain would return unto us, and that the event would occur on the night of the delivery of the Indian slave girl. Husayn, I moreover told him, after speaking these words, had turned to a man on his right hand and had asked: 'Is it not so, O Prince of the Faithful?' and the man so addressed replied: 'Yea verily, and sovereignty will belong to the descendants of the child for a long period of time,' 73

"I remember that on a certain day," continues Jayyash, "'Aly ibn al-Kumm returned from the palace to his own house, in a state of extreme anger. On becoming calmer he said to me: 'Come up, Indian, that I may play chess with thee.' Whilst we were playing, his son Husayn entered and beat one of his slaves with a whip. I was struck by the end of the whip, and I heedlessly uttered an exclamation such as habitually escaped me whenever anything startled me. The words I used were: 'I am Abu 't-Tāmi!' 'Indian,' asked the old man, 'what is thy name?' I answered, 'Bahr.' 'Bahr!' he said, 'by Allah! the epithet Abu 't-Tāmi is well suited to that name.'74 I repented," continues Jayyash, "of what I had said, and I began to mistrust my companions.

"When the time had come for the recovery of our

intelligence respecting our friends, our kinsmen and our servants, which filled me with satisfaction. He told me that they were in great numbers in the country, but that they wanted a leader. I assumed the guise of an Indian, allowed my beard to spread over my face, my hair and nails to grow long, and I covered one of my eyes with a black cloth. dwelt close to the royal palace, and when people went forth in the morning, I used to proceed to the mastabah (bench at the outer gate) of 'Alv ibn al-Kumm, who was wazir to the governor appointed by the King al-Mukarram ibn 'Alv. I heard him say one day (as he went past?), 'By Allah, if I could find a dog of the family of Najāh, of a certainty I would make him King of Zabīd.' This was said in consequence of some cause of offence that had arisen between him and the governor As'ad ibn Shihab. Husayn, son of 'Aly the Kummite, the poet came forth on a certain day. He was at that time the most skilful chess-player of all the inhabitants of Zabid. 'Indian,' he asked me, 'art thou a good chess-player?' I answered that I was. We played, and I beat him at the game, whereupon he barely restrained himself from violence against me. He went in to his father and told him that he had been His father replied that there had 66 beaten at chess. never been a person at Zabīd who could overcome him, excepting only Jayyash the son of Najah, and he, he continued, has died in India. 'Aly, the father of Husayn, then came forth to me. He was an exceedingly skilful player and we played together. was unwilling to defeat him, and the match ended in a drawn game. He was greatly pleased with me, and admitted me to his intimacy. Every day and every evening he used to say: 'God speed you unto us, O family of Najāḥ!' At night I used to join the wazīr Khalf, and we were parted during the day. I occupied myself, meanwhile, in writing to HOW JAYYASH SON OF NAJĀḤ WENT TO INDIA, ACCOM-PANIED BY THE WAZĪR ĶASĪM AL-MULK ABU SA'ĪD KHALF SON OF ABU ṬĀHIR THE OMAYYAD, DESCENDANT OF SULEYMĀN IBN HISHĀM SON OF 'ABD AL-MALIK.

JAYYASH proceeds with his relation as follows:-"After these events I disguised myself, and I went to Aden, accompanied by the wazīr Khalf, son of 65 Abu Tāhir. We proceeded to India in the year 481, and after remaining in that country for six months, we returned the same year to Yaman. One of the most wonderful things I experienced in India was on the occasion of our meeting a man who came from Sarandib. Everyone rejoiced at his presence, and it was believed that he possessed knowledge of the future. Upon our questioning him respecting our affairs, he gladdened us with predictions, not one word of which failed to be accomplished. I bought an Indian slave girl, and she arrived with me in Yaman, being at that time in her fifth month of pregnancy. On landing at Aden, I sent the wazīr Khalf in advance of me to Zabīd, by the sea-board road, and I ordered him to spread reports of my having died in India, to apply for a personal amnesty, to acquaint me with the actual situation of our affairs, and to inform me who of our people remained with the Abyssinians. I myself went to Dhu Jiblah, where I fully acquainted myself with the condition of al-Mukarram ibn 'Aly, how he had given himself over to the pursuit of pleasure, how he had become physically weakened, and how he had abandoned the direction of affairs to his wife, Queen Sayyidah daughter of Ahmad, From the highlands I descended to Zabid, where I joined the wazīr Ibn Khalf, and received from him victory, together with a large amount of booty. It comprised two thousand horses and three thousand camels, with their harness and furniture. He entered Zabīd on the sixteenth day of the month of Dhu'l-Ka'dah of the year 473, with the heads of as-Sulayhi and his brother borne before the litter of the Honourable Lady Asmā daughter of Shihāb. He placed her in the house of Shaḥār, and the two

heads were set up opposite her casement.

As'ad ibn Shihāb fled from Zabīd, and took refuge with al-Mukarram at San'ā. The death of as-Sulayhi filled the hearts of all men with dread of Sa'id ibn Najāh. The governors of the (mountain) fortresses seized possession of the places confided to their rule, and the authority of al-Mukarram was all but destroyed. That of Sa'id in Tihamah, on the contrary, acquired great strength, and he sent persons to Abyssinia to purchase for him twenty spearmen. Al-Mukarram (thousand) continued deprived of all knowledge of his mother, the Honourable Lady Asmā daughter of Shihāb, until he attacked Zabid, and rescued her in the manner we have already related. Sa'id subsequently returned,\* recaptured the city, and expelled the governors appointed by al-Mukarram. He continued to rule over it until he was killed in A.H. 481, in the battle of the castle of Sha'ir, the result of a stratagem contrived by Queen Sayyidah, daughter of Ahmad, and wife of the King al-Mukarram, as has likewise been mentioned.

<sup>\*</sup> From Dahlak, in A.H. 479 (Khi.).

feud was satisfied, that he had won back his kingdom, that in kindness to al-Mukarram he sent him his mother, guarded and protected, and that he had granted an amnesty to al-Mukarram's kinspeople. 'By Allah, my lord,' I said to him, 'if thou do this, the Banu Kaḥṭān will not dispute thy sovereignty over Tihāmah, and if thou decline my advice, their sense of wounded honour will to a certainty stir and impel them to invade thy country.' Sa'īd answered me in the words of the ancient poet,—

Beware of sparing the viper, after crushing her tail.—If thou art wise, her head shall share the fate of her tail.

"He then ordered the Sulayhites to be brought forth, and they were slain to the last man. mercy of God be upon them! I saw an old man among them, who sought to protect himself behind his son, and the spear passed through the bodies of May God preserve us from the grievous pressure of calamity! I shall never forget," continues Jayyāsh, "the sight of as-Sulayhi's head mounted upon the shaft of the royal umbrella, nor the voice of the Kur'an reader: Say, O God, Lord of Empire, Thou givest sovereignty unto whom Thou willest, and Thou takest it from whom Thou willest. Thou raisest whom Thou willest, and Thou abasest whom Thou willest. In Thy hands is all good, and 64 Thy boundless power is over all things.\* Neither can I forget the words of the poet al-'Othmani, part of an ode which he improvized on the spot, and in which he described the royal canopy:—

How unsightly was his face under its shade!—How comely his his head upon its stem!"

Three days after the battle, Sa'id departed for Zabid, earrying the two heads with him. The vain possession of a kingdom was one of the spoils of his

<sup>\*</sup> Kur'ān, S. iii. v. 25.

He then struck off the head of 'Abd Allah, imagin-

ing him to be his brother 'Aly the Sulayhite.

"Sa'id mounted the horse of 'Abd Allah, and with the two heads borne aloft before him he proceeded to the door of the mosque, in which the Lady Asmā, daughter of Shihāb and wife of as-Sulayhi, was. 'Come forth,' he said to her, and offer thy morning greeting unto the two Sultāns!' 'May God never bestow upon thee the greeting of his favours, O Aḥwal!' she replied. And, with her face uncovered, she recited the line composed by Imru 'l-Kais the Kindite,—

63 Verily none so insolently trample upon thee as—the feeble boaster. None so arrogant in humbling as he that hath been abased.<sup>72</sup>

"Sa'id sent a messenger to the five thousand, whom as-Sulayhi had despatched on the previous night with orders to slay him. 'As-Sulayhi,' he said, 'has suffered death. I am a man of your own race, and the honours I gain are acquired by you.' He remained at the gate of the mosque, the two heads set up before him, and the air filled with the sound of the beating of drums, until the men arrived. They saluted him, and with their aid he plundered and captured and massacred the soldiers of as-Sulayhi. Sa'id," continues Jayyāsh, "became intoxicated with pride, and assumed a haughty demeanour even towards me his brother, son both of his father and of his mother. I advised him to show kindness to the Lady Asmā, and to grant an amnesty to the Princes of the Sulayhite family who accompanied her. They were one hundred and seventy in number, all mistrusted by Sulayhi, who feared lest, in his absence, they should betray him. I advised him also to spare the Kahtanite chieftains, who were likewise with her, thirty-five in number, to send, through the Princess, a letter to her son al-Mukarram son of 'Aly, to write that his blood

"We were mistaken for servants and followers of as-Sulayhi, and none heeded us, saving 'Abd Allah son of Muhammad the Sulayhite, who, mounting his charger, suddenly called to his brother: 'To horse, my lord! for this, by Allah, is al-Ahwal son of Najāh, with his armed following, of whom we have received warning by As'ad ibn Shihāb's letter from As-Sulayhi, in reply to his brother, exclaimed that he was destined to die at no other place but ad-Duhaym and Bir (the well of) Umm He believed that the well (referred to in the prediction) was that bearing the same name, at which the Apostle of God (upon whom be blessings and salutations of peace) halted, on the occasion of his flight in company with Abu Bekr. But Mash'al the 'Akkite exclaimed: 'Defend thyself, for this, by Allah, is the well of Duhaym ibn 'Abs, and that mosque stands on the site of the tent of Umm (the mother of) Ma'bad, son of al-Harith the 'Absite.' On hearing these words," says Jayyāsh, "aṣ-Sulayhi was overcome with despair, and he urined into his chain-armoured tunic. He never moved from the place where he stood, until we struck off his head with his own sword. I was the first to strike him, but one of Najāh's slaves took part with me in the deed. He it was that pierced as-Sulayhi with his spear, and I struck off his head with my own hand and mounted it upon the shaft of the royal umbrella. I ordered the drums to be beat and the trumpets to be sounded, and I mounted Sulayhi's Hadramauti horse named adh-Dhabbal. As for 'Abd Allah son of Muliammad the Sulayhite, the bravest of Arab horsemen, he charged us and killed several of our people. One of our men grappled him, and both fell to the ground. 'Kill us both,' cried the man, 'for my people will rejoice at my not having perished at the hands of the vile.' Sa'id thereupon," says Javyāsh, "transfixed both with a spear at one blow.

said, for the uprising of Saʿīd al-Aḥwal son of Najāḥ, and there was hardly a mosque or place of assembly, a college, or market, or public road, in which the matter was not discussed, though we endeavoured, from motives of prudence, to act secretly. But Saʿīd openly made oath by God Most High, that he would slay his enemy, that he was the destined master of the day, and he spoke in that tone to most people.

"As-Sulayli, on hearing of our revolt, despatched against us a detachment of his army, consisting of five thousand Abyssinian spearmen, most of whom were our own servants and kinsmen, and he ordered them to bring him the heads of the squinteyed Sa'id, of his brother, and of his other com-

panions.

"By adopting the sea-board road, we avoided the troops. I remember that when night closed in upon us at al-Murāwi'ah,\* in the province of al-Kadra, a man stepped forward from behind the hillocks in the valley, and addressing us, said that we had doubtless strayed from our way. replied that it was so, whereupon he desired us to follow him, and he walked before us until day broke, when we lost sight of him. We underwent great fatigue and suffering from travelling barefooted by day and by night. Sa'id, walking in our midst whilst the horse was led, continually exclaimed: 'O morning of prosperity, of triumph, and happiness! Make ye haste unto the man, lest tomorrow he die otherwise than by our hands. Allah! to-morrow's sun shall not rise and he still in this world!" We continued our march without <sup>2</sup> intermission, until we at length entered the borders of the camp.

<sup>\*</sup> Al-Murāwi'ah is mentioned in the Tāj al-'Arūs as the name of a village in Yaman, the burial-place of a member of the family of al-Ahdal.

the elder, and the adventures he met with are the strangest that ever were recorded.

He departed from Dahlak for Zabid in anger with his brother Jayyash, who had prevented him from practising treachery against the Prince of Sa'id concealed himself at Zabid in the house of the Ra'is Mulā'ib the Khaulānite. This man belonged to the lower orders of the people, but he was more than any other person attached to the family of Najāh. Sa'id dug for himself a refuge in the grounds occupied by the dwellingplaces of Mulaib, and he generally abode therein. He then wrote to his brother Jayyash at Dahlak, ordering him to come to Zabid, and announcing the speedy downfall of the Sulayhites and the restoration of their own family. On Jayyash's arrival, Sa'id openly rose against his enemies at the head of a band of seventy men. Not one of them possessed a horse, nor had they any other weapon than iron 61 nails mounted on palm-sticks. Ahmad ibn Falah, chief of the Office of Control \* at Zabid, has told me that when Sa'id went forth from the city, he and his followers met a mounted soldier. killed him, and Sa'id appropriated the horse he was riding. Sa'id started from Zabid, on his way to attack as-Sulayhi, at the close of the ninth day of Dhu 'l-Ka'dah, of the year 473.

"We set forth," says Jayyāsh son of Najāḥ, "by the sea-board road, avoiding the royal highway for fear of being intercepted by the enemy. By forced marches the distance to al-Mahjam could be performed in three days. The news of our insurrection had preceded us and had reached as-Sulayhi. Both the highlands and the plains were, at the time, filled with rumours.† The time had come, it was

<sup>\*</sup> Diwān at-Taḥķīķ. See Maķrīzi's Khiṭaṭ, vol. ii. p. 401. † The conjunction thumma, which occurs at this point, perhaps indicates an omission in the MS.

60 HISTORY OF THE FAMILY OF NAJAH, THE ABYSSINIAN KINGS OF ZABID.

AL-Mu'ayyad Nāṣir ad-dīn Najāḥ continued to rule over Tihāmah, from the dominious of Ibn Ṭarf to Aden, the kings of the highlands showing respect for his dynasty, and dreading his power. This endured until the Dā'y 'Aly son of Muḥammad the Sulayhite brought about his death, by means of a slave girl, whom he sent to Najāḥ as a present, in the year 452. The sons of Najāḥ retained possession of Tihāmah for two years after their father's death, and during that period affairs were conducted by one of their freedmen, of the name of Kahlān. They were men of resolute character, but some members of the family were still in their youth.

Ere long the Dā'y 'Aly the Sulayhite dispossessed them of their kingdom (in A.H. 455), and after their arrival in the Island of Dahlak they became dispersed. Mu'ārik, the eldest of the family, in an access of folly committed suicide. As for adh-Dhakhīrah, she had barely attained the age of puberty. Sa'īd al-Aḥwal, who afterwards slew the Sulayhite, (and Jayyāsh) were the two manliest characters of their house. Each cultivated literature, and enjoyed a prolonged life and great power. But their father Najālı brought up their elder brother Mu'ārik to succeed him.

Jayyāsh disguised himself and entered the city of Zabīd. Having recovered possession of certain deposits due to him by 'Abd ar-Rahman ibn Ṭāhir al-Kaybi, he returned to Dahlak, where he remained for a certain length of time, in the days of as-Sulayhi, applying himself with distinguished success to the acquisition of learning. Saʿīd al-Ahwal and he were born of the same mother, but Saʿīd was

special knowledge of all that relates to Bilal, that he left in money alone six hundred and fifty thousand Maliki dinars and upwards of three hundred thousand dinars in Egyptian coin. He left also several buhārs weight if of silver plate, consisting of ornaments, horses' and mules' trappings, swords and lances, inkstands, basins and ewers, candlesticks, Ma'āsh (?) articles for presents, bath-basins, drinking-cups, cloaks (?), silver lace, utensils encrusted with gold, Sulayhi daggers, silver goblets and ba'liyat (?), weighing altogether five buhars and two hundred pounds. As to clothing and merchandise, stores and warehouses were filled with them: Thus it was also in the matter of perfumes and such like. Also accoutrements and arms, rarities from India and beautiful objects from China, from North Africa and from Trak, variegated stuffs (?) from Egypt, from 'Oman and from Kirman, all in quantities which it is impossible to reckon. passed over by his bequest into the possession of his master the Da'y Muhammad, son of Saba. The latter in the course of two years spent the whole in works of piety and benevolence.

Bilāl died leaving several sons, grown up men. Among them were the Sheykh Mudāfi' son of Bilāl, who succeeded him in the office of wazīr. He died, and the wazīr Abu 'l-Faraj Yāsir, son of Bilāl al-Muḥammady, assumed the guardianship of the two young Amīvs, the sons of 'Imrān ibn Muḥammad, as well as that of their brother Manṣūr.\* Yāsir is not inferior to his father in resolution and strength of character, or in bravery. As for the virtue of generosity, he is renowned for it, he is celebrated for it, and he is surnamed after it.

<sup>\*</sup> The above is the nearest sense I can give to the much mutilated sentence in our MS. But there is practically no room for doubt that a version, which represents Yāsir as the guardian of 'Imrān's children, is substantially incorrect. See Note 69.

laws of rhyme, and the account shall be regulated." Then he asked for paper, and wrote as follows:—

"In the name of God, the Merciful, the Gracious. I hereby declare, and I am 'Imrān, son of the Mighty Dā'y Muḥammad, son of the Most Noble Dā'y Saba, son of Abu Su'ūd. son of Zuray', son of 'Abbās the Yāmite, that the Jurist 'Omārah, son of al-Ḥasan\* the Ḥakamite, is exempt from all liability for the money he owed and was unable to pay to our lord the Dā'y Muḥammad son of Saba, amounting to two thousand seven hundred Malikīyah dinārs."

I again departed from Arabia in the year 552. Travellers arriving in Egypt from Yaman never ceased relating, touching the strength of character of the Dā'y and his generosity, things fit to humble Fortune when it shapes the course of events and the rain of heaven, when its copious and beneficent showers water the thirsty soil.

He died in the year 560, leaving three sons, Muhammad, Abu Su'ūd and Manṣūr, none of whom has yet attained the years of manhood at the present time, namely the month of Muharram of the year 564 of the Hijrah, the blessings of God and His peace be upon its originator 69

peace be upon its originator.69

The following is a slight sketch (a supplement to the foregoing particulars), poor and inadequate as the residue of liquid at the bottom of a cup, of the history of the Auspicious, the Divinely-assisted, the Righteous Chief, Abu 'n-Nadi Jarīr son of Bilāl

(read Bilāl son of Jarīr) al-Muḥammady.

We have already mentioned that he governed 59 Aden on behalf of his master Saba. 'Aly al-A'azz allowed him to remain, and the city continued under his rule from the year 534 until 546 or 547, when he died. Worldly greatness is surely vanity! 70

I have been told by Sheykh Ma'mar ibn Ahmad ibn 'Attāb, and by the learned scholar Abu Bakr ibn Ahmad al-'Abdi, both of whom possessed

<sup>\*</sup> Son of Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Aly?

but verses. "By Allah!" I said to him, "I have not composed a word of poetry, nor can I do so for fear of the people of Zabīd, who make my verses a subject of reproach to me." He, however, desisted not from pressing me until he put me to shame and I improvized lines on the same metre as that upon which the Kādi Yahya ibn Ahmad ibn Abi Yahya composed his verses. When I recited them he exclaimed: "I rewarded the Kādi with five hundred dinars and a dress of honour. I reward you with a like sum out of the amount in your hands, but in bestowing upon you a dress of honour, I will distinguish you over him, by giving you the robes I have on at this moment." I received the money and the robes, and the circumstance was one of the causes of the hatred the Abyssinians entertained against me, and of their desire to kill me, a design from which I was preserved by God Most High. 68

The generous deeds performed by the Da'y Muhammad ibn Saba are more than it is possible to enumerate. He died in the year 548,\* and was suc-58 ceeded by his son 'Imrān ibn Muhammad ibn Saba. The people of Zabid prohibited me from going to him, and God decreed my journey to Egypt in A.H. 551, as envoy from the prince of the two great and holy cities. I obtained, on returning to Yaman, a letter from Malik aş-Sālih (Talāi' ibn Ruzayk) to the Dā'y 'Imrān son of Muhammad, asking him for a settlement of the account of moneys, for which, at the time of his father's death, I was still indebted and which amounted to three thousand dinars. is the purport of Malik as-Sālih's letter," inquired the Da'y. The Kadi ar-Rashid informed him in reply that it asked for a settlement of the account. "Let 'Omarah offer us two lines of verse," answered the Dā'y, "in which he shall strictly observe the

than ever with one another in eulogies and congratulations on the subject of the fortresses he had acquired, and of the guarded and hidden jewels, the two wives above mentioned. The Da'y was intoxicated with gladness by his successes and his hands were widely opened in distributions of gifts. One morning I went up to Dhu Jiblah, accompanied by 57 the Sheykh Abu 'l-Hasan ibn 'Aly ibn Muhammad the Sulayhite and by the Shevkh al-Murajia al-Harāni, and from Dhu Jiblah we proceeded to the fortress of Habb. Every paper that was handed to the Da'y, he marked with the words, Honour belongeth to God alone. On reaching the castle, we reckoned up the papers in the possession of the poets. The Dā'y's treasurers were the Sheykhs Ahmad ibn Mūsa ibn Abi 'z-Zarr the governor and Rayhān al-Muhammady. The sum to be paid was found to amount to five thousand dinars. Sheykh Ahmad ibn Mūsa objected to it as unreasonably large and proposed that we should consult the Dā'y on the subject. Sheykh Rayhān, however, answered that as for him, he was not wearied of his life. "By Allah!" he said, "if you speak to him on the subject, you will not leave his presence without undergoing the effects of his anger." The entire sum was paid that same day. The Kāḍi Yaḥya ibn Ahmad ibn Abi Yahya eulogized the Dā'y at Dhu Jiblah in an ode, for which he was rewarded with a donation of five hundred dinars and with a dress of honour.

I arrived from Tihāmah at a time when I was indebted to the Prince for a sum he had confided to me for certain purposes of his own. I received a letter at Zabīd, sent from Dhu Jiblah, in which he invited me to join him, which I did. When I stood before him, he asked me what I had brought him. I answered enumerating the things I had procured for him, to which he replied that he wanted nought

extemporized two lines of verse on a certain metre that occurred to him, and he promised to give the robes he wore and the money about his person, to him among the persons present, who should be the first to supplement his verses. The poets were slow in the accomplishment of their task and the Kādi Abu Bakr ibn Muhammad al-Yāfi'y distanced his companions in the race. He was close to me. I stole the paper out of his hand and I contrived to have his words in readiness on my lips. I thus appropriated the two lines he had composed. Standing up, I recited them to the Da'y, and received the Kādi's prize. His shot hit the mark, but I had purloined the arrow, and I carried off the money and the robes. The stream of the Dā'v's liberality flowed in torrents for the benefit of the talented men about him. Not one of them but received a dress of honour and was rewarded with generous gifts.

In the year 549 (read 547) the Da'y Muhammad ibn Saba purchased, from the Amir Mansur son of al-Mufaddal, all the strongholds that had formerly belonged to the Sulayhites.\* They consisted of twenty-eight castles and cities, among which were the cities of Dhu Jiblah, Dhu Ashrak, and Ibb. He bought them at the price of one hundred thousand dinārs. Mansūr adopted his two fortresses of Sabir and Tafizz as his places of residence and he divorced his wife. 67 Her name was Arwa, daughter of 'Aly, son of Abd Allah the Sulayhite. The Da'y went up to Mikhlaf (Ja'far). He made Dhu Jiblah his place of residence and married the repudiated wife of the Amir Mansur ibn al-Mufaddal. He married also the Honourable Wuhāzite Lady, the daughter of Sultan As'ad ibn Wa'il ibn 'Isa. He removed her place of residence from as-Sarīhāni to the palace of Ibn Sibā'. The poets vied more

<sup>\*</sup> See Note 56.

side the city of al-Juwwah (Hinwah?), seated on a spot where he suffered from the hot rays of the sun. Poets were present who strove with one another for liberty to recite their verses. "Tell them," he said to me, "and raise your voice so that they may hear, that they need not crowd around me, for I will not leave this place until they have finished." The poets were thirty in number and he rewarded each one.

I remember being with him one night in his palace at al-Juwwah, whence I intended proceeding to Aden. He had with him the two Kadis, Abu Bakr ibn Muḥammad al-Yāfi'y the Janadite and Abu 'l-Fath ibn as-Sahl, besides others of his principal courtiers, such as the two sons of Kāsim, Saba and Muhammad, both of whom were shining lights, and one of the two, Muhammad, was a physician and astrologer. Several of the eulogists I have spoken of, ten in number, had assembled at his gates. The Da'y produced the poems and, turning to the persons assembled around him, he asked what reward he ought, in their opinion, to bestow upon the authors. His companions mentioned various sums, not one of which exceeded one hundred "Make it," he said, "three hundred 56 dinārs. It is little enough." Thereupon he arose, dinārs. and we superintended the division of the money.

We were present with him one day at the palace of al-Ḥajr, at a place known as al-Jannāt. Several poets were in his company, among others Ṣafy ad-Daulah Aḥmad ibn 'Aly al-Ḥakly and the chief Kāḍi Abu Bakr ibn Muḥammad al-Yāfi'y the Janadite. He was a distinguished poet and author of extemporaneous verses, which no studied lines have ever excelled. Also the Kāḍi Yaḥya ibn Aḥmad ibn Abi Yaḥya, Kāḍi of Ṣan'ā, who, in the opinion of the people of Yaman, occupies a rank among poets equal to that of Ibn al-Kumm. The Dā'y

from Aden. They took Muhammad ibn Saba from under the protection of Mansur ibn al-Mufaddal, 55 and brought him down to Aden. Bilal placed him upon the throne and made the people and officers of the government swear obedience unto him. He married him to his daughter and the wedding was celebrated with great splendour. He besieged Anis and the Governor Yahya ibn 'Aly at Dumlūwah. The fortress was taken, and the whole country submitted to Bilal. When I reproached Anis for having surrendered Dumlūwah, a place of great strength, he answered that had he not submitted the female slaves and women would have beaten him to death with their clogs. Whilst the siege was proceeding he heard them, he said, saying to one another: "Curses be upon the slave who covets the like of what we require. Who is he to oppose one so much better for us than himself?" meaning thereby the brother of their lord, Muhammad ibn Saba.

The Kāḍi ar-Rashīd Aḥmad ibn az-Zubayr had started from the Holy Gates (of the Imperial Palace at Cairo) in A.H. 534, with a charter of investment to the noble office of Dā'y, in the name of al-A'azz al-Murtaḍa 'Aly, son of Saba. On his arrival, he found that 'Aly was dead, and he invested Muḥammad son of Saba, giving him the titles of the Most Great, the Crowned, the Mighty. Upon Muḥammad's wazīr Bilāl son of Jarīr, he bestowed the titles of the Auspicious Chief, the Divinely-assisted, the Righteons.

The Dā'y Muḥammad was a man of a generous disposition, universally praised, fond of eulogy, liberal in his rewards to those who eulogized him, and himself a skilful improviser. He treated men of eulture and learning with generosity and often introduced one or more verses in his conversation. I once saw him on a feast day in the Musalla. 66 out-

Aden to Lahj, he also said, is the distance of a night's journey, and he remembered writing from Aden with the news of the conquest of the city, and of his having captured al-Khaḍrā. He sent a messenger with the glad tidings to the Dā'y Saba ibn Abi Su'ūd. The same day on which he took al-Khaḍrā, the Dā'y captured the city of az-Za'āzi', and Bilāl's messenger met one bringing similar glad tidings from the Dā'y, a coincidence which, as he observed, was one of the most remarkable recorded in history.

'Aly ibn Abi 'l-Gharāt took refuge in the two fortresses of Munīf and al-Jabalah (?). They belonged to the people of Saba Suhayb, whose country is the higher portion of Lahj. He, Muḥammad ibn Manī' ibn Mas'ūd and Ri'yah son of Abu 'l-Gharāt, were slain by Muḥammad ibn Saba at Laḥj in the

year 545.

The Dā'y Saba entered Aden, but, as we have stated, he lived in it for only seven months. He was buried at the foot of at-Ta'kar within the city. He bequeathed his crown to his son 'Aly al-A'azz. His death occurred in A.H. 533, one year after the death of the Honourable Lady, the Queen (Sayyi-

dah).

The Amīr al-A'azz al-Murtada 'Aly, son of Saba, dwelt at Dumlūwah. He meditated putting Bilāl to death at Aden, but died of consumption. He bequeathed the crown to his sons Ḥātim, 'Abbās, Manṣūr, and Mufaḍḍal, all of whom were in their infancy. He appointed Anīs al-A'azzi and the Governor Yaḥya ibn 'Aly, who was his wazīr and secretary, to be guardians of the children.

Muḥammad son of Saba, had fled from his brother, seeking refuge at Ta'izz and Sabir with the Amīr Manṣūr ibn Mufaḍḍal ibn Abi 'l-Barakāt, from whom he received protection. When 'Aly died at Dumlūwah, Bilāl sent certain Hamdānites

son one hundred. The Hamdānite arose, but on reaching the entrance of the tent, he came back and said: "By Allah! I will not, of a certainty, ask thee another thing save this one, for which I have returned. I have a daughter who has not a husband. An evil thing it were that I and her brothers should marry, whilst she remains single." "What is to be done?" asked the Dā'y. "Pay me a sum wherewith I may be able to marry her." The Dā'y gave him one hundred dinārs more and quoting the poet's saying, in the rajaz metre, he exclaimed:—

"Zayd's beard had to be thinned, and it was plucked out by the roots."

I was informed by the Dā'y Muḥammad ibn Saba and by Bilāl ibn Jarīr al-Muḥammady, that Saba expended upon the war with Sulṭān 'Aly son of Abu l'-Gharāt, three hundred thousand dinārs. His means were then exhausted, and he borrowed money from the merchants of Aden who supported his cause, such as the Sharīf Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn Abi 'l-'Omari, a descendant of (the second Khalīfah) 'Omar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, Sheykh Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Aly ibn Muḥammad ibn A'yan, Zāfir ibn Farāḥ and others.

The Dā'y Saba died at Aden, seven months after his conquest of az-Za'āzi', still owing on account of the money he had borrowed, a debt of thirty thousand dinārs, which was paid by his son, al-A'azz 'Aly ibn Saba. The Sheykh as-Sa'īd Bilāl, son of Jarīr al-Muḥammady, told me that when he took the fortress of al-Khadrā at Aden, and captured the Honourable Lady Bahjah, mother of Sultān 'Aly ibn Abi 'l-Gharāt, he found treasures under her keeping which it was not possible for him to match, although the whole of Aden had been in his possession for a considerable length of time. From

abstained from similar liberality, and the minds of the people were nigh to being turned against him; but when 'Aly's cause gave way, the Da'y expended money with a liberality which it would never have entered the mind of any man to expect. I recollect, he continued, that on a certain day, a member of the tribe of Hamdan came into the presence of the Dā'y Saba, who was then occupying a tent in his "Let me be a partaker of thy bounty, O Abu Himyar," said the Hamdanite. No one was with them but myself. "Thou knowest," continued the man, "that war is a devouring fire, and that men and horses are its fuel. I desire of thee that thou pay me the price of my blood, which amounts to one thousand dinars." The Da'y consented. "Also," continued the man, "the blood money of my son So and so, and of his brother." He received two thousand dinars on their account. "May God preserve thee from evil, O Abu Himyar," he thereupon said, "but there remains a claim for the horses that were destroyed." "Did destruction extend to the horses?" asked the Dā'y. "Pay me the price of the horses," answered the Hamdanite, "as thou hast paid me the blood money." The Da'y handed over to him a purse containing five hundred dinars. "But there is," said the man, "another thing which I think thy generosity, O Abu Himyar, will not allow thee to deny me." "What is it?" "I desire to marry So and so, daughter of Such a one. Thou knowest how distinguished a family they are, and I am not possessed of sufficient wealth to approach them in a suitable The Da'y gave one hundred dinars. "Mayest thou prosper and increase in wealth," said the Hamdanite. "There remains but one thing more. It would ill become me to marry whilst my two sons are unable to do so." Dā'y gave him two hundred dinārs, for

there shall surely be kisses bestowed upon us by the Jushamite maidens within his tents." When I informed my father of these words, he rode forth in person and addressed the Banu adh-Dhīb, who were present, and who were his nearest kinsmen: "The mercenary Arab horsemen (their allies) were not equal," he said, "to the heat of battle. Fire can be mastered only by him that kindles it. Meet your kinsmen and bear the fierce heat of battle yourselves, otherwise there is nought before you but defeat and disgrace."

The two armies joined in action and one of our horsemen, charging Mani' son of Mas'ūd, dealt him a thrust with his lance, which divided his upper lip and the extremity of his nose. The battle raged on both sides with lance-thrusts, heavy blows of the sword and the destruction of horses. The assembled Arabs looked eagerly on, but the Banu Hamdan at length charged, and interposed themselves between the two parties. At the same moment, the combatants were separated by the Lahj, which came rushing in a torrent down its bed. The two parties stood still on either bank of the stream, conversing with one another. The Da'v Saba, or some other person, turned towards Mani's ibn Mas'ūd. "What sayest thou," he asked, "O Abu Mudāfi', of the Jushamite maidens' kisses this evening?" "I say of them," answered Manī', "as has been said by the poet al-Mutanabbi:—

Lance-thrusts to those that love them are as kisses." 64

Mani'u's answer has ever since been greatly praised and admired, by reason of the aptness of his quotation to the circumstances.

The war at az-Za'āzi', said to me the Dā'y Muḥammad ibn Saba, endured for two years. 'Aly son of Abu 'l-Gharāt at first distributed money without taking account thereof, whilst the Dā'y

good report and through evil report, in the collection of money and corn. All who looked to him for protection were ill-treated and oppressed, the followers of 'Aly being the more powerful party. The Da'y bore his injuries in silence, but when his patience seemed likely to lead to the extinction of his authority, he determined upon an open struggle with his enemies. He appointed his deputy, the Sheykh as-Sa'id al-Muwaffak Bılal son of Jarir, over Aden, and ordered him to stir up the people, and to promote war in the city. Bilal, who was a man of energy and sagacity, obeyed. Saba meanwhile collected a force of Arabs from among the Banu Hamdan, and from among the tribes of Janb ibn As'ad (ibn Ḥurab?), 'Anbas ('Ans?), Khaulan, Himyar, Madhhij, and others. He hurried down from the mountains, [from Dumlūwah,] and confronted his enemies in Wadi Lahj. The Dā'y Saba possessed in that valley a walled village, known by the name of Bany Abbah, 61 which he occupied with his brethren of the family of Zuray'. The retainers of his kinsman Mas'ūd possessed in the same valley a large walled city called az-Za'āzi'. The two parties encamped near their respective towns, and they fought one another with unexampled determination.

The cruelty of our kindred inflicts a deeper wound—than the blows of a sharp-cutting sword.  $^{62}$ 

I have been told by the Dā'y Muḥammad ibn Saba, that he was out on one occasion with a reconnoitring party for Saba. They came in sight of 'Aly ibn Abi 'l-Gharāt and of his uncle Manī' ibn Mas'ūd. No horse, said the son of Saba, ever carried braver or bolder men than these two. "We took to flight," he continued, "but we were overtaken by Manī' ibn Mas'ūd." "Tell your father, O youth," he shouted, "to stand firm, for this evening

titles of the Unparagoned, the Victorious, Glory of the Empire, Honour of the Khalifate, Right Arm of the Empire, Sword of the Imām, Crown and Chief of the Arabs, Dā'y of the Prince of the Faithful,—shared the sovereignty over Aden with the Sulṭān 'Aly son of Abu 'l-Gharāt. He held its gates and wielded authority over all that entered the city from the land side. He owned the fortress of Dumlūwah,\* Ar-Ramā (?), Sāmi', Maṭrān (?), and Dhubḥān; also part of al Ma'āfir and of Janad. His possessions in the highlands were extensive. His sons were al-A'azz 'Aly, Muḥammad, al-Mufaḍdal, Ziyād, and Rauḥ.

How the Sovereighty of 'Aly Ibn Abi 'L-Gharāt came to an end at Aden, and how it passed into the hands of the Dā'y Saba.

It has been related to me by the Dā'y Muḥammad

son of Saba and by certain Sheykhs of Aden, that they knew Ibn al-Khazary Abu 'l-Kāsim as deputy of 'Aly ibn Abi 'l-Gharāt over one half of Aden, and 51 Sheykh Aḥmad ibn 'Attāb al-Hadhaly as deputy of Saba son of Abu 's-Su'ūd, over the other half. Ibn al-Khazary dealt unrighteously, in the division of the revenues, with Aḥmad ibn 'Attāb, and (his friends) the dependents of 'Aly son of Abu 'l-Gharāt, stretched forth their hands oppressively over the people. They created disorder and disturbance in the city and they cavilled at the Dā'y Saba, making use of language calculated to excite anger and to offend their adversaries' pride. The Da'y was meanwhile assiduously occupied, through

<sup>\*</sup> Khazraji says (see extracts in Note 57) that Dumlūwah was captured by Zuray in A.H. 480.

panied by Zuray', son of al-'Abbas, and by the latter's uncle Mas'ūd, son of al-Karam, who were at that time Princes of Aden. Both were killed at the gates of Zabid, and they were succeeded at Aden by Abu 's-Su'ūd son of Zuray', and by Abu 'l-Gharat son of Mas'ud. They were succeeded in the rulership over Aden by the Dā'y Saba, son of Abu 's-Su'ud, and Muhammad, son of Abu 'l-Gharāt. Next came Saba's son 'Aly al-A'azz al-Murtada, together with 'Aly, son of Abi 'l-Gharāt, and then the Da'y Muhammad, son of Saba.<sup>59</sup> ibn Abi 'l-Gharāt was the last descendant of Mas'ūd. 50 The Da'y Muhammad ibn Saba was succeeded by his son 'Imran. He died, and after him the country remained faithful in its allegiance to the family of Zuray', until the Zurayites were deposed by Sultan al-Mu'azzam Shams ad-Daulah Turan Shah, brother of Saladin son of Ayyūb, in the month of Dhu 'l-Ka'dah [A.H. 569]. The Princes of Aden were at that time Muhammad and Abu 's-Su'ūd, the two sons of 'Imrān, son of Muhammad, son of Saba. Hurābah took a part in the events at Aden, neither the particulars nor the date of which I am able to recollect; but there have been none in the family of al-Karam nobler than 'Imran, son of Hurabah (Muhammad?), or than Mufaddal, son of Zuray'. Nobility of character, though less than theirs, would be beyond power of description. The family of the Banu 'l-Karam are also known by the name of adh-They were, next to the Sulayhites, the most distinguished of the Arab ruling families in Yaman.

Upon the death of Muḥammad, son of Abu 'l-Gharāt, son of Mas'ūd, son of al-Karam, he was succeeded by his brother 'Aly son of Abu 'l-Gharāt. He possessed the castle of al-Khaḍrā, commanding the sea, the shipping and the city. The Dā'y Saba, son of Abu Su'ūd, son of Zuray', son of al-'Abbās, son of al-Karam the Yāmite, who bore the

married her to his son al-Mukarram in the year From that year \* the revenues of Aden were uninterruptedly paid to her until [the death of] al-Mukarram. The amount was one hundred thousand dinārs, occasionally somewhat more, and in other years somewhat less. On the death of al-Mukarram, al-'Abbas and Mas'ud, the two sons of al-Karam. continued faithfully to fulfil their obligations to the Queen. But after their death [and that of Zuray' son of al-'Abbas, Abu Su'ud son of Zuray' and Abu 'l-Gharāt son of Mas'ūd proclaimed their independence at Aden.† Al-Mufaddal ibn Abi 'l-Barakat marched against them and a war took place which ended in a treaty, whereby it was agreed that half the revenues of Aden should be paid to the Queen. Upon the death of al-Mufaddal ibn Abi 'l-Barakāt, the Princes of Aden discontinued the payment of the Queen's half of the revenues. As'ad ibn Abi 'l-Futuh, son of al-Malik al-Mufaddal's uncle, proceeded to the spot and concluded an agreement, whereby a fourth of the revenues was to belong to the Queen. When the Banu az-Zarr rebelled at Ta'kar, the Princes of Aden again discontinued payment, and the Queen was thenceforward unable to draw anything from Aden, in consequence of the death of all her leading Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah made no attempt to do anything in the matter.

Such were the circumstances under which the Banu 'l-Karam ruled over Aden, and I will now proceed to relate the divisions that occurred between  $_{
m them.}$ 

Al-Mufaddal ibn Abi 'l-Barakāt, in the course of one of his wars, attacked Zabid. He was accom-

<sup>\*</sup> Read From the time of the appointment of al-'Abbūs and Mas' $\bar{u}d$ . † Zuray' and his uncle Mas'ūd were killed, as will be seen, before the walls of Zabid. A table showing the succession of the Zuray'ite Princes is given in Note 113.

Their ancestor, Ibn al-'Abbās\* son of al-Karam, had gained credit by his conduct in past times, and especially by the assistance he gave to the Dā'y 'Aly, son of Muḥammad the Sulayhite, when the latter was engaged in promoting the Fāṭimite Khalīfah al-Mustanṣir's supremacy over Yaman, and again by joining the Dā'y al-Mukarram, son of 'Aly, in his attack upon Zabīd and in the release of the Honourable Eady Asmā, daughter of Shihāb, from the hands of Sa'īd al-Ahwal, son of Najāḥ.

The events that raised the family to the Principality of Aden were as follows. When 'Aly son of Muḥammad the Sulayhite conquered Aden, the city was under the rule of the Banu Ma'n [who had subdued it as well as Laḥi, Abyan, Shiḥr and Ḥaḍramaut. He allowed them to remain in possession as governors under his authority. When al-Mukarram married the Honourable Lady Sayyidah, his father gave her Aden and its neighbourhood as her dowry. The Banu Ma'n accordingly paid her tribute so long as the Dā'y 'Aly son of Muḥammad the Sulayhite lived; but when he was killed, in the year we have mentioned (A.H. 473), they declared themselves independent].<sup>57</sup>

The King al-Mukarram thereupon marched against them, conquered the city and put an end to the supremacy of the Banu Ma'n. He placed their country under the rule of al-'Abbās and Mas'ūd, the two sons of al-Karam. He appointed the residence of the former at Ta'kar-'Aden, which adjoins the gate of the city, and [gave him authority over] the trade with the interior. To Mas'ūd he gave the castle of al-Khaḍrā, with authority over the coast and shipping, and command of the city. He made 49 them take oath to the Honourable Lady the Queen Sayyidah, daughter of Aḥmad, because aṣ-Sulayḥi had endowed her with the city of Aden when he

<sup>\*</sup> Read Their ancestor al-'Abbās.

armour, enriched with jewels of the value of forty thousand dinārs. Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah was carried forth from Dhu Jiblah in a wooden cage. The people looked on, and he said unto them: "That which ye look upon is a lion imprisoned in a cage."

On reaching the distance of a night's journey from Dhu Jiblah, his custodians attached an iron weight of one hundred pounds to his feet and they reviled him and humiliated him. He was made to sleep naked in the vestibule, although it was winter. They hurried him away from Aden in a ship belonging to the port of Sawākin. They detained the Queen's messenger, Ibn al-Azraķi, for five days. 48 Then they sent him off and they ordered the captain to wreck the ship. The vessel was sunk with all

she contained, near Bab al-Mandeb, and Ibn al-

Azraki was drowned.

The Queen was greatly afflicted, when regrets could no longer avail. Suleyman and Imran, the sons of az-Zarr, went into her presence, exulting over the fate of Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah. They came forth exclaiming that the Jurist had indeed spoken the truth in reporting the words of Abd Allah ibn Abbās (cousin of the Prophet):—"We used," he said, "to listen to the traditions preserved by Aishah (the Prophet's widow), but never left her presence without having been reminded that she was a woman." This was their last interview with the Queen.

THE HISTORY OF THE DYNASTY OF AZ-ZURAY', SON OF AL-'ABBĀS, SON OF AL-KARAM THE YĀMITE, PRINCE OF ADEN.

The Banu Zuray' were descended from Hamdan, and from Jusham, son of Yam, son of Aşgha.

responsible for his safe keeping. The Queen feigned to be ill and sent to Ibn Najib ad-Daulah 47 the Sharif As'ad ibn 'Abd as-Samad ibn Muhammad al-Hawwaly. This man was his most faithful friend. He overtook Ibn Najîb ad-Daulah at the distance of a night's journey from Janad and told him that the Queen, the chosen representative of the Prince of the Faithful, was on the point of death.—"She places confidence in thee alone," he added, and urged him to return to her. He did so, and she ordered him to be arrested, but she treated him with lenity and fettered him with silver chains weighing fifty ounces. The envoy arrived from Aden and demanded the surrender of Ibn Najib ad-Daulah. The Queen refused. "Thou art the bearer of a letter from our lord," she replied. "Take charge of my answer, or if thou preferrest, I will write to the Prince of the Faithful, and wait thou here until I receive his reply." But the two kings Suleyman and 'Imran, the sons of az-Zarr, interfered. The Queen confided greatly in judgment of 'Abd Allah ibn al-Mahdi al-Ma'mari. They offered him ten thousand dinars, besides two castles in her dominions. He alarmed the Queen with representations of the evil consequences of rumours connecting her with the Nizarites, and directed the envoy and his companions to spread reports on the subject. The Queen yielded, but allayed the fears she entertained of the envoy, on Najib ad-Daulah's account, by exacting many solemn oaths from Ibn al-Khayyat. She wrote also to our lord al-Āmir bi-Ahkam Illah, the Prince of the Faithful, interceding with the Khalifah for Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah, and she sent unto him her secretary, Muhammad ibn al-Azraki, a man of culture, the draftsman of the council, an elegant writer, eloquent, and remarkable for his benevolence. Among the presents she sent was a suit of

him and asked him whether he was not superintendent of the city police at Cairo. "Yea, and indeed," answered the envoy, "they whom I smite with my hand, are amongst the most eminent of those who boast of a rabble following of ten thousand men." Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah was himself humiliated by the reply he received, and his enemies thenceforward attached themselves to the envov. They extolled his merits. He, on his part, plied them with presents and promised them the destruction of 'Aly ibn Ibrahim (ibn Najīb ad-Daulah) by means of two expedients. He recommended them in the first place to give him letters for the Khalifali al-Amir, stating that Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah had invited and called upon them to recognize Nizar as supreme Imam and that they had refused. In the second place, they were to strike coins in the name of Nizar, which the envoy promised to transmit to our lord al-Amir bi-Alıkam Illah. They followed his advice, and his return to Cairo occurred simultaneously with the arrest and imprisonment of the wazīr al-Ma'mūn. The envoy sent the letters and the coins to the Khalifah, who commanded the Amīr al-Muwaffak ibn al-Khayyāt to be sent to Yaman, for the arrest of Ibn Najib ad-Daulah. 55 He started from the Imperial Gate, accompanied by a hundred men belonging to the military body, the Hujarīyahs, all men fitted for the most arduous enterprises. Among the companions of Ibn al-Khayyāt were 'Izz id-din and his own son Sa'd al-Mulk. On hearing of the envoy's arrival at Dahlak, Ibn Najib ad-Daulah set forth for the country of Zabid, notwithstanding the objections and repugnance he felt to doing so. A Da'y, he said, must not skulk away in hiding. Death, he added, was preferable to disgrace. His enemies addressed themselves to the Queen and warned her to secure his person, for, they urged, the Imam would hold her alone

who lived until he was treacherously slain by Ibn Mahdi, and al-Faridayn (?). The siege was carried on with vigour, and Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah was put to great straits. The Queen, thereupon wrote, according to her custom, to 'Amru ibn 'Arkatah al-Janbi, who came to her and encamped at Dhu She sent also to the chiefs of the tribes and distributed among them ten thousand Egyptian dinars, desiring her messengers at the same time to spread a report among the soldiers, to the effect that Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah had distributed a sum of ten thousand Egyptian dinars among their leaders. The soldiers thereupon demanded that a share of the Egyptian gold be granted to them, else they would depart. The kings made promises, but when night closed in they started each for his own country. Next morning the troops found themselves without leaders. They broke encampment and abandoned the siege.\* ceivest thou," it was said to Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah, "the artifice accomplished by her of whom thou 46 hast said that her mind is weakened?" He rode to Dhu Jiblah and strove to justify and to excuse himself to the Princess.

The Queen was the accepted representative of

the Imam, upon whom be peace. . . .

The cause of this arrest of Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah was [as follows according to what was related by] the jurist Abu 'Abd Allah al-Husayn ibn 'Aly al-Halaby (al-Bajaly). Al-Ma'mūn (al-Baṭā'iḥy), when wazīr (in Egypt), sent an envoy to Yaman, entrusted with military power, known by the name of al-Amīr al-Kadhdhāb. On his reaching Dhu Jiblah, he was present at a crowded assembly held by Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah. The latter did not welcome him and he neither treated him as a guest, nor did he notice him. He sought to humiliate

<sup>\*</sup> This, according to al-Khazraji, occurred in Muharram, A.H. 520.

horseman he fell to the ground. He was attacked by a slave belonging to Mas'ūd (al-Mufaḍḍal?) ibn Zuray' named Musāfir, but the slave was charged and killed by Tauk the Hamdānite, who stood by Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah until he remounted, whereupon the Dā'y returned to Janad. He lost his breastplate, which fell to the ground during the struggle, and Mufaḍḍal ibn Zuray' composed the following lines upon the occasion:—

He fled forgetting his breast-plate—In terror of the Banu Yām, lest their lances should pierce him.

But flight saveth not from death—a truth held by every steadfast and believing soul. 53

In the year 519 his conduct towards the Queen 45 assumed an evil aspect. Her mind, he said, had become weakened, and he asserted that in his opinion it was necessary to place her in seclusion. But, meanwhile, she was joined by the four (six?) kings, Suleyman and 'Imran, sons of az-Zarr, Saba son of Abu Su'ūd, Abu 'l-Gharāt (son of Mas'ūd), As'ad ibn Abi 'l-Futuh and Mansur ibn al-Mufaddal. They asked her permission to besiege Ibn Naiib ad-Daulah at Janad, which she granted. The city was defended by walls, and Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah had a force, part of the garrison, consisting of four hundred picked horsemen belonging to the tribe of Hamdan. The kings arrived with an army, consisting of three thousand horse and three thousand foot soldiers, with which they surrounded the city. Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah had with him certain men, each of whom was equal to one hundred horsemen. Among them were at-Tank ibn 'Abd Allah, Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn 'Imrān ibn al-Fadl ibn 'Aly the Yamite, 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abd Allah, who exercised the functions of Dā'y after Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah and who was a member of the family of Sulayhi, also 'Aly son of Suleymān az-Zawāhi, Abu 'I-Ghayth ibn Samir, Muhammad ibn al-A'azz,

endured by the kings of the time, namely, Suleymān and 'Imrān, the two sons of az-Zarr, Mansūr son of al-Mufaddal ibn Abi 'l-Barakāt, Saba ibn Abi Su'ud, and Mufaddal ibn Zuray'. In the year 518 Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah attacked Zabīd, which was then ruled by the wazir Mann Allah the Fatikite. 44 Ten of his archers had allied themselves with the citizens, and as the two armies entered into action, one of the archers shot an arrow which struck the muzzle of the horse upon which 'Aly ibn Ibrahim Najib ad-Daulah was mounted. He fell to the ground and lost his horse. His army was put to flight, all his black troops were killed, and only fifty out of four hundred Armenians escaped. to the Da'y (Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah), the Hamdanites fought strenuously in his defence, until one of them, a man of the name of As-Sā'y, took him up and seated him upon his horse behind him. The Hamdanite horsemen who exerted themselves to save him were fifteen in number, and the chief, at-Tauk, Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah's horse was one of them. disappeared from the battle at the hour of mid-day prayer on Friday. Early on the Saturday morning he appeared in the city of Janad, situated at a distance of four days' journey from Zabid, or of three days' at a forced pace. Before evening a report was spread at Dhu Jiblah that Ibn Najib ad-Daulah had been killed at Zabīd. He reached Janad four days after and rode to Dhu Jiblah, where he conferred with the Queen.

He suffered in health, but recovered, and for four months he carried on war in the country of Suleymān ibn az-Zarr. A truce was concluded between them and he returned to Janad. Next he made war upon the family of Zuray' and penetrated to al-Juwwah. He was attacked at Ḥima Bani Salmah (?) by al-Mufaddal ibn Zuray'. Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah received a lance-thrust and being a bad

known and held in great respect. Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah beat him with a stick until it caught in his clothes. The Banu Khaulān withdrew from Dhu Jiblah. Suleymān ibn Almad (read Almad ibn Suleymān) the Zawāhite, son of the Queen's (half) brother and husband of Umm Hamdān daughter of al-Mukarram, hurried to the spot and released the Khaulānite from the hands of Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah without seeking the latter's consent. He gave the man a dress of honour and sent him back to his family. Thenceforward the Khaulānites restrained themselves from stretching forth their hands against

the people.

Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah then proceeded to make war upon the inhabitants of Wādi Maytam,<sup>52</sup> of (Wādi) Zabid and of the plains. Good order, together with cheapness and plenty, became prevalent throughout the country and evil-doers were repressed. himself respected the property of its inhabitants, he dealt righteously with them and maintained the laws. Through him the Queen's fame was enhanced, and the neighbouring nations of Yaman themselves constrained to desist from coveting the outlying provinces of her dominions. He took into his service three hundred horsemen of the Banu Himās and Sinhān, and appointed at-Tauk the Hamdanite to command them. When al-Afdal (Shahinshah) died in the year 515, al-Ma'mūn (al-Bață'ihi) confirmed the authority of Ibn Najib ad-Daulah. He strengthened him and sent him letters delegating to him the fullest powers over the people. Al-Ma'mun sent him four hundred Armenians and seven hundred black archers. Najīb ad-Daulah established his residence at Janad. which stands in the centre of the country, and whose districts have unceasingly been trampled under the hoofs of armed men's horses.

But the authority he exercised was impatiently

## THE HISTORY OF IBN NAJĪB AD-DAULAH.

In the year 513 Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah came to Yaman, and the following is the history of al-Muwaffak Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah:—

At the commencement of his career, he was custodian of the library of al-Afdal (Shahinshah, at Cairo). He had a well-stored memory, had studied the doctrines of the Pure Sect (the Ismailites), was constant in recitations of the noble Kur'an, and recited it according to its various readings. His name was 'Aly, son of Ibrahim, son of Najib ad-Daulah, and his titles were al-Amīr al-Muntakhab (the Chosen Amir), Glory of the Fatimite Khalifate, Fakhr ad-Daulah (Lustre of the State), al-Muwaffak fi-'d-din (Aided in the Faith), Da'y of the Prince of the Faithful. He started from Cairo accompanied by twenty mounted men, carefully chosen from among the Hujarīyahs.<sup>50</sup> On arriving at the Island of Dahlak, he was met by an emissary (?) from Aden, Muhammad ibn Abi 'l-'Arab the Dā'y, one of the sons of Sā'id ibn Hamīd ad-Dīn. This man instructed him in the secret politics of Yaman, the condition of the chiefs, their names, their personal appearance and their surnames, even the dates of 43 their births and particulars of marks, traces of wounds and cauterizations, concealed by their clothing. When Ibn Najib ad-Daulah (afterwards spoke of those things and) put questions touching their occult significations, his hearers became convinced that he possessed knowledge of the invisible The first thing he did on arrival at Dhu Jiblah was to lay hold of a Khaulanite of the name of Suleyman ibn 'Obayd, belonging to (the subtribe or family of) the Banu 'Amru and a kinsman of 'Imran ibn az-Zarr. He was a man widely

that he held most valuable. On obtaining possession of the fortress of Ta'kar, 'Imran sent the Honourable Lady the Queen repeated assurances of loyalty and homage, of which she took no heed. Khaulānites stretched forth their hands against the people, whom they oppressed and plundered. The night on which they gained possession of Ta'kar was that of Sunday, the twelfth day of Rabi' al-

Awwal of the year 505.

Such continued to be the condition of things between the Banu Khaulan and the Queen. When she saw their exceeding wickedness, she sent a letter to 'Amru ibn 'Arkatah al-Janbi (of the tribe of Janb), consisting of one or two lines in her handwriting. She ordered the country of Suleyman and 'Imran to be occupied by an army of horse and foot, and they were not to be relieved of its presence, until they 42 humbled themselves unto her and made a request for its withdrawal. Sultān Yazīd ibn 'Īsa the Wā'ilite told me that he remembered being sent to the Queen by 'Imran ibn az-Zarr, then facing the Arabs of 'Amru in order of battle. 'Imran asked her assistance, and she sent him ten thousand dinars to serve for the purchase of supplies. But the money was returned. "Does she not know," exclaimed 'Imran, "what it is that can be of real service to me?" She thereupon wrote an order with her own hand, added Yazīd ibn 'Īsa, to 'Amru ibn 'Arfatah al-Jabani ('Arkatah al-Janbi) in the following terms: "On receiving this our command, depart from the country of the Banu Zarr, with our thanks for your services." On reading the order 'Amru immediately directed the signal for departure to be proclaimed to his people. It consisted in the utterance of the words O Rāshid, son of Marāh.49 Before an hour had elapsed, not one of his people remained in the place. "This, by the Lord," said 'Imran to his brother, "is truly (a receiving of) honour and obedience!"

among the strongholds of the country and made them take the oath of allegiance to the Queen. Upon the death of al-Mufaddal, a man of the subtribe of Marran, of the name of Muslim ibn az-Zarr, 41 attacked the fortress of Khadid, drove therefrom the Sultan 'Abd Allah ibn Ya'la the Sulayhite, the accomplished poet and learned scholar, and took possession of the stronghold. 'Abd Allah ibn Ya'la was possessed of great wealth, which passed into the hands of Muslim ibn az-Zarr, whose power was thereby greatly increased. He joined the Queen and her adherents, and formed hopes that she would appoint him to succeed al-Mufaddal, son of Abu 'l-Barakat.48 He sent her his two sons, 'Imran and Suleyman, whom she received with kindness and by her command, although they had reached the years of maturity, they were taught to read and write. Afterwards she married them to two of her slaves brought up under her care. They visited their father by turns, at Khadid, and they were protected by the tribe of Khaulan, which possessed great power and influence. Upon the death of Muslim, his son Suleyman succeeded to the fortress of Khadid. 'Imran remained with the Queen and acquired favour with her. Fath ibn Miftah had, after the death of Muslim, entered into a state of opposition to the Queen his mistress, and had declared himself independent at the fortress of Ta'kar. 'Imran made friendly advances to Fath, and after his rebellion, asked his daughter in marriage. On the night of the wedding Suleyman and Imran gained possession, by treachery, of the castle of Ta'kar, but 'Imran protected his father-inlaw from personal harm. Fath stipulated with the two brothers for certain things, which they granted. One was that they should give him, as a free gift, a certain castle called Shar.\* Thither he removed all \* Shar is mentioned by Yakut as the name of a castle in Yaman.

bines of al-Mufaddal, and brought them forth wearing their most magnificent apparel. Placing tabours in their hands, he set them upon the roof of the palace, whence al-Mufaddal, who was in a tent at 'Azzān at Ta'kar, and all that were with him, could see and hear them. Al-Mufaddal was the most jealous and sensitive of men, and it is said that he died that night. By some it is stated that he sucked the poison from a ring he wore, prepared for a case of need, and that he was found dead in the morning with the ring in his mouth. His death occurred in the month of Ramadān of the year 504.

The Queen thereupon ascended from Dhu Jiblah, and encamped on the open ground, near gate of the fortress. She wrote to the jurists, and adopted with them the most conciliatory measures, even to giving them a bond under her own hand, granting them all their demands, their personal safety, and retention of the treasure they had seized. They stipulated that she should depart with her forces, that she should send them, as governor, a person whose appointment should be subject to their approval, and that they should remain with him (in occupation of the fortress) until their booty should be in a place of safety. The Queen faithfully observed the conditions agreed upon, and she appointed over Ta'kar her freedman Fath ibn Miftah. I have been told by Sultan Nasir ibn Manşūr, that my uncle Ibrahīm ibn Zeydān informed him, after his withdrawal from Ta'kar, that his share of ready money amounted to twenty thousand dinars.

Part of the tribe of Khaulān had entered and settled in Mikhlāf Ja'far before the death of al-Mufaddal, to the number of six thousand souls, a mixed multitude consisting chiefly of Banu Baḥr, Banu Dinnah, Marrān, Rawāḥ (Rāziḥː), Sha'b-Ḥay, and Banu Juma'ah. Al-Mufaddal dispersed them

he fled with his slaves to Mufaddal, and they pledged themselves to deliver unto him one fourth of the country in return for his assistance. Al-Mufaddal marched with them against their enemies, expelled 'Abd al-Wāḥid from the city, and reinstated al-Manṣūr and his followers. He then, however, conceived treacherous designs against them, and

purposed making himself master of Zabid.

But al-Mufaddal's absence in Tihāmah had prolonged itself, and Ta'kar, deserted by the Prince, was committed to the charge of a deputy, known by the name of al-Hamal. This man was held in great respect, and was strongly attached to the (orthodox) faith. Seven jurists, brethren of al-Hamal, went up to him at Ta'kar. Among them were Muhammad ibn Kabas (Kays?) the Wuhāzite, 'Abd Allah ibn Yahya and Ibrahim ibn Muhammad Zeydan. latter was their acknowledged leader, and he was my uncle, the full brother of my father by both parents. 46 They received possession of the fortress from al-Hamal. The Sunni subjects of the Sulayhites had desired the jurists, on their gaining possession of the fortress, to kindle a fire on the summit. They did so during the darkness of night. In the morning twenty thousand men assembled at the gates of the castle in support of the jurists, who became possessed of an amount of wealth such as had never before been seen. The news reached the Amīr 40 al-Mufaddal in Tihāmah. He set out and turned neither to the right nor to the left till he reached He besieged the jurists, but the Banu Khaulan rose to their assistance. The siege, however, continued, and ere long the garrison perceived that the Khaulanites were prepared to abandon Thereupon Ibrahim ibn Zeydan declared to his companions that he was determined not to die until he had slain al-Mufaddal, after which, death, he said, would be welcome. He seized the concual-Mufaddal marched against Saba with a large army. He fought also against 'Aly ibn Saba (Shams al-Ma'āli), Prince of Ķaydān (Ķayzān), <sup>45</sup> and expelled him from his province, and against 'Amru ibn Karmaṭah (read 'Arṣaṭah) al-Janbi, and against others of the tribes of Sinḥān, of 'Ans, and of Zubayd. He recovered for her also, from the Banu Zuray', one half of the revenues of Aden, <sup>39</sup> [which amounted to] one hundred thousand dinārs

a year.

Sheykh Abu Tāhir al-Kābuni has related to me that he was on one occasion with al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Abi 'l-Barakāt, at at-Ta'kar, when half the revenues of Aden, fifty thousand dinārs, reached him. He immediately sent the money to the Queen at Dhu Jiblah, without retaining any portion of it. Sheykh Abu Tāhir disapproved of such scrupulous conduct, but al-Mufaḍḍal replied that he required nothing besides what the Queen gave him. When the money reached her she returned it, desiring him to retain it, "for," she said, "you have more need of it than we." Al-Mufaḍḍal, said Abu Ṭāhir, divided among the people present ten bags, and he gave me one containing one thousand dinārs.

Al-Mufaddal was in the habit of secluding himself until people despaired of again seeing him. Then he would re-appear. The messengers who had gathered around his gates had to wait, whilst both weak and powerful (claimants) were admitted. He examined into the affairs of the governors and of their provinces, and answered every letter that had reached his gates. He would then again disappear, and could neither be seen, nor could any message be transmitted to him. Such was his custom from the time when he attained his exalted position.

When al-Manşūr, son of [Fātik son of] Jayyāsh, was driven forth from Zabīd, and replaced by his brother (read uncle) 'Abd al-Wāḥid son of Jayyāsh,

principal slaves. He was supreme administrator of affairs. In all things reliance was placed upon his judgment and upon his sword. The Queen came to no decision without his advice. He rose, consequently, to a state of great dignity, and his words were listened to with respect. He invaded Tihamah on several occasions, with results sometimes in his favour and at others against him. He also several times made war upon Aden, and ere long no personage in Yaman could rival him in power. Having attained this exalted position, he one day said to the Queen at Ta'kar: "Consider, my lady, the treasures that are contained in this castle. Carry them away, I pray you, to the Dar al-'Izz, or remove them to some other palace, and leave this place (meaning thereby Ta'kar) entirely to me, renouncing henceforward your authority over it." "Hadst thou not spoken these words," she replied, "I would not have allowed any cause for their utterance to exist. The castle is thine. Thou art the confidential minister in my palace, and I have forbidden thee nothing in the past, in consideration of thine exalted condition." He was filled with confusion, and hung his head. The Queen went down to Dhu Jiblah, but made no change in her conduct towards al-Mufaddal. He used to go down to her and entreat her to return to Ta'kar, as she had been in the habit of doing, but she never consented. nevertheless applied herself to conciliate his good will by presents such as were most agreeable to him, of singing girls, valuable stuffs and perfumes, slaves, eunuchs, and other gifts. She would not listen to those who blamed her on his account, or who cautioned her against him. And his fame is connected with memorable battlefields, in which he defended her, and protected her territories. He fought against the Da'y Saba ibn Ahmad when the latter asked her in marriage. She refused, and

to the Province of Ja'far, 'Abd Allah ibn Ya'la composed the following lines:—

The gentle zephyr blew, and I spent the night as one distracted,—yearning after family and friends.

Not Cairo, nor Baghdad, neither can Tiberius—be compared to the city enclosed between two streams.

Khadid commands the north, Habb overlooks the east—and to Ta'kar the lefty, belong the southern climes of Yaman.

At-Ta'kar was at that time in the hands of Sultān As'ad son of 'Abd Allah son of Muhammad the Sulayhite, son, therefore, of the paternal uncle of the King al-Mukarram, the same 'Abd Allah who was killed at al-Mahjam, along with his brother the Dā'y Aly son of Muhammad. His conduct became bad, and al-Mukarram removed him from Ta'kar, giving him in exchange the fortresses of Raymah. The placed Abu 'l-Barakāt, son of al-Walīd, in command over Ta'kar and its dependencies, and he appointed] Abu 'l-Barakāt's brother Abu 'l-Fath (read Futuh) son of al-Walid, over the fortress of Ta<sup>4</sup>izz. Al-Mufaddal entered the service of the King al-Mukarram at Dhu Jiblah. He was one of the young pages of the palace, admitted into the presence of the Honourable Lady the Queen with messages from al-Mukarram, touching matters of business between them. Upon the death of the Amīr al-Mufaddal's father Abu 'l-Barakāt, which followed that of the King al-Mukarram, the Queen appointed al-Mufaddal successor to his father in the governorship of Ta'kar. That fortress was used by the Sulayhites as a depository for the treasures they had won from the kings of Yaman. 38 Queen was in the habit of going up thither, and making it her place of residence during the summer, returning to Dhu Jiblah for the cold season. Mufaddal exercised the powers which the Princess delegated to him and had access unto her, along with her chief wazīrs, with the Amirs and with her been so privileged as al-Jumanah, with the excep-

tion only of Asmã, daughter of Shihāb.

At this period Shujā' ad-Daulah arrived in Yaman. He was enriched by the gifts bestowed upon him, and Shams al-Ma'ali (son of Saba and husband of Fatimah daughter of al-Mukarram and of the Queen Sayyidah), who was of a most generous disposition, gave him sums of money amounting to After a time Shams al-Ma'āli took a thousands. second wife and Fātimah wrote to her mother imploring her aid. The Princess sent troops to her assistance, under the command of al-Fadl (al-Mufaddal), son of Abu 'l-Barakāt. Fātimah, having put on the garb of a man, escaped from her husband's castle to the camp of al-Mufaddal, who sent her on to her mother. He continued to besiege the Prince until an arrangement was arrived at. whereby Shams al-Ma'āli was banished from his kingdom, under a safe conduct against all personal harm. He reached the court of al-Afdal (at Cairo), and implored his assistance, but al-Afdal paid no regard to his request and showed him no hospitality.43 The Amīr Shujā' ad-Daulah, whom Shams al-Ma'āli had enriched in Yaman, sent him thirty ardebs of barley, but did not supply him with a morsel of bread, nor did he admit him into his 37 society. 'Aly Shams al-Ma'āli son of Saba returned to Yaman, and gained possession of his father's fortresses, but the Amīr al-Mufaddal employed a person who poisoned him in the year 495.

THE STORY OF THE KING AL-MUFADDAL, SON OF ABU 'L-BARAKAT SON OF AL-WALID, THE HIM-YARITE, PRINCE OF TA'KAR.

When al-Mukarram, son of 'Aly, built the palace of Dar al-'Izz at Dhu Jiblah, and removed from San'a

He remained for a month, during which his camp was the scene of profuse feasting, and he expended upon his soldiery a sum equal to the dowry he paid to the Princess. But the contemplation of her lofty aims, and of her noble deeds, caused the Da'y Saba ibn Almad to feel humbled in his own esti-He perceived that his reputation was dimmed, and that no person could be fitly compared 36 with her. All her people were in the habit of saving that their Lady was their Mistress.

The Dā'y Saba secretly sent a message to the queen, requesting her to receive him in her palace, that it might be believed by the people that the marriage had been consummated, to which consented. Some of the inhabitants of Dhu Jiblah assert that she received him in her own apartments for one night, and that in the early morning he departed. Others say that she sent him one of her female slaves who bore an exceeding resemblance to herself, that he received warning thereof, and that the girl remained standing throughout the night at the head of his couch, whilst he sat without ever raising his eyes upon her, until when day dawned, he performed his morning devotions and ordered the drums to be beat for departure. He then said to the slave girl: "Tell our lady that she is a precious pearl, to be worn only by whoever is worthy of her." He then departed, and they did not meet again.42

It is reported of the Da'y Saba that he never had intercourse with a slave girl, and that he never tasted intoxicating beverages. His wife al-Jumanah, daughter of Suwayd, son of Yazid the Sulayhite, was in the habit of saying that she was undisturbed by jealousy on account of her Lord Saba, seeing that he abstained from all intercourse with concubines, and it was a common saying among the Arab women that none among the posterity of Eve had the Kings of Yaman, the Pillar of Islam, the Treasure of the Faith, Refuge of the truly directed. Asylum of those who seek aid, the Friend of the Prince of the Faithful, the Guardian of his favoured servants, and he saith unto her: Unto no believer, male nor female, belougeth liberty of choice when God and His apostle have decreed a command, and whosoever opposeth God and His apostle wandereth signally astray.40 Our lord, the Prince of the Faithful, gives thee in marriage to the Da'v, the Unparagoned, the Victorious, the Triumphant, the Pillar of the Khalifate, the Prince of the Amirs, Abu Himyar Saba, son of Ahmad, son of al-Muzaffar 'Aly the Sulayhite, with the dowry he has provided, of one hundred thousand dinars in money, and fifty thousand dinars in articles of rarity and value, in perfumes and in robes." Sayiddah answered: "As for the letter of our lord, I say of it: Verily a gracious letter hath been conveyed unto me. It is from Solomon, and behold it saith: In the name of God, the Merciful, the Gracious. Resist me not but come unto me with submission. I say not touching the command of our lord, O ye counsellors advise me, and nought will I determine until ye shall have snoken. 41 But as for thee, O Ibn al Isfahani, by Allah! thou hast not carried unto our lord from Saba a sure and truthful message. Ye have wrested the words from their true sense and your souls have prompted you to commit an act of wickedness. recourse is now to the comely virtue of patience, and God is He whose help is to be implored against the evil ye have set forth." \* The queen's wazīr Zuray ibn Abi 'l-Fath al-Isfahani and others of her chief officers advanced, and ceased not to speak to her in pacifying terms until she gave her consent. A marriage contract was drawn up, and Saba hastened to Dhu Jiblah, accompanied by a large retinue.

<sup>\*</sup> Kur. xii. s. 18.

Ahmad a widow, the Dā'y Saba asked her in marriage. She refused, whereupon he collected troops and marched from Ashvah, purposing to attack her at Dhu Jiblah. She likewise assembled a host, more numerous than his. The two armies met and the fire of war was kindled and raged for several days. The queen's half-brother, Suleyman ibn 'Amir az-Zawāhi, son of her mother, then said to Saba: "By Allah! she will not agree to that which thou desirest excepting by command of the Imam al-Mustansir billah, Prince of the Faithful." The Da'v Saba ibn Ahmad al-Auhad (the Unparagoned) al-Mansur desisted from fighting against her troops and returned to Ashvah. He despatched to the Imam al-Mustansir two messengers, the Kādi (Abu 'Abd Allah al-) Husayn ibn Isma'īl al-Isfahāni and Abu 'Abd Allah at-Tavvib. course of the correspondence the Khalifah wrote to the Lady three lines, commanding her to wed the Dā'y Saba, and he sent her also one of his own eunuchs, known under the designation of Hamil al-Madyah, who bore moreover the honorific surname of Yaman ad-Da'wah (right hand of the Ismailite Mission), empowered to enter into the presence of Al-Jabali (Bajaly) relates that he was the queen. one of the persons sent by the Da'y Saba from the castle of Ashyah to Dhu Jiblah to accompany the two envoys and the eunuch who had arrived from Cairo the Mu'izzite. Upon their entering into the presence of Queen Sayyidah, daughter of Ahmad, in the palace, the Dar al-Izz at Dhu Jiblah, the surrounded, said the narrator, by her ministers, her secretaries, and the officials of the state, all standing up as he stood, addressed her in the following words: "The Prince of the Faithful 35 returneth salutations of peace unto the Honourable Lady, the Queen Sayyidah, the Favoured, the Pure, the Unparagoned of her time, Sovereign Lady of

reckoning with the governors and collectors, Jayyāsh likewise allowed for the sums levied by Saba during the months of winter and spring.

That situation continued until the wazir Khalf ibn Abi Tāhir advised the son of Jayyāsh to imprison his father, to seize his treasure and property . . . and to appoint Muhammad ibn al Ghifari his This was carried into execution. time, Khalf pierced an opening through the walls of his prison, and took refuge with Saba, by whom he was well received. He ceased not to urge upon Saba the invasion of Tihamah, and indicated to him means and artifices whereby he could reduce Jayvāsh to utter ruin . . . to Saba a stated sum to stand in lieu of the half, and that he should stipulate with Saba for the banishment of the wazir Jayyash followed the advice Khalf from his court. of the wazir, but thereupon the greed with which the Arabs coveted the country increased, and they reckoned themselves to be secure . . . The Kā'id Rayhan al-Kahlani, freedman of Sa'id, son of Najah, 34 at the head of ten thousand men, surprised the Arabs by night near the gate of Zabid, where they were arrayed to the number of three thousand horse and ten thousand foot. Only a small remnant escaped. Nearly all were speared, and Saba fled on foot among a mixed and disorderly body of Towards the end of the night a party met and rescued him. The Arabs did not thereafter return to Tihāmah.<sup>39</sup>

Among other passages in the life of the Dā'y Saba, son of Aḥmad, is that related to me by the Jurist Abu 'Abd Allah al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Aly al-Bajali,\* who had learned it from his father. The latter resided at Dhu Jiblah, and was one of the retainers of the Dā'y. When, he said, al-Mukarram son of 'Aly died, leaving the Queen Sayyidah daughter of

<sup>\*</sup> That is to say, member of the tribe of Bajīlah.

rules of the Shāfy'ites; for the followers of Abu Hanīfah postpone the hour until the sun has almost risen over the low-lying plains of Tihāmah. The actual fact is simply that the eastern aspect from 33 Ashyaḥ is unimpeded by mountains, in consequence

of its own situation on a lofty summit.

The fortresses of the Banu Muzaffar overlooked the plain of Tihāmah. They bordered closely upon the territories of Zabid; and of all the mountains, those upon which these fortresses stand, are the nearest to Tihamah. Among other strongholds in the possession of the family were Makr, Wusab, Kawarir, az-Zarf, and ash-Sharaf. The mentioned is the place where Ibn Mahdi rose in insurrection. The remaining places were Dhu'r-Rassah, Zafar (Zafiran?), and Raymah, with its districts.\* As his territories adjoined Tihamah, Saba used to make Jayyāsh taste the vicissitudes of war. His Arabs, on perceiving the approach of winter, were in the habit of descending into the low country. Jayyash would thereupon retire, but to no great distance, and Saba would collect the revenues. He was careful, nevertheless, not to act oppressively towards the inhabitants, and on the contrary, in reckoning with the collectors, he made allowance for the sums raised by Jayyāsh during the summer and autumn months. When winter and spring passed away, the Arabs withdrew from Tihāmah to the mountains, and Jayyāsh re-entered into possession. The withdrawal of the Arabs was sometimes attended with fighting, and sometimes it was peaceful.

On the return of Jayyāsh to Zabīd, the Kur'āns were spread open, his subjects joined in supplications for his prosperity, the Jurists came forth, and the Ulama (the doctors of the law) offered up prayers for the prolongation of his reign. In

<sup>\*</sup> See note 24.

HISTORY OF THE DA'Y SABA, SON OF AHMAD, SON OF AL-MUZAFFAR, SON OF 'ALY THE SULAYHITE.

In his external appearance, the Dā'y Saba was ill-favoured [and short in stature], nor did he appear to advantage in the saddle. But he was of a benevolent and generous disposition, an accomplished poet, learned in the doctrines of the Pure Sect, well 32 acquainted with the sayings of the wise, nurtured on poetry. He requited eulogists with eulogy, as well as with substantial rewards. On that point 'Aly ibn al-Kumm has said of him:—

When I panegyrized al-Hayzari,\* the son of Aḥmad—he rewarded me and he requited me with praise for my praise.

He gave me verses for my verses, and added—gifts, those my capital in trade, these my profits.

I forced my way through the crowd until I beheld him—as one that hath pierced through darkness unto morning's light.

An evil time it were, deprived of the son of Ahmad!—but assuredly free from evil is the age in which he liveth! 35

His residence was a stronghold called Ashyah, a lofty castle equal in stateliness and strength to Masar and Ta'kar. It has been related to me by the Kur'an reader, Suleyman ibn Ya-Sin, who was a Hanafite, that he once spent several nights in the fortress of Ashyah. In the morning, he said, he could see the sun rising in the east, but shedding no light (upon the country). Turning towards Tihāmah, so much lingering darkness still prevailed as to prevent the wayfarer from recognizing a companion walking close beside him. Ibn Yā-Sin supposed this to be caused by clouds or mists, but he eventually determined it to be the result of a protraction of the darkness of night. He vowed, in consequence, always to reckon the hour for the performance of morning prayer according to the

<sup>\*</sup> Hayzar, according to the Kamus, is a proper name.

you approve of my advice," he said, "let it be acted upon. For your rule," he continued, "is better in 31 the eyes of the Muslims than that of these heretics."

When Safid ibn Najāh read the letter of Ḥusayn ibn at-Tubba'y, he greatly approved of what was proposed, and he was filled with gladness. On the day appointed by at-Tubba'y, he set forth from Zabid for Dhu Jiblah at the head of thirty thousand The Queen Sayvidah had meanwhile sent orders to As'ad ibn Shihāb, and to 'Imran ibn al-Fadl at San'a, desiring them to march into Tihamah in the rear of Najah, with three thousand horsemen, and to follow him stage by stage. They obeyed, and upon Sa'id ibn Najāh halting below the fortress of ash-Sha'ir, the two armies fell upon him from either side. He and all his followers were put to the sword, but it is also said that two thousand escaped. His head was put up below the window of the palace Dar al-Izz, inhabited by the Queen Sayyidah. His wife Umm al-Mu'arik was with him, and it was by her means that his head was recognized among the slain. It was set up close to the window of the apartment that was assigned to her. "O that thou hadst eyes. Lady Asmā," exclaimed the Queen, "wherewith to see the head of the squint-eyed slave below the window of Umm al-Mu'arik!"

Al-Mukarram, son of 'Aly, died in A.H. 484, bequeathing the office of Da'y to the Most Noble Amir, the Unparagoned, the Victorious, the Pillar of the Khalifate, Prince of Amirs, al-Mansur Abu Himyar Saba, son of Ahmad al-Muzaffar, son of

'Aly the Sulayhite.37

and of lance-blades. On going to Dhu Jiblah she desired al-Mukarram to assemble its people and those of the neighbourhood. They gathered together on the morning of the following day, whereupon she said: "Look down, my lord, and behold these people." He did so, and his eyes fell upon men leading rams or carrying vessels filled with ghee or with honey. "Life among these (industrious) people," she said to al-Mukarram, "is to be preferred." The Amir al-Mukarram removed to Dhu Jiblah, and he built the second royal palace upon an uncultivated tract of land. It was surrounded by a garden and by numerous trees, and looked down upon the two streams and upon the first The Queen Sayyidah ordered the latter to be converted into a cathedral mosque. It is the second cathedral mosque. It contains the tomb of the queen, which exists to this day. May God be merciful unto her! The second, the great palace, bearing (like its predecessor) the name of Dar al-'Izz (abode of majesty), was erected in the year 481. Al-Mukarram appointed as his deputies over San'a, 'Imran ibn al-Fadl, of the sub-tribe of Yam and of the tribe of Hamdan, and As'ad ibn Shihab.

In that year also, the queen encompassed by a stratagem the death of Saʿid ibn Najāḥ al-Aḥwal. She desired al-Ḥusayn ibn at-Tubbaʿy, Prince of Shaʿir to write to Saʿid al-Aḥwal at Zabīd, to represent to him that al-Mukarram was afflicted with paralysis, that he had abandoned himself to the pursuit of pleasure, that the business of his government was conducted by his wife, and that Saʿid himself was now the most powerful king in Yaman. Further, he suggested, as commanded, a joint attack upon Dhu Jiblah, by Saʿid from Tihāmah and by al-Ḥusayn himself from the mountains. Saʿid, he represented, could then relieve himself of his enemy and recover possession of the entire country. "If

The circumstances that led to al-Mukarram's removal from San'ā to the city of Dhu Jiblah were the following. Upon the death of his mother Asmā, daughter of Shihāb, he made over the superintendence of affairs to his wife, Queen Sayyidah, daughter of Ahmad. He, on his part, gave himself up to the pleasures of music and wine. The queen remained alone in charge of the affairs of the kingdom. It is said she begged to be accorded her personal freedom, and liberty to attend to the task on which she was engaged, saying that a woman who was desired for the marriage-bed, could not be fit for the business of the state, but he would not consent.

After a time she departed from San'ā at the head of a large army, and she went forth to behold Dhu Jiblah. Jiblah was the name of a Jew who sold pottery on the spot where the first royal palace was afterwards built, and the city was named after him. Its founder was 'Abd Allah, son of Muḥammad the Snlayhite, who was killed at al-Mahjam by Sa'īd al-Aḥwal, together with his brother the Amīr and Dā'y 'Aly. The latter had appointed him governor of the fortress of Ta'kar, a stronghold which looks down upon Dhu Jiblah. That city stands below the fortress, between two streams flowing with water both in summer and in winter. It was founded by 'Abd Allah, son of Muḥammad, in the year 458.

The people of Mikhlāf Ja'far gathered together around Sayiddah's stirrup, acknowledging her 30 authority. On her return to Ṣan'ā she said to al-Mukarram: "My lord, send notice to the people of Ṣan'ā to assemble to-morrow and to come unto this plain." On their assembling she told him to cast down his eyes upon the people and to look at what he should see. He did so, and nought met his eyes but the lightning-flashes of drawn swords

day told Asmā that she had dreamt she held in her hand a broom with which she swept the king's palace. "It is as though I had shared thy vision," exclaimed Asmā. "By Allah! O fair-complexioned, thou shalt sweep away the dynasty of the Sulayhites

and thou shalt appropriate their kingdom."

In her personal appearance, Savvidah was of fair complexion tinged with red, tall, well proportioned. but inclined to stoutness, perfect in beauty, of a clear-sounding voice, well read and a skilful writer, her memory stored with history, with poetry and with the chronology of past times. Nothing could surpass the interlinear glosses, upon both verbal construction and interpretation, inserted in her handwriting on the pages of books. Al-Mukarram married her during the lifetime of his father 'Alv son of Muhammad the Sulayhite, in the year 461. She bore him four children, Muhammad, 'Alv, Fātimah, and Umm Hamdān. Muhammad and 'Aly died in childhood at San'ā. Umm Hamdan was married to Sultan Ahmad ibn Suleyman the Zawāhite, son of her maternal uncle, to whom she 29 bore a son 'Abd al-Musta'la. Fātimah, daughter of the Lady Sayyidah and of al-Mukarram, married Shams al-Ma'āli 'Aly, son of the Dā'y Saba, son of Ahmad (the Sulayhite). Umm Hamdan died in 516 (or 510?). As for Fatimah, her death occurred two years after that of her mother, namely in A.H. 534. I have heard more than one aged man among the natives of Dhu Jiblah affirm that as-Sulaylii treated Sayyidah, in her earliest years, with a degree of deference he showed to no other "Show her respect," he used to say to Asmā, for, by Allah, she will be the preserver of our race and the guardian of our crown unto whose endureth of our dynasty." Much more, my informants added, was heard from him to the same effect and in different places.

travelled thence to India. There they remained for six months, and then returned to Zabīd, which they conquered before the expiration of the year. At that period As'ad ibn 'Arrāf was named ruler of Zabīd, and 'Aly ibn al-Kumm, son (read father) of al-Husayn ibn 'Aly ibn al-Kumm the poet, was appointed his wazīr and private secretary, in accordance with the precedent of his former appointment under As'ad ibn Shihāb. There are persons who affirm that 'Aly, son (read father) of Husayn, son of 'Aly ibn al-Kumm, ruled over Zabīd, under As'ad ibn Shihāb, before the appointment of As'ad ibn 'Arrāf.'

THE HISTORY OF THE HONOURABLE LADY THE QUEEN SAYIDDAH, DAUGHTER OF AHMAD.

Her name was Sayyidah, daughter of Ahmad, son of Ja'far, son of Mūsa the Sulayhite, and her mother was ar-Radāḥ, daughter of al-Fāri', son of Mūsa. Ar-Radāḥ was left a widow by the death of her husband Ahmad, father of the Lady Sayiddah, and she then married 'Āmir, son of Suleymān, son of 'Āmir, son of 'Abd Allah az-Zawāḥi, to whom she bore Suleymān, son of 'Āmir, son of 'Abd Allah the Zawāhite. The latter was therefore half brother to the Lady Sayyidah. By her authority he was appointed Dā'y of the Hāshimites,\* but he was assassinated by the Amīr al-Mufadḍal, son of Abu 'l-Barakāt, son of Abu 'l-Walīd, who caused poison to be administered to him. May God have mercy upon him!

The Lady Sayyidah was born in the year 440 (read 114), and Asmā, daughter of Shihāb, superintended her education. It is related that she one

<sup>\*</sup> Read Falimites. See infra (chapter on the Da'ys of Yaman).

passed through fire for the sake of this money, and see now what has been done with it!" "If money 27 be not spent upon those who are deserving of it," answered Asmā, "then it is but vanity and unprofitableness."

But she wrote to her brother As'ad ibn Shihāb desiring him to pay twenty thousand dinārs to Aḥmad ibn Sālim out of the current year's revenue,

as a present and mark of good-will.

Not long after, Asmā, daughter of Shihāb, died, at Ṣan'ā, in the year 497.\* That same year al-Mukarram ordered the Maliki dinārs to be struck. They are so named after him, and they are the dinārs of Yaman. The inscription they bear is the following: The King and Lord al-Mukarram, Supreme Chief of the Arabs, Sultān under the Prince of the Faithful. They continued to be struck according to that design until the present day (that is to say), until the Dā'y 'Imrān ibn Muḥammad ibn Saba the Zuray'ite made the inscription as follows: The Unparagoned among the Kings of the age, King of the Arabs and of Yaman, 'Imrān, son of Muḥammad.<sup>34</sup>

In that same year the Banu Najāḥ returned. They drove Aḥmad (read As'ad?) ibn Shihāb out of Zabīd, and made themselves masters of the city. But they were themselves again expelled by al-Mukarram ibn 'Aly, and Sa'īd al-Aḥwal, son of Najāḥ, was killed under the walls of the fortress of ash-Sha'ir, the result of a stratagem effected by the Sulṭān Abu 'Abd Allah at-Tubba'i, the particulars of which will be recounted in the history of the Honourable Lady the Queen Sayyidah, daughter of Aḥmad. The death of Sa'īd al-Aḥwal took place in the year 481. That same year Jayyāsh, son of Najāḥ, together with the wazīr Khalf ibn Abi 'Ṭāhir the Omayyad, escaped in disguise to Aden, and

<sup>\*</sup> Read 479, as in al-Janadi and Dayba'.

"He whose coming is like unto thy coming hath not tarried, neither hath he erred."

The statement in her letter, that she was with child by the slave Sa'id, son of Najāḥ, was not actually true, but she thought thereby to excite and stimulate her son to the vindication of his honour. Al-Mukarram's heralds now proclaimed his orders to unsheathe the sword against the people of the captured city. But he warned the army that the Arabs of Tihāmah beget children by black concubines, and that a black skin was common to both slave and free. "But if ye hear a person pronounce the word azm, azm (as if it were written with the letter z), know that he is an Abyssinian and slay him. If he pronounce it azm (with the letter z), he is an Arab, and ye shall spare him."

He appointed his maternal uncle, Almad (As'ad? see below) ibn Shihāb, to be ruler over Tihāmah as before, and he then departed for Ṣan'ā, serene in mind after his victory, and accompanied by Asmā, daughter of Shihāb. A saying became common among the people of Zabīd which has been preserved down to my own time. If a man of the lower classes revile one of his neighbours, and if he be reproached for his evil language towards the man, he will answer: "By Allah! the man who took his mother from Zabīd, and who slew on her account twenty thousand Abyssinians, by my life! he was truly a man!" 33

Al-Mukarram having appointed his maternal uncle As'ad ibn Shihāb to the rulership over Zabīd and its dependencies, (joined with him?) on that occasion Aḥuad ibn Sālim. As'ad sent him to San'ā in charge of the tribute of the province of Tihāmah. Asmā distributed the greater part among the Arab envoys. Aḥmad ibn Sālim thereupon began to tear his beard, saying:—"I have

city, ceased not until the hour of midday prayer. The first warrior to reach the spot where the two heads were set up, and to stand below the casement of Asmā, daughter of Shihāb, was her son, al-Mukarram Ahmad. He said unto her, and she did not recognize him, "May God safeguard and perpetuate thy renown, O our lady." "Welcome," she replied, "O noble Arab!" Al-Mukarram's two companions saluted her in the same words as She asked him who he was, to which he answered that his name was Ahmad, son of 'Aly son of Muhammad. "Verily the name Ahmad son of 'Aly," she answered, "is borne by many Arabs. Uncover thy face that I may know thee." He raised his helmet, whereupon she exclaimed, "Welcome, our Lord al-Mukarram!"

At that moment he was struck by the wind, a shudder passed over him, and his face was contracted by a spasm. He lived many years 26 thereafter, but continued subject to involuntary movements of the head and spasms in his face. She then asked who were his two companions, and he named them. Upon one she conferred a grant of the revenues of Aden for that year, amounting to one hundred thousand dinārs. To the other she gave the two fortresses of Kaukabān and Ḥaubān (?), together with their territories, the assessments upon which are not inferior to the revenues of Aden.

Then the army entered by detachments, whilst she stood at the casement with her face uncovered. Such had been her custom in the days of her husband, a sign of her exalted rank over the men from whom other women are secluded. Al-Mukarram ordered the two heads to be taken down, and he erected over them a mausoleum, which I have known as the Mausoleum of the Two Heads (Mashhad ar-Ra'sayn). It is said that when al-Mukarram uncovered his face Asmā exclaimed:

paternal uncle of As'ad ibn Shihāb and of the Lady Asmā, and not inferior to the other four in nobility of race or in personal merit. Then al-Mukarram arose and addressed them, speaking so that he could be clearly heard. The following passage of his speech has remained in my memory:—

'O ye believers, if the undertaking upon which ye have entered were but newly resolved upon, I would of a certainty 25 seek to sharpen your determination. But I will not now add to what ye heard from me yesterday, and to what I have said before yesterday. The words I have spoken are sufficient. I offered you the option of returning when the distance ye had travelled still permitted you to draw back. But now the choice is with your enemy. Ye have penetrated into his country as into a lion's den, and your only alternatives are to encounter death or to suffer dishonour by unavailing flight.'"

He then recited the words of Abu 't-Tayyib al-Mutanabbi, as follows:—

"Grasping my death-dealing sword, I will go down among my foes, -

A field whence only they return who deal effectual blows." \*

The Abyssinians had assembled to the number of twenty thousand foot. The right wing of the Arab force was under the command of As'ad ibn Shihab, and the left under that of his uncle. "Ye are not," said al-Mukarram, "like unto the other members of this army. Ye have personal wrongs to avenge, for our lady is sister to one of you and niece to the other." Al-Mukarram himself took command of the centre. The two armies entered into action. The centre of the Abyssinians fought strenuously for a time, but the two wings closed upon them. The Abyssinians were defeated, and immense numbers were slain. Sa'îd ibn Najāḥ and those surrounding him fled from the field and took refuge in Dahlak and its neighbouring islands. The slaughter of the Abyssinians, near the gate of the

<sup>\*</sup> See Dieterici's Mutanabbi, p. 463.

of the western aisle, in which I was seated. Then he dismounted, and a person approached me, than whom I have seen none among the sons of Adam of more perfect form, or of more noble appearance, a man of kingly aspect. Standing up at my side he performed his morning devotions. The early light soon began to shine, and I perceived that the stem of his lance was a Kulamite cane (or bamboo), an equal to which could not be met with.\* horse resembled (in its powerful appearance) a beast of burden. He desired me to finish the section of the Kur'an upon which I was engaged. I obeyed and he listened to my chanting. He then desired me to pray. I did so, and to each of my petitions he responded with ejaculations of Amen. The sun now rose, and horsemen began to issue forth in detachments and troops from the hollows of the plain. Each party as it came forward saluted the Chief and then stood still. The words they used were, 'God grant a day of bounteous grace unto our Lord, and perpetuate his renown! his reply he confined himself to the words, 'Welcome, ye Arab nobles!' On their number being complete, certain persons came forth unto him at the mosque. The only one known to me was As'ad ibn Shihāb, with whom I was acquainted, seeing that he had been governor over us citizens of Zabid. I inquired of him who were these persons. man,' he answered, 'is al-Mukarram, al-Malik as-Sa'id (the auspicious king) Ahmad ibn 'Aly, the Sulayhite, that is al-Karam † the Yamite, and that is 'Āmir az-Zawāhi, the most generous Arab that ever bestrode a horse.' The men called upon a fourth to come forward, but he declined. He was the

<sup>\*</sup> Kulami I take to signify imported from Kulam, now known as Quilon, on the Malabar coast. See *Ibn Khordadhbah*, ed. de Goeje, p. 62, also Yule's Marco Polo, ii. p. 312, note.

<sup>† &#</sup>x27;Abbas son of al-Karam?

(al-Ahwal).<sup>32</sup> See that thou come unto me before my delivery. If not, everlasting disgrace will ensue."

Al-Mukarram, on reading the letter, assembled his friends and showed it them. They burst into lamentations, but soon became eager to vindicate the honour of their tribe. Al-Mukarram marched from San'ā at the head of a body of three thousand horsemen, whom he had sworn to fidelity, whose assistance he claimed, and whose spirit he stimulated by his addresses. He was an eloquent speaker and a brave warrior, widely known for his resolute character as well as for his bravery. No one in his day was his equal in strength and stature, or able to wield his arms, his lance, his sword, and his bow. At each halting-place he exhorted the people, saving that whosoever cared only for the preservation of his life should not be one of them. Sixteen hundred horsemen \* from among his allies steadfastly adhered to him, and fourteen hundred drew back. I have been told by the Sheykh and Jurist al-

Mukri (the Kur'an teacher) Suleyman son of Ya-Sin that the following anecdote was related to him by the pious Sheykh Muhammad son of 'Ulayyah. was on a certain Friday," said Sheykh Muhammad, "at near the hour of daybreak, in the mosque of Turaybah. The country people had taken refuge 24 in the city of Zabid out of fear of the Arabs. was engaged in a recitation of the entire Kur'an, and had reached the chapter commencing with the words, By the Heavens containing the mansions of the stars.† I had no other occupation and the mosque in which I sat, stood on a desolate spot. was suddenly startled by the arrival of a horseman, whom I could not distinctly see on account of the still lingering darkness. He deposited his lance on the ground, with its point resting against the wall

<sup>\*</sup> Or, according to Janadi, three thousand. † Kur'an, S. lxxxy,

personal affairs, scattered and divided into separate parties, that the Amīr 'Aly and his brother 'Abd Allah ibn Muhammad the Sulayhite had both been beheaded. The troops were surrounded, and not a man escaped. Power passed into the hands of Sa'id, son of Najāh al-Ahwal, who caused the men to be massacred by his spearmen. He spared Wā'il ibn 'Īsa al-Wuḥāzy, Ibn Ma'n, and Ibn al-Kurandy, but he slew the others, and captured Asma, daughter of Shihab and mother of the king al-Mukarram. Sa'id then started from al-Mahjam on his way back 23 to Zabid, with the two heads borne in front of the Princess's litter. On his arrival at Zabīd he raised them on high, opposite the casement of a house he assigned for her residence. And Asmā remained a full year the captive of Sa'id ibn Najāh.

How the King al-Mukarram Ammad, son of 'Aly, son of Muhammad as-Sulayhi, Supreme Chief of the Arabs, Sultan under the Prince of the Faithful, proceeded from San'ā to Zabīd to release his mother Asmā, daughter of Shihāb, from her captivity.

It is related that all attempts to transmit a letter from Asmā to al-Mukarram, or from him to his mother, having failed, the Princess herself devised an artifice whereby the object was accomplished. She hid a letter in a cake of bread, and contrived means by which it was given to a mendicant. The latter transmitted the letter to al-Mukarram, who received it in the month of Shawwāl of the year 475. The Princess wrote to her son as follows: "I am great with child by the squint-eyed slave

ibn Muḥammad the Sulayhite. I myself have seen the bones and horses hoofs, that are uncovered on the battle-field, and exposed to view whenever a 22 violent wind blows. After visiting Zabīd, aṣ-Ṣulayḥi returned to Ṣan'ā (may God guard it), and he remained there for twelve years without moving from the city.

Among other passages in the history of Yaman is the story of the slaughter of the Da'y 'Aly the Sulayhite, an event which occurred on the twelfth of the month of Dhu 'l-Ka'dah of the year 473, or as it is also said of the year 459, and the latter is the correct version. The Amīr, the Glorious Da'y, the Triumphant in the wars for the Faith, the Friend of the Prince of the Faithful, 'Aly, son of Muhammad the Sulayhite, had appointed as governors over the fortresses and highlands persons whom he could trust. Having determined upon going to Mecca (may God Most High guard it), he resolved to take with him the kings (to whom he had given places of abode at San'ā), and also the Lady Asmā, daughter of Shihāb, and mother of the king al-Mukarram. He made the latter governor of San'a, and appointed him his deputy. He set forth at the head of two thousand horsemen, of whom one hundred and sixty were members of the Sulayhi tribe. On reaching al-Mahjam he halted on a cultivated tract, near the outskirts of the city, known under the name of Umm ad-Duhaym, and also under that of Bir (Well of) Umm Ma'bad. encamped his soldiers, and placed around his own tent the Princes, among whom were Ma'n (read Aly?) ibn Ma'n, Ibn al-Kurandy, Ibn at-Tubba'y, Wā'il ibn 'Īsa al-Wuhāzy, and others, all of whom he had brought with him for fear of their raising a revolt against him during his absence. Suddenly and without warning the news spread among his people, who were occupying themselves with their

whom my grandfather, Ahmad ibn Muhammad, received in his castle at 'Ukwah. Al-'Ukwatāni (the two 'Ukwahs) are two mountains of great natural strength, which no one would willingly attack. They are the places mentioned by the leader of the Caravan of pilgrims, when he says, addressing his eyes inflamed with want of sleep,—

When ye behold the two mountains of 'Akād, And when the two 'Ukwas rise before you, Rejoice, O weary eyes, at the prospect of rest.

The two mountains of 'Akād look down upon the city of az-Zarā'ib, and their inhabitants have preserved the Arabic language in its purity from pre-islamitic days down to the present. Their speech has been preserved from corruption, through their refraining from intermarriage, or association with townspeople. They are a sedentary people, who do

not wander or quit their homes.30

I may mention that in the year 530, being then under twenty years of age, I came to Zabīd for the purpose of studying jurisprudence. The Professors of all the Colleges were much surprised to find that I never committed a solecism in speaking. "I take oath by God Most High," said the Jurist Nasr Allah ibn Sālim, "that this youth has made a deep study of grammar." After a considerable lapse of time, friendship having been established between us, he used, whenever we met, to exclaim: "Welcome he on whose account I have forsworn myself." When my father visited me at Zabīd, along with seven of my brethren, I arranged a meeting between them and the Jurists. They conversed together and by Allah, with one exception, no solecism was committed by my friends, whilst the author of that single inaccuracy of language was immediately reproved by his companions.

But let us return to the history of the Da'y 'Aly

Muḥammad al-Kumm, father of Ḥusayn ibn 'Aly ibn Muḥammad al-Kumm, the poet, and one of the most distinguished of men for generosity, for his fitness to command, and for his business abilities. He was, moreover, a distinguished poet, and it was he who wrote in a short piece the following line touching his brother, whom he reproached for the exaggerated affection he displayed towards his son Husayn:—

Behold him ever watching—his sons. Truly all men are not manly.

Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Aly, it was stated by As'ad ibn Shihāb, was placed with him as wazīr and private secretary by his master, the Dā'y 'Aly ibn Muḥammad aṣ-Ṣulayḥi. The Prince and the Lady Asmā gave him strict orders to decide nothing without first consulting 'Aly ibn al-Ḥumm. "I used to send him each year," said Ibn Shihāb, "as my delegate to Ṣan'ā, accompanied by Aḥmad ibn Sālim, governor of Tihāmah. I levied every year from Tihāmah, in money alone, a sum of one million of dinārs, and my two friends invariably returned to me with presents from my master and mistress, amounting to fifty thousand dinārs, which I divided with my followers."

Among other events in the life of the Amīr 'Aly ibn Muḥammad aṣ-Ṣulayḥi, it is related, that in the year 460, he received intelligence that Ibn Ṭarf had been joined by the Kings of Abyssinia and by a 21 mixed multitude of Africans. Aṣ-Ṣulayḥi marched against them at the head of two thousand seven hundred horsemen. The two armies met at az-Zarā'ib, in the dominion of Ibn 'arf, the place in which I was born and which my family inhabits to the present day. The Arabs on the first day suffered severe losses. Then, however, Fortune turned against the Blacks, and their force was reduced to one thousand men,

gold. I mounted upon the roof, and on examining it and the ceiling I found chests containing gold and silver and treasure exceeding in value three hundred thousand dinārs. I first set apart one third of the amount and expended it in works of charity. The second third I sent to the Lady Asmā, in discharge of my obligations to her. With the remainder I acquired unto myself goods and property, and I vowed unto God Most High that I would not oppress any of his creatures. I continued ruler of the province for fifteen years, and no arbitrary act 20 during that period is, within my knowledge, charge-

able upon my conscience."

Continuing his narrative, As'ad ibn Shihāb stated that aṣ-Ṣulayhi appointed three men to assist him in the administration of the country, who, in the performance of their duties, obeyed his wishes by entirely abstaining from all unlawful interference with the property of the people. One of them was Aḥmad ibn Sālim, who had the superintendence of affairs from Wādi Ḥaraḍ to near Aden. He relieved As'ad of the cares proceeding from the contentions of local officials, and of the task of levying the imposts.

No sums were exacted from him excepting on distinct accounts, or in accordance with payments actually received. The second was the Kādi Abu Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn ibn Abi 'Akāmah, a descendant of Muḥammad ibn Harūn the Taghlibite, whom the Khalīfah al-Ma'mūn appointed as Chief Judge over Yaman in conjunction with Ibn Ziyād. He was As'ad's deputy in administering the sacred law, and in the execution of his duties, he displayed sound judgment and effectually protected the people from wrong.\* The third was Abu 'l-Hasan 'Aly ibn

<sup>\*</sup> The above doubtless conveys the general sense intended by the writer, but I am not able to translate the passage, as it stands in our text, without considerable hesitation.

to him on behalf of her brother. "My lady," he said, "whence hast thou obtained this?" "It is the gift of God," she answered. "Verily, God bestoweth His bounty upon whom He willeth, and taketh no account thereof." \* Aṣ-Ṣulayhi smiled and understood that the money came from his own treasury. He received it saying: "This is our property which hath come back unto us." † To which Asmā quickly added (in the remaining words of the verse), "And we will provide for our kinsfolk and care for our brother."

As'ad ibn Shihāb entered Zabīd in 456, and distinguished himself by his just treatment of his subjects. He protected the Sunnis in the public exercise of their religion. He established his residence in the palace of Shaḥār. This is a building against which the assaults of Ruin are made in vain, and which Decay, the most powerful of kings, is unable to subdue. It was erected by Shaḥār, son

of Ja'far, the ruler of Mikhlāf Ja'far.

"I was one day reposing," said As'ad ibn Shihāb, "and, as I lay extended on my back, I reflected over my affairs. Behold, I said to myself, as-Sulayhi is a man held in the highest honour, who has appointed me ruler over Zabid, and regards me as equal to Sultan As'ad ibn 'Arraf, to 'Amir ibn Suleymān az-Zawāhi, and to such and such other My Lady Asmā has overwhelmed me with kindness, and whenever I measure my deserts by the increasing flow of her favours, I perceive how unworthy I am of her benevolence. On the other hand, I am wholly averse to laying my hands tyrannically and extortionately upon my subjects and subordinates. Whilst occupied with these thoughts I fell asleep. I was awakened by dust that fell and sprinkled my face, and which was charged with

<sup>\*</sup> Kur'an, S. iii. v. 32.

<sup>+</sup> Kur'ān, S. xii. v. 65.

Yaman to his authority. None of its plains or of its hills, of its lands or of its waters remained unsubdued. No parallel case can be found of so rapid a conquest, either in the days of ignorance or in the days of Islam. On a certain occasion when delivering the Khutbah (sermon) at al-Janad, he declared that on the day corresponding with that on which he spoke, he would, under the will of God, preach from the pulpit of Aden. A man exclaimed derisively, "O holy one, O worthy of praise!" As-Sulayhi ordered the man to be arrested, and on the day he had indicated, he preached the Khutbah from the pulpit of Aden. The same man thereupon exclaimed, "O twice worthy of praise, O twice holy!" and forthwith took the oath of allegiance and joined the Imperial sect.

From the year 455, the residence of as-Sulayhi was established at San'ā. He brought thither the Yamanite kings whom he had deprived of their thrones, giving them places of abode near himself, and appointing governors over the strongholds they had formerly possessed. He built several palaces at San'ā. I was told by one of the citizens, Muḥammad ibn Bishārah, in A.H. 535, when he stated himself to be nigh unto eighty years of age, that all the palaces of as-Sulayhi were in ruins, and, he added, all who have built houses at San'ā, from that time down to the present, have made use of materials taken from as-Sulayhi's palaces. Neither the brick nor the stone nor the timber have perished.

As to Zabīd and its dependencies in Tihāmah, aṣ-Ṣulayḥi had sworn that he would appoint as governor only such as would pay him a sum of one hundred (thousand) dinārs. Afterwards he repented 19 of his oath and he desired to appoint his brother-in-law As'ad ibn Shihāb, brother of his wife Asma, daughter of Shihāb. She weighed out the money

of the Ismailite doctrines. Every one of his companions was a member of his family, and of his tribe, which comprised numerous and distinguished men. No building existed on the summit of the mountain. It was a peak, forming a defensive position of great natural strength. Before noon of the day following the night on which as-Sulayhi seized upon the spot, he was surrounded and besieged by 20,000 swordsmen, who reviled and insulted him. "Come down," they said, "or we will cause you and all that are with you to perish by famine." He told them in reply that all he had done was occasioned by his apprehensions for their own safety, as well as for the protection of himself and of his companions. If, he added, they would leave him, he would guard the place. If not, he would come down to them. Thereupon they departed.

Before the expiration of many months, he had erected buildings on the mountain and had strongly fortified the place. He remained at Masār, gradually increasing in power, from the year 429, the commencement of his career, concealing his purpose, that of winning adherents to the Ismailite supremacy.

18 He lived in dread of Najāḥ, the Prince of Tihāmah, but sought to win his favour, assuming a humble demeanour, but never desisting in his efforts against

but sought to win his favour, assuming a humble demeanour, but never desisting in his efforts against him, until he succeeded in bringing about the death of Najāḥ by poison, with the help of a beautiful female slave whom he sent as a present to his rival. Najāḥ died at al-Kadrā in the year 452.

As-Sulayhi wrote to the Imām al-Mustanṣir (at Cairo), 20 asking permission to make open proclamation of the Ismailite doctrines and supremacy. He received an answer granting his prayer. He rapidly overran the country and conquered both the (mountain) fortresses and the low country. Before the end of the year 455, he had subjected the whole of

knew him, whereupon he changed his garb, and assumed the dress of an oil-presser, a seller of oil at one of the oil-mills of Hays. The statement of evidence referred to, he took to the house of a man of the name of as-Sabkhah. After he attained supreme power, an aged woman came to him with the paper in his handwriting. He immediately recognized it, and could allow himself no rest until he had fulfilled his obligation. His deposition, he said, was in precise accordance with what he had written at the time he undertook the duty. ibn Muhammad, Kādi of Ḥarāz, bore witness to the truth of this anecdote, and he committed it to writing with his own hand, that under the will of God Most High, it might be borne in remembrance.

Another anecdote of as-Sulaylii, relating to the commencement of his career, was told me by the Sultan Nāṣir, son of Manṣūr the Wā'ilite, who held it from his grandfather 'Īsa ibn Yazīd. 'Aly, son of Muhammad the Sulayhite, was, he said, leader of the pilgrimage by the road of the Sarawāt for fifteen (years). The people were in the habit of telling him, when he first rose to eminence, that according to what had come to their knowledge, he was destined to reign over the whole of Yaman, to earn a great name, and to be the founder of a dynasty. Aṣ-Ṣulayhi censured and disavowed what was thus said to him, though it was a thing that had spread far and wide among the people, and was on the lips of all, both high and low.

In the year 429, as-Sulayhi raised his standard on the summit of Masār, the highest peak of the mountains of Ḥarāz. He was then at the head of sixty men, from whom he had received an oath of fidelity at Mecca in A.H. 428, during the celebration of the pilgrimage ceremonies of the month of Dhu 'l-Hijjah. They had sworn to stand by him unto death, in support of his work as Dā'y for the establishment and bridegroom were equipped on a scale such as kings strive to provide when allying themselves with women of the most noble lineage. As-Sulayhi returned, by direction of the Abyssinian, to his uncle and married Asmā. She was the mother of the king al-Mukarram, husband of the Lady, the Queen Sayyidah (the Lady Arwa?), daughter of Almad the Sulayhite. Asmā was of a generous and noble disposition, liberal in the rewards she bestowed upon poets, and in the large sums she granted in furtherance of the service of God, of acts of benevolence, and of other good deeds. renown of her splendid virtues extended to her children, her brothers, and her kindred. husband's poet, named As'ad ibn Yahya al-Haythami, spoke of her in the following terms, in an ode which commences with the words: "She of the white hands hath bestowed gifts:"

She hath impressed upon beneficence the stamp of generosity—Of meanness she allows no trace to appear.

I say when people magnify the throne of Bilkīs—Asmā hath obscured the name of the loftiest among the stars.<sup>28</sup>

Among other anecdotes of the Da'y 'Aly as-Sulayhi is that related to me by Ahmad ibn Husayn al-Amawy, surnamed ibn as-Sahah (as-Sabkhah?). He held it from his father, who had been told the story by my informant's grandfather. He dwelt, he said, in the city of Hays, distant a night's journey from Zabid. As-Sulayhi, on conquering Zabid, rode to the Court of the Kādi, and delivered to him a judicial deposition he had sworn in the days of his youth. Then, after some private conversation with the Kādi, he took his leave. After the Amīr's departure, the Kādi repeated what had been told him by the Prince. He had on one occasion, he related, come to the city of Hays for the purpose of gaining 17 intelligence touching the two slaves of Marian, Nafis, and Najah. He was met by a person who

of Zabīd, within the walls, there was the house of an Abyssinian of the name of Faraj as-Saḥrati (the Sahrite) a man of benevolence and of exceeding charity. Whoever entered his mosque he welcomed and entertained. His thoughts were occupied with his guests, and he was in the habit of entering the mosque and of making private inquiries respecting them, without the knowledge of his agents and servants. He went forth one night and found in the mosque a person occupied in reading the Kur'ān. He questioned him touching his evening meal, and the man in reply recited the following lines of al-Mutanabbi:—

Who hath taught the mutilated negro the performance of generous deeds?—
His noble-minded masters or his enslaved forefathers? 27

The Abyssinian took the man with him. He led him to the chief room of his house, and treated him with the most liberal hospitality. He asked his guest the reason of his journey to Tihāmah. Sulayhi replied that he had a paternal maternal) uncle named Shihāb, whose daughter Asmā had few equals in beauty, and was unmatched 16 in literary culture and intelligence. He had asked her in marriage, and had been met with a demand for dowry exceeding in its amount the bounds of moderation, her mother urging that she should be married to none other but to one of the Hamdanite Kings of San'ā, or to one of the kings of the family of the Banu Kurandi in Mikhlāf Ja'far. They, in short, exacted a sum which it was wholly beyond his power to command. He was now, he added, on his way either to the Banu Ma'n at Aden, or to the Banu Kurandi in the district of al-Ma'āfir. ķā'id Faraj as-Sahrati, continued the narrator, supplied him with a large sum of money, double the amount that as-Sulayhi actually paid. The bride

'Aly's mind had become deeply impressed by az-Zawāhi's teaching. He was highly intelligent, and applied himself to study. Ere he had reached the age of manhood, he had become filled with know-15 ledge, by means of which and of good fortune, he attained the highest objects of his ambition. was learned in the jurisprudence of the Imperial sect, and versed in the science of (mystical) interpretation (of the Kur'ān). He began his career as leader of the pilgrims, for several years, by way of as-Sarāt \* and Ţā'if. He alone led the pilgrimage during that time, and in his early years his condition gradually rose from lowliness to exaltation, from poverty to wealth. Illustrations thereof were related to me by the Jurist Abu 'l-Husayn 'Aly ibn Suleyman. He was a man of advanced age, a poet, author of the following lines referring to 'Omar ibn 'Adnan the 'Akkite:—

Though my night watchings be attended with forebodings of evil— (yet I know that) 1bn 'Adnān will be unto me a protector from oppression.+

Similar circumstances were related to me also by az-Zibrikān ibn al-Fuwaykar (Ghuwayfar?), the 'Akkite, on the authority of a certain poet. He was the author of the following lines, part of an ode in which be satirized his own people:—

Who will buy the 'Akkites at the cost of a copper?— Behold I will sell them all, absolutely, and without the option of cancelling the bargain.

Both these men and other persons have repeated to me an anecdote related by the Kādi 'Omar ibn al-Murajjal, who bore the surname of the Hanafite and belonged to that school of religion, and who was a distinguished scholar. He said that near the gate

<sup>\*</sup> For the words Sarāt and Sarawāt, see infra (Geographical Index).

<sup>+</sup> The accuracy of these lines, as they stand in the MS., is, I think, very doubtful.

The History of the Dā'y 'Aly, son of Muhammad the Sulayhite. Thence proceeds the most important part of the History of Yaman, and therewith the subjects of the remainder of this book, touching the Kāpis, the Dā'ys, the distinguished men and the poets of the country are closely connected.

THE Kādi Muhammad son of 'Aly, father of the Dā'y 'Aly the Sulayhite, was a follower of the Sunni doctrines, and he exercised great influence over the men of Harāz, who were 40,000 in number. When the office of Dā'y was transferred to 'Āmir ibn 'Abd Allah az-Zawāhy (ar-Rawāhy?), so named after a village in the province of Haraz, 25 he applied himself to win the favour of the Kādi Muhammad ibn 'Aly, father of the Dā'y 'Aly ibn Muhammad, the Sulayhite. Az-Zawāhi was in the habit of riding to the dwelling-place of the Kādi, who was a man of authority, holding the dignity of a chief, and both virtuous and learned. He steadily persevered in his designs and finally won the affection of the Kādi's son 'Aly, then below the age of puberty, in whom he had perceived signs of future greatness. It is said that 'Amir possessed a description of as-Sulayhi, contained in the Kitāb as-Suwar (Book of Delineations), one of the treasures of the ('Obaydite) Imams, upon whom be peace.26 He made known to 'Aly the revelations contained in the book touching the destinies reserved for him in the future, and the noble career he was to fulfil. He did this secretly, without the knowledge of the youth's father and family. Az-Zawāhi ere long died, bequeathing to 'Aly his writings and his learning. Before his death

climbed up the side of the hill. The horsemen, on reaching me, said that the question who are the noblest descendants of Adam was in dispute between them, and that they had agreed to abide by my decision. One of them maintained that the Banu Wā'il are absolutely superior to every other race. The second contended that the Banu Wa'il and Banu Kuraysh are equal in nobility. To rid myself of them I replied that the Apostle (upon whom be blessings and peace) is the noblest of all mankind, and that the Banu Wa'il exceed in nobility the tribe of Kuraysh. One of the two men answered: "By Allah, hadst thou spoken otherwise, thou hadst not escaped me!" and thereupon they left The Sultan As'ad ibn Wa'il ibn 'Isa, celebrated for his generosity and the theme of exuberant praise, is a member of the tribe of Wā'il.

The fortress of Ashyah, seat of the King and Dā'y Saba, son of Ahmad the Sulayhite, and the fortress of Wusāb and its territories, were conquered by a family belonging to the tribe of Bakīl,<sup>23</sup> 14 descended from Hamdan. San'a and its dependencies were conquered by a Hamdanite family. That of 'Abd al-Wahid seized the provinces of Bura', al-'Amad, and Li'san. They possessed themselves also of the fortress of Masar, which has no equal in Yaman, with the exception only of at-Ta'kar, of Samadān, and Habb. It was at Masār, in Barāz, that as-Sulayhi first arose proclaiming the supremacy of the Fatimite Khalifah al-Mustan-Haraz is the name of the district, and its inhabitants are designated after it. They are closely allied with the tribe of Hamdan, and it was with their support that the Dā'y 'Aly, son of Muhammad the Sulayhite, raised himself to power.21

(Anwar), an-Nakil, and as-Sahūl, the fortresses of Khadid, and of ash-Shawāķi (Shawāfi). All these were conquered by the Sultan Abn 'Abd Allah al-Husayn ibn at-Tubba'y, and by his son. Sahūl is the place in which the cloth known by the name of Sahuliyah is woven, of which two pieces were used as winding-sheets for the Apostle. The valley belongs to the Banu Asbah, a tribe to which the Jurist Mālik al-Asbahi, Imām of the City of the Flight, belonged.<sup>21</sup> Sultan Abu 'Abd Allah al-13 Husayn is he who contrived the stratagem whereby Sand al-Ahwal, son of Najah, who had killed the Amīr 'Ali, son of Muhammad the Sulavhite, was The province of Uhāzah (also called himself slain. Wuhazah), of which the seat of government is the stronghold of Baybars (Yarīs?), was likewise Among its other fortresses are appropriated. Dahwan (Zahrān), Yafūz, Sha'r (Sha'b?), and al-Khadrā. Its chief city is Shāhit. Nizār, son of the Jurist Zayd ibn al-Husayn al-Wuhāzi, wrote the following lines on the Sultan of the country:—

They told us the Sulțān was at Shāḥiṭ.—He ascends the mountains from the barren plains.

I asked, Does the Sultān occupy the highest point?—Nay, they answered, he has gone down.<sup>22</sup>

The fortresses of Wuḥāzah were conquered by the Banu Wā'il, who are descendants of Dhu 'l-Kalā'. They are an ancient family of chieftains, but their people are a silly folk, who imagine themselves to be absolutely the noblest race descended from Adam. I may mention that I was once on a hot summer's day travelling along the road from the market of Jabḥab (Jabjab), the greatest market held in the district, when I was overtaken by two horsemen of the tribe, who were urging on their horses with their heels, and whose lances were held by the riders pointed in my direction. I alighted from the beast upon which I was mounted, and I

412. He then asked Marjan: "What hath Nafis 12 done with thine own and our masters?" "They are in that wall," he replied. Najāh removed the bodies, prayed over them, and erected a mausoleum over their place of burial. Marjan was immured alive along with the corpse of Nafis, in the wall in which the two bodies were found.

Najāh now adopted the use of the royal umbrella and struck the coinage in his own name. entered into correspondence with the supreme authorities in 'Irāk, tendering them his submission, and he received the title of al-Mu'ayyad Nāsir ad-Din. He was empowered to appoint as Kādi whomsoever he chose, and to administer all the affairs of the country of Yaman. He continued to rule over Tihāmah, and to exercise control over most of the people of the Highlands, and he was styled King, both in the Khutbah and in official documents, with the title of Our Lord. He had several children, among whom were Safid, Javyāsh, Muʻārik, adh-Dhakhīrah and Mansūr.

But the governors appointed by Husayn ibn Salāmah in the Highlands, seized upon the mountain Aden, Abyan, Lahi, ash-Shihr and fortresses.19 Hadramaut were taken by the Banu Ma'n, who, I believe, were not descendants of Ma'n ibn Zā'idah the Shaybānite.<sup>20</sup> Samadān, a place of greater strength than Dumluwah, also the fortress of Sawa, that of Damlawah, the fortresses of Sabir, of Dhakhir, of Ta'kar (which commands Janad), also the provinces of Janad (Ja'far), of 'Unnah and of al-Ma'afir were appropriated by a family, descended from Himyar, known as the Banu'l-Kurandi. They achieved distinction by generous and noble deeds, by their powerful rule and brilliant estate. The fortress of Habb, which is like unto at-Ta'kar, that which bears the name of 'Azzān, that of Beyt 'Izz, that of as-Sa'r (ash-Sha'ir), a great fortress, that of Nur race. With him the dynasty of the Banu Ziyād came to an end in Yaman, and their power passed into the hands of men, originally their slaves. The dynasty endured two hundred and three years (read two hundred and six years, A.H. 203 to 409), for they founded Zabīd in A.H. 204, and the dynasty ended in A.H. 409.

Nafīs, having gained possession of the Princess and of her nephew, caused them to be immured. They stood, praying for merey, and adjuring him in the name of God Most High, so long as an aperture remained, and until the wall was completely closed

upon them.

When the Ziyādites received tidings of the weakened condition of the Abbaside Khalīfate, of the assassination of al-Mutawakkil (in A.H. 247), and of the deposition of al-Muta'īn (in A.H. 252), they appropriated to themselves the entire revenues of Yaman and, when riding forth, the royal umbrella was borne over them; <sup>18</sup> but they tranquillized the minds of their subjects, by continuing the recitation of the Khutbah in the name of the Abbasides. When Nafīs murdered Ibrahīm (or 'Abd Allah), son of his master, and the boy's aunt, he assumed the royal dignity, adopted the use of the umbrella, and struck the coinage in his own name.

Najāḥ, on hearing of the treatment his master had undergone at the hands of Nafīs, summoned his neighbours to his assistance, Arabs and non-Arabs. He marched upon Zabīd, and repeated battles were fought between the two rivals—the battles of Rima' and of Fashāl, in both which Najāḥ was worsted, that of al-'Ukdah in which he was victorious, and that of al-'Irk in which Nafīs was killed near the Gate of Zabīd, with the loss on the two sides of five thousand men. Najāḥ captured the city of Zabīd in the month of Dhu 'l-Ka'dah of the year

the name of Marjan, one of the slaves of Husavn ibn Salāmah, who exercised the office of wazīr. He had two Abyssinian slaves, vigorous men, whom he had brought up from their childhood, and whom, on their attaining manhood, he appointed to the administration of affairs. One bore the name of Nafis,\* and was entrusted with the direction of affairs at the capital. The other was named Najāh, and he was the ancestor of the kings of Zabid, whose dynasty was brought to an end by 'Aly ibn Mahdy in A.H. 554. He was father of the king Safid al-Ahwal, the slayer of the Amīr 'Aly ibn Muhammad aş-Sulaylıi, who was Dā'y (guardian and propagator) in Yaman of the Fatimite doctrines and of the supremacy of the (Egyptian) Khalifate, at that time held by al-Mustansir. Najāh was likewise father of the most excellent and righteous King Abu 't-Ṭīb (read Abu 't-Ṭāmi) Jayyāsh, in whose hands and in the hands of whose descendants, supreme authority remained until the above-mentioned date.

Najāh ruled over al-Kadrā, al-Mahjam, Maur and al-Wadiani, and these four districts are the finest provinces north of Zabid. Jealousy arose between him and Nafis touching the exercise of the office of wazīr at the capital. Nafīs was of a tyrannical disposition and was dreaded by the people, whilst Najāh was merciful, righteous, and beloved. Their master, Marjan, nevertheless inclined unto Nafīs, and favoured him at the expense of Najāh. It was intimated to the former that the aunt of his master Ibn Ziyad, was in correspondence with Najāh, and that she favoured him. Nafīs complained thereof to Marjan, who laid hands upon the Princess and upon her brother's son, and delivered them to Nafis.

The young Prince in question was the last of his
\* See note 13, last par.

ported to me by the Jurist Abu 'Aly ibn Talik, 10 who was a pious man and eminent scholar, and who inhabited the city of al-Ma'kir. It had been related to him, he said, by his father and by others his predecessors, all members of families distinguished for learning and for sober living. man, it was said, complained in that valley, to Husayn ibn Salāmah, who was on his way from Zabīd to al-Kadrā, that he had been robbed of a leathern bag, containing one thousand or, as it is also said, two thousand dinars. This, he said, had occurred in Wadi Maur, which is several days distant from the place where he made his complaint. Husayn ordered the man to be brought to him, and made him sit down among his followers (in the mosque of al-Kadrā). He rose to perform his devotions, and he prolonged them to an unusual length. He then lay down in the Mihrāb and slept, and the people gradually crowded towards the spot from all parts of the mosque. The narrator's father said that he was one of those who approached nearest to the Prince, and he heard him command one of his followers to proceed with the man to such and such a village on the coast, to receive the property from so and so, son of so and so, and to do that person no harm. "For," he said, "the Apostle of God (upon whom be blessings and salutations of peace) hath interceded for him, informing me that the person in question is one of his descendants, and hath acquainted me with the facts of the case." The history of Husayn and a relation of his good deeds in Yaman, would fill volumes.

Sovereignty over the dominions of the Banu Ziyād then passed on to a child of the family, whose name I do not know, but I believe it to have been 'Abd Allah (read Ibrahīm?). He was placed under the guardianship of a paternal aunt and of a cunuch of

which is reached by the pilgrims, is Bayn (Bīr?) ar-Riyāḍah, then Sabakhat al-Ghurāb, next al-Līth. Then they reach Wādi Yalamlam, where there is a well with an abundant supply of drinking water, ten fathoms in depth and five or six in width. Here the travellers separate into two parties. Those whose destination is Mecca find on their way Ibn Salāmah's buildings at Birād, next al-Baydā, then al-Karīn, and finally Mecca. Those proceeding to 'Arafāt reach a well constructed by Ibn Salāmah in Wādi ar-Raḥm, thence to Na'man, and then 'Arafāt. He built also a mosque on Jabal ar-Raḥmah, at

'Arafāt. May God have mercy upon him! 16

I have been informed by the Fakih (Jurist) Abu Muhammad 'Abd Allah ibn Abi 'l-Kāsim al-Abbar, under whom I studied the Shāfi'y doctrines, that the following incident was related to him by his father, Abu 'l-Kāsim. The same was reported to me by 'Abd ar-Rahman ibn 'Aly al-'Absi, and by al-Mukry (the Kur'an reader) al-Husayn, grandson of Husayn, son of Salāmah. All these attained the age of nearly one hundred years. They relate that people were, on a certain occasion, assembling in crowds to attend the morning reception of Husayn ibn Salāmah, when a man approached and said unto him: "The Apostle of God (upon whom be blessings and peace) hath commanded me to come unto thee, that thou mayest pay me one thousand dinārs." "It may be," answered Ḥusayn, "that the Evil Spirit hath visited thee in a false shape." "It is not so," replied the man, "and the sign between me and thee is, that for twenty years past, thou hast every night, two hundred times invoked blessings on the Apostle." Husayn, on hearing these words, wept and exclaimed: "This I swear by Allah is a true sign, for none knew of it but God alone!" And he ordered the money to be paid.<sup>17</sup>

The following anecdote has moreover been re-

ascends from Mecca, and half a day to him that goes down to the city. The road was constructed by Ḥusayn ibn Salāmah of such width that three

laden camels can travel abreast upon it.

The above is the highland road. The Tihāmah (low country) road likewise divides itself into two branches. One, the maritime road, extends along the coast. The other, the royal highway, runs halfway between the coast and the mountains. The two roads diverge from Tihāmah (Aden?), and upon both, at each interval of a day's journey, stands a great mosque. On the maritime road stands al-Makhnak, at a distance of one night's journey from Aden. It has a well eighty (thirty) fathoms in depth, which I have several times visited, as also a ruined mosque. Then al-'Arah, then 'Athr, and next as-Sukya, with a mosque, and a well forty fathoms in depth. Then Bãb al-Mandab, and then Mokha. Then as-Suhari, al-Khauhah, al-Ahwāb, Ghulāfikah, Bi'ah (?), al-Jardah (al-Hirdah), az-Zar'ah (?), ash-Sharjah, al-Mufajjar (al-Hajar?), al-Kandir (?), and 'Aththar, which is the seat of an ancient kingdom. 15 Then ad-Duwaymah, Hamidah, Dhahaban, Hali, as-Sirrayn and Juddah. These are the mosques on the maritime road, every one of which I have seen either in good repair or in ruins.

On the middle road stand Dhāt al-Khayf (Khubayt?), Mauza', al-Jadūn (?), Ḥays, Zabūd, Fashāl, aḍ-Dijā' (written with Kisra to the letter Dad), al-Kaḥmah, al-Kadrā, which was the residence of İbn Salāmah and was founded by him, al-Jaththah, 'Irk an-Nasham, al-Mahjam, Maur, al-Wādiyāni, Jizān, al-Musā'id, Ta'shar, al-Mabny, Riyaḥ and al-Fajr. Then the royal highway and the maritime road unite. They diverge on leaving as-Sirrayn. Thence to Mecca are five days' journey. The first building erected by Ibn Salāmah

al-Ḥawah (al-Juwwah?),\* a large building, which I have seen in good order, as erected by Husayn ibn Salamah. Of the other mosques on the highland road, I have seen that of al-Janad, which is like unto the mosque of Ahmad ibn Tulun at Misr. There stood formerly on its site a pretty mosque originally erected by Mu'adh ibn Jabal, on his being sent to Yaman. Mu'adh was one of the companions of the Apostle of God, upon whom be blessings and peace. 14 The people of Janad and of the surrounding villages relate singular stories touching the merits of that mosque. They affirm that a visit paid to it, in the first week of the month of Rajab, is equivalent to a visit to the holy places of Mecca, or even to the performance of the rites of pilgrimage. The custom of annually resorting to it grew, until at length the practice was regarded as one of the religious ceremonies attending the pilgrimage to Mecca, and the building was looked upon by the people as a sacred place of resort. If one man owe a debt to another, he will beg to be allowed to remain undisturbed until after the pilgrimage, by which he simply means the visit to al-Janad. Next is Dhu Ashrak, where there is a mosque with the following inscription, carved in stone over the entrance: One of the mosques the erection of which was ordered by 'Omar son of 'Abd 8 al-'Azīz son of Marwān. Next is the city of Ibb. then an-Naķīl, then Dhamār. [Thence to San'ā is a distance of five days' (?) journey, at each of which a station has been built.] Then the mosque of San'ā, a large building. From Ṣan'ā to Ṣa'dah is ten days' journey [with a mosque at each stage], and from Sa'dah to Ta'if, seven days. At each interval of a day's journey there are a mosque and reservoirs for water. Then the traveller reaches the pass of Ta'if, which occupies a day to him who \* For al-Juwwah, see note 111, the latter part.

Ibn Țarf and Ibn al-Ḥarāmi also re-entered into subjection. Ibn Salāmah recovered the original limits of the kingdom, and he founded the cities of al-Kadrā on the Wādi Sahām, and of al-Ma'kir on the Wādi Dhuwāl. He was a just ruler, profuse in bestowing alms and donations for the love of God (whose name be exalted), and following generally in his conduct the example of (the Khalīfah) 'Omar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz. He ruled for thirty years, and died in A.H. 402.<sup>13</sup>

Among the splendid works executed by Husayn ibn Salāmah must be reckoned the construction of great mosques and lofty minarets along the road from Hadramaut to the city of Mecca (may God Most High guard it). The distance extends over sixty days' journey. He dug wells and channels with running water in solitary wildernesses, and he erected along the road constructions on which were indicated the distances in miles, in parasangs and in stages. Some of these works I have seen, either in good order or in ruins, and of the remainder I have received descriptions from other persons, all agreeing with one another. The first stations were at Shibām and Tarīm, two cities of Hadramaut.\* A series of mosques was built extending thence to Aden, to Abyan, and to Lahi, a distance of twenty days' journey. At each interval of one day's journey, there stood a mosque with a minaret and a well. As to Aden, it contained a mosque built by (the Khalifah) 'Omar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, which was restored by Husayn ibn Salāmah.

From Aden the road to Mecca divides itself into two, one of which ascends the mountains and the other passes through the low country (Tihāmah). The highland road is bordered by the mosque of

<sup>\*</sup> See note 11. Of Tarīm, al-Hamdāni merely says that it was a large city (p. 87, l. 17).

ash-Sharjah to Aden, a distance of twenty days' journey, and from Ghulafikah to San'a, five days' journey. I have seen a statement of the revenues of Ibn Ziyād in A.H. 366, and notwithstanding the reductions they had undergone, they amounted to a million of Aththariyah dinārs.12 This did not include various duties he levied upon ships from India, nor contributions of musk, camphor, ambergris (spikenard), sandal-wood and china. It was exclusive also of taxes levied upon ambergris on the shores of Bab al-Mandab, at Aden, at Abyan, and at ash-Shihr and other places, and exclusive of imposts on the pearl fisheries, and of tribute imposed upon the ruler of the city (read island) of Dahlak, comprising, among others, one thousand head of slaves, whereof five hundred were Abyssinian and Nubian female slaves. The Kings of the Abyssinians, on the further side of the sea, sent him offerings of presents and sought his alliance.

Abu'l-Jaysh died in the year 371, leaving a child of the name of 'Abd Allah, or, as it is also said, of the name of Ziyad. The guardianship of the child was assumed by his sister Hind, daughter of Abu 'l-Jaysh, and by one of the slaves of Abu 'l-Jaysh, an Abyssinian eunuch of the name of Rushd. latter [did not long survive, but he] possessed a Nubian slave known by the name of Husayn ibn Salamah, Salamah being the name of Husayn's mother. Husayn grew up a man of ability and resolute character, and abstemions in his habits. On the death of his master Rushd he became wazīr to the son of Abu'l-Jaysh and to the Prince's sister Hind. The ontlying provinces of their dominions had fallen into a state of decay, and the governors of the fortresses in the Highlands had possessed themselves of the districts entrusted to them.

The Ka'id Husayn ibn Salamah made war upon the mountain chiefs and compelled them to submit.

premacy in North Africa. It was there also that 'Aly, son of Muḥammad the Sulayhite, studied in his youth. It was one of the centres of the Alide mission in Yaman.

Muḥammad ('Aly) ibn al-Fadl, whom I have here mentioned, conquered Mount Mudhaykhirah and established there the Khutbah in the name of the Alides in the year 340 (read 291?). Then it was retaken by the people of As'ad ibn Abi Ya'fur, but the followers of Muḥammad ('Aly) ibn al-Fadl again recovered possession of it.

The mountain of Shibām was situated in the dominions of As'ad ibn Abi Ya'fur, Prince of San'ā. It is a strong place of defence, containing villages and cultivated lands, as also a great mosque, and it forms an independent government. Cornelian and onyx are found upon it. These are hard stones, the beauty of which appears when they are cut.

Among other governors of Abu 'l-Jaysh son of Ziyād, who revolted, was Suleymān ibn Tarf, ruler of 'Aththar. He was one of the Princes of Tihāmah. His dominions extended over a length of seven days' journey by two in width, namely, from ash-Sharjah to Ḥali. His annual revenues amounted to 500,000 ('Aththarīyah) dinārs. Although he refused to attend in person at the Court of Ibn Ziyād, he caused the Khutbah to be recited and the coinage to be struck in the name of that Prince. He paid him also an annual tribute and sent him presents, but I know not the amount thereof.

Among the Princes of Tihāmah who, like Ibn Tarf, recited the Khutbah and struck the coinage in the name of Ibn Ziyād and paid him a fixed amount of tribute, was al-Ḥarāmi, ruler of Ḥali, a Prince of inferior power to that of Ibn Tarf.

The portion of Yaman that remained subject to Ibn Ziyād in his old age extended in length from

he expended in charitable deeds and in hospitality.\* The rulers of Bayhan, of Najran, and of Jurash 9 were likewise subject to Ibn Ziyād. As for Sa'dah, it became the scene of the revolt of the Hasanite Sherif (al-Hādi Yahya) known by the surnames of the Russite and the Zeydite. It would not be proper to relate his history at this place, although 10 . . . . there is not in all Yaman a larger, pleasanter, or more populous city than San'a. It is situated on the equator, and enjoys a temperate climate, so that no person requires throughout the course of his life to move his residence from one spot to another, 5 either for winter or for summer, and the length of the days in either season is almost the same. It contains a large building, now in ruins and reduced to a high mound. It is known by the name of Ghumdan. None of the (later) kings of Yaman have built a palace like unto it, or so lofty.

In the kingdom of As'ad ibn Ya'fur, Prince of San'ā, is the mountain Mudhaykhirah, and it has been reported to me that it is about twenty parasangs in height. It contains cultivated lands and (running) waters, and it produces the plant known as Wars,† similar to saffron. The mountain is

accessible by only one road.

Muḥammad (read 'Aly) ibn al-Faḍl the Dā'y, (was?) known as the Sheykh of Lā'ah, and this place La'ah, which adjoins it, is a pretty village known as 'Aden-Lā'ah." It is not the same as the seaport of 'Aden-Abyan. I have visited 'Aden-La'ah. It is the place at which the Alide supremacy was first proclaimed in Yaman, and thence issued forth Manṣūr al-Yaman. The Dā'y Muḥammad (read 'Aly) ibn al-Faḍl was a native of the place, and among others who came to it was Abu 'Abd Allah ash-Shiya'i, who proclaimed the Alide su-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>\*</sup> Cf. Ibn Haukal, p. 20.

<sup>†</sup> Memecylon tinctorium (Freytag).

he ruled is known to this day under the name of the Mikhlāf of Ja'far. The word Mikhlāf, as used by the people of Yaman, signifies an extensive district. This Ja'far was a man of great capacity and It was through him that the dynasty astuteness. of Ibn Ziyād acquired its greatness, and for that reason Ibn Zivād received a surname actually 4 derived from the name of Ja'far. It was he who stipulated with the Arabs of Tihāmah that they should not make use of riding horses. Ibn Ziyād became master of Hadramaut, of Diyar Kindah, of Shihr, of Mirbat, of Abyan, of Lahi, of Aden and of the maritime provinces on the Red Sea as far as Haly. From Haly to Mecca (may God guard it) is eight days' journey. He possessed also in the Highlands, Janad and its dependencies, Mikhlaf al-Ma'afir, Mikhlaf Ja'far, San'a, Sa'dah, Najran and Bayhān. Ibn Ziyād and his posterity after him caused the Khutbah to be recited in the names of the Abbaside Khalifahs, and sent them tribute and valuable presents.

His descendants were Ibrahim, son of this same Muhammad the first of the dynasty. Next after Ibrahim came his son Ibn Zivād (Zivād?), whose reign did not long endure. He was succeeded by his brother Abu 'l-Jaysh Ishak, son of Ibrahim, whose life was prolonged over a long period. When he had attained a great age, and his reign had endured for eighty years, some of the provinces separated themselves from his kingdom. Among those who manifested an evil disposition was the King of San'ā, a descendant of the Tubbas and of Himyar.<sup>8</sup> His name was As'ad ibn Ya'fur. Khutbah was recited and the coinage was struck, in his provnice, in the name of Abu 'l-Jaysh ibn Ziyād; but As'ad paid him neither voluntary offerings nor contributions of stores nor tribute. His revenues did not exceed 400,000 (dinars) a year, most of which

to render good service. He advised their being sent to Yaman, Ibn Ziyād as Amīr, Ibn Hishām as Wazīr, and the Taghlibite as Judge and Mufti.\* From the sons of the Taghlibite Muḥammad ibn Harūn, are descended the Kādis of Zabīd, known as the Banu Abi 'Akāmah, and the office continued to be inherited in the family until they were deprived of it by 'Aly ibn Mahdy, on the dissolution at his hands of the Abyssinian dynasty (of the Banu

Najāh).4

The liberated prisoners accompanied the army despatched by al-Ma'mun to Baghdad against Ibrahim, son of al-Mahdi. In A.H. 203 Ibn Zivād and his companions performed the pilgrimage. proceeded on his way to Yaman and conquered the Tihāmah (of Yaman),† after a war with the Arabs who inhabited that province. In Sha'ban, A.H. 204, the date of the death, at Misr (in Egypt), of the Jurist and Imam Muhammad ibn Idrīs ash-Shāfi'y (the mercy of God be upon him), Ibn Ziyad laid the foundations of the city of Zabid. In A.H. 205, Ja'far, freedman of Ibn Ziyād, started from Yaman to perform the pilgrimage, carrying with him a considerable sum of money and presents. proceeded to Trak, where he was received in audience by al-Ma'mūn. He returned to Zabīd in 206, bringing with him one thousand horsemen, including seven hundred adherents of the Abbasides of Khurassān. The rule of 1bn Ziyād extended itself. and he became possessed of the whole of Yaman, both of the mountains and of the maritime provinces. Jafar was appointed governor of al-Jibāl (the Highlands), where he founded a city known by the name of al-Mudhaykhirah, situated in the district of Raymat al-Asha'ir, possessing streams of water and extensive gardens.6 The country over which

<sup>\*</sup> The Mufti is the official expounder of religious law.

<sup>†</sup> For the word Tihamah see infra (Geographical Index).

his childhood. We form a tribe at Başrah, where we live in a state of obscurity." Another man, Muḥammad, son of Harūn, claimed to be a member of the tribe of Taghlib. On hearing his name, al-Ma'mūn wept and exclaimed: "Verily I am answerable for Muḥammad son of Harūn!" He referred to his brother al-Amīn. He then ordered the two Omayyads to be put to death, but the Taghlibite to be pardoned for the sake of his name and of that of his father.

Ibn Zivād thereupon exclaimed, addressing the Khalifah: "How falsely do people speak, O Prince of the Faithful, when pretending that thou art lenient, forgiving, and averse to shedding blood without just cause! If it be thy purpose to slay us by reason of our misdeeds, behold, we have not forsaken obedience unto thee, neither have we, in our allegiance, dissevered ourselves from the counsels of the nation. And if thou desirest to punish us for the crimes of the Omayyads against thy race, behold God, be he exalted, hath said: -No burdened soul shall bear the load that belongeth to another." 2 Ma'mūn approved and commended the words of All his prisoners were pardoned, and Ibn Ziyād. they were more than one hundred in number. placed them under the care of Abu 'l-'Abbas al-Fadl ibn Sahl Dhu 'r-Ri'āsatayn, or, according to others, under that of al-Fadi's brother, al-Hasan.

In Muharram A.H. 202, the proclamation took place at Baghdād of Ibrahīm, son of (the Khalīfah) al-Mahdi (and uncle of al-Ma'mūn—in pursuance of an attempt to usurp the throne). At that same time a letter came from the governor of Yaman with tidings of the revolt of the Ash'arites and 3 'Akkites.' Al-Faḍl ibn Sahl spoke to al-Ma'mūn in praise of Muḥammad ibn Ziyād, of the Marwānite, and of the Taghlibite. He urged that they were men of distinction, and unsurpassed in their capacity

its princes, of its poets, those of whom he had heard and those I had seen.

I obeyed his commands, and I placed reliance upon his indulgence on my work being submitted to him. He is not one in whose presence I feel overcome by the reverence with which I regard his exalted station, and were I not encouraged by my knowledge that judgment (upon my work) rests in his hands, yet would my own lowliness (through his graciousness) convert my fears into boldness.

It has been related to me by the Sheykh and Jurist Nizār ibn 'Abd al-Malik, the native of Mecca, and by the Jurist Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Ash'ari —and both are well acquainted with the histories of the people, with their genealogies and with their poetry—and I have also read in the book entitled Al-Murid li-Akhbar Zabid (the Instructor on the history of Zabid), composed by the mighty King Abu 't-Tāmi Jayvāsh, son of Najāh, Nāsir ad-dīn (Defender of the Faith), sovereign of Zabid—they report that in the year 199 (A.H.) certain persons, descendants of 'Abd Allah ('Obayd Allah) son of Ziyad were brought to (the Khalifah) al-Ma'mun, o son of ar-Rashid. One, named Muhammad. grandson of 'Abd Allah ibn Ziyād, claimed to be descended from ('Obayd Allah son of) Ziyād. Another represented himself to be descended from Suleymän, son of (the Omayyad Khalifah) Hishām son of 'Abd al-Malik. Khalf ibn Abi Ţāhir, wazīr of the Amir Javyāsh son of Najāh, was a descendant of that man,

Al-Ma'mūn, in reply to the Omayyad, objected that 'Abd Allah ibn (Muḥammad ibn) 'Aly ibn ('Abd Allah ibn) 'Abbas beheaded Suleymān ibn Hishām, and caused his two sons to be executed on the same day. "I am a descendant," answered the Omayyad, "of Suleymān's youngest son, then in

<sup>\*</sup> Read adherents of the Omayyads,

### THE HISTORY OF YAMAN

BY

#### NAJM AD-DĪN 'OMĀRAH AL-YAMANI.

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Gracious.

Praise be to God, the most meet to be praised, the most worthy of worship. His blessings and salutations of peace be upon Muhammad the Prophet, the most pure in lineage, the most beneficent of apostles, and upon his family, the most perfect in knowledge,

the most steadfast in judgment.

AND AFTER. In the year 563 I attended the receptions of the most illustrious and learned Kādi (al-Fādil) Abu 'Aly 'Abd ar-Rahīm, son of the most noble Kādi Bahā ad-Dīn Abu 'l-Majd 'Aly al-Baisāni (native of Baisān). May God preserve his greatness and perpetuate his dignities. Chancellor and Chief Secretary to the Khalifah al-'Ādid. He urged me, nay, he guided me, to the composition of a book comprehending all that is preserved in my memory touching the land of Yaman, its plains and its hills, its dry land and its waters, the extent of its kingdoms and the course of its roads, the wars of its people and their battles, their memorable deeds and their achievements, the history of its Kādis and of its Dā'ys, of its nobles and of



#### XXV

#### MUHAMMADAN AND CHRISTIAN DATES.

#### (From Wüstenfeld's Tables.)

A.H.	Began	A.D.	A.H.	Began	A.D.
201	Wed., July 30	816	401	Tues., Aug. 15	1010
$\frac{206}{206}$	Thur., June 6	821	406	Tues., June 21	1015
211	Fri., April 13	826	411	Wed., April 27	1020
216	Sat., Feb. 18	831	416	Thur., March 4	1025
$\frac{1}{221}$	Sun., Dec. 26	835	421	Fri., Jan. 9	1030
226	Sun., Oct. 31	840	126	Sat., Nov. 16	1034
231	Mon., Sept. 7	845	431	Sun., Sept. 23	1039
236	Tues., July 15	850	436	Sun., July 29	1014
241	Wed., May 22	855	441	Mon., June 5	1049
246	Thur., Mar. 28	860	446	Tues., April 12	1054
251	Fri., Feb. 2	865	451	Wed., Feb. 17	1059
$\frac{256}{256}$	Fri., Dec. 9	869	456	Thur, Dec. 25	1063
261	Sat., Oct. 16	871	461	Fri., Oct. 31	1068
$\frac{566}{266}$	Sun., Aug. 23	879	466	Fri., Sept. 6	1073
$\frac{271}{271}$	Mon., June 29	884	47 I	Sat., July 14	1078
$\overline{276}$	Tues., May 6	889	476	Sun., May 21	1083
$\frac{1}{281}$	Wed., Mar. 13	894	481	Mon., Mar. 27	1088
$\overline{286}$	Wed., Jan. 17	899	486	Tues., Feb. 1	1093
$\frac{2}{2}$ 91	Thur., Nov. 24	903	491	Wed., Dec. 9	1097
296	Fri., Sept. 30	908	496	Wed., Oct. 15	1102
301	Sat., Aug. 7	913	501	Thur., Aug. 22	1107
306	Sun., June 14	918	506	Fri., June 28	1112
311	Mon., April 21	923	511	Sat., May 5	1117
316	Mon., Feb. 25	928	516	Sun., March 12	1122
321	Tues., Jan. 1	933	521	Mon., Jan. 17	1127
326	Wed., Nov. 8	937	526	Mon., Nov. 23	1131
331	Thur., Sept. 15	942	531	Tues., Sept. 29	1136
336	Fri., July 23	947	536	Wed., Aug. 6	1141
341	Sat., May 29	952	511	Thur., June 13	1146
346	Sat., April 4	957	516	Fri., April 20	1151
351	Sun., Feb. 9	962	551	Sat., Feb. 25	1156
356	Mon., Dec. 17	966	556	Sat., Dec. 31	1160
361	Tues., Oct. 24	971	561	Sun., Nov. 7	1165
366	Wed., Aug. 30	976	566	Mon., Sept. 14	1170
371	Thur., July 7	981	571	Tues., July 22	1175
376	Thur., May 13	986	576	Wed., May 28	1180
381	Fri., Mar. 20	991	581	Thur., April 4	1185
386	Sat., Jan. 25	996	586	Thur., Feb. 8	1190
391	Sun., Dec. 1	1000	591	Fri., Dec. 16	1194
396	Mon., Oct. 8	1005	596	Sat., Oct. 23	1199
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sion are numerous, and the absence of dates so frequent

that it is almost the general rule.

The Bughyat al-Murīd (Or. 3719) is an account of the descendants of 'Aly al-Amlahy (died in A.H. 977—A.D. 1569), descendant of Yūsuf ad-Dā'y and grandfather of the Imām al-Ķāsim son of Muḥammad surnamed al-Manṣūr, of whom I have had occasion to speak in the latter part of Note 130.

The Kāshifat al-Ghummah (Or. 3791) is for the most part devoted to the religious opinions and controversial writings of the Imām an-Nāṣir li-dīu Illah, who reigned at the end of the seventh and beginning of the eighth centuries of the Hijrah. The value of the introductory portion, on the succession of the preceding Imāms, is much impaired by the general absence of dates, even more notice-

able in the present instance than in others.

It remains for me to express my sense of obligation for the friendly help I have received throughout the course of my work. I owe my acknowledgments to Dr. Rieu and Dr. Rost for assistance always so readily afforded in the recourse I have had to the libraries under their charge. To my old friend, M. Henri Lavoix, I am indebted for never-failing good offices, of special service to me on the present occasion, in the futherance of my work at the Bibliothèque Nationale. I am under great obligation to M. Zotenberg, keeper of Oriental MSS. at the Bibliothèque, and in particular for the favour he has done me in collating with the original the passages I have printed from al-Janadi. And finally I have to offer my thanks to Professor de Goeje for facilities so cordially granted to me at the Library of his University, for his kindness in revising with the original the principal extracts I have printed from Khazraji, and, let me add, for the pleasant memories with which my visit to Leiden is associated.

of the British Museum Library, through the acquisition by the Trustees of a considerable number of MSS, relating to the Zaydites of Yaman. Some unavoidable delay occurred before I was able to examine them and the result of the work, though by no means fruitless, has, I must confess, been somewhat of a disappointment. I have found the Zaydite writers far more deficient in historical matter, properly so called, than I had allowed myself to expect. The particular information which, at the cost of no inconsiderable labour, I had sought in other quarters, and which I found for the most part in the pages of Khazraji and of al-Ahdal, could have been more easily obtained from the Zaydite MSS, but rectifications as well as additions have not been as important as I anticipated.

The two most useful works for my purpose have been the Hadá'ik al-Wardīyah and the Yawakit as-Siyar.\* Of the former the Museum Library has acquired two copies, each in two volumes, Or. 3785-86 and Or. 3812-13. It contains the lives of the principal Imāms down to the thirteenth century of our era, eighteen in number, beginning with al-Kāsim the Rassite and ending with al-

Mansür 'Abd Allah.

The Yawakit as-Siyar (Or. 3771) commences with the history of the Creation, with that of Adam, then with the lives of the prophets who succeeded him, and next with a life of Muhammad, based upon that contained in an earlier work, the Jawāhir wa 'd-durar' (Or. 3911). At fol. 141 the Yawakīt enters into an account of the Zaydite Imāms, descendants of 'Aly. It is little more than a list of their names, and where fuller particulars are given, the author has for the most part copied or abridged the Hadā'ik. The book, which is evidently incomplete, ends at fol. 173, with the death of the Imām Aḥmad ibn Ḥusayn in A.H. 656, and with a few words on the dissensions that followed.

The other historical MSS, treat of special subjects, each however, as is likewise the case with the Jawāhir, preceded by an account of the succession and pedigrees of the Imāms. Discrepancies in the several accounts of the succession.

<sup>\*</sup> Dr. Ricu's descriptive list of the MSS., which he was good enough to place in my hands, was of great service to me, enabling me, as it did, to select at a glance the books most likely to serve my objects.

It is only by the labours of competent travellers, who may make the topography and the archæological remains of the country an object of study, that any material advance in our geographical knowledge of Yaman will be achieved. I shall be well satisfied if the few notes I have collected in the pages of this volume prove of some little assistance to the explorer, and above all if I have succeeded in showing that a not unimportant and an interesting work offers itself

to anyone able and willing to undertake it.

I have had occasion, when speaking of Janadi's book, to mention his chapter on the Karmathians of Yaman, a copy and translation of which are included in this volume. Omarah barely mentions the Karmathians, and it is hard to explain the omission, excepting on the supposition that the subject was not likely to commend itself either to the taste of his Ismailite patrons at Cairo, or to his own Ismailite sympathies. Al-Khazraji, in his Kifāyah, likewise gives us an account of the Karmathians, drawn from the same source as al-Janadi's. He has not, on this occasion, contented himself with borrowing at second hand, but he adds nothing of material importance to the particulars given by al-Janadi.

I have, moreover, included the text and a translation of Ibn Khaldūn's epitome of the History of Yaman, extracted from his General History. Ibn Khaldūn, it will be seen, has fallen into sundry errors, chiefly, as it appears to me, attributable to his having placed undue reliance upon the works of his countryman Ibn Saʿīd. I have thought that a copy of his version, as it exists in the best MSS, would, nevertheless, be acceptable to most readers. It is preceded by a slight sketch of the early Muhammadan history of the country, and the geographical details with which it concludes, though requiring correction in certain particulars.

are not without interest.

The version of Ibn Khaldūn's text here printed is founded upon that contained in the Bulāk Edition, which however, I have carefully collated with the valuable MS. in the British Museum Library (Add. 23272, fols. 68 to 79), of which it is consequently a reproduction. The chapter on the Banu Rassi has, in like manner, been collated with the MS. at the Bibliothèque Nationale, "Suppl. Ar. 742 M," fol. 50.

I had practically completed my task when I first became aware of an important addition to the Oriental Department the sea has gradually but steadily retired, with the result that old harbours have silted up and have disappeared, and that new ones have been created, where at one time only deep water was to be found. See Dr. Glaser's remarks on the subject, p. 3. The coast line on the accompanying map is that of the Admiralty Chart.

The frequent inaccuracy of native writers—Yākūt, Ibn Sa'īd, Ibn Khaldūn and others—are a further addition to the difficulties that attend the study of the subject. Such, for example, are the misleading statements that Dhu Jiblah stood on Mount Sabir, that Mudhaykhirah and Aden La'ah adjoined one another, that Aden Abyan and the well-known seaport of Aden were two different places. Yākūt borrows (probably at second hand) much of his information from 'Omarah. In such case he adds nothing to what we have in our text. In others I have generally found that his information requires some scrutiny before it can be re-He seldom gives us the situation of a place with any degree of precision, and when he says, as he often does, that it is "near Zabīd" or "near San'ā," the assertion must always be received with caution. phical Dictionary, in fact, useful as it undoubtedly is, is a compilation from writings of a very varying degree of merit, and, according to a custom unfortunately very common among his countrymen, he does not, as a rule, make known the source from which his information is borrowed.

The author of the Commentary on the Kamūs, known as the  $T\bar{a}j$  al-' $Ar\bar{a}s$ , deals to a considerable extent with geographical names. He was a native of Yaman, and it might be expected that his great work would be of material assistance in the study of the geography of his country. But it is not so. He tells us occasionally, when mentioning a place, that he has visited it, but he adds no information of his own, and contents himself with simply copying the words of old writers and principally of Yāṣūt.

I have been hardly less disappointed with the extracts from Ibn al-Mujawir, given by Dr. Sprenger in his Reiserouten. Ibn al-Mujawir gives in most cases the distances in parasangs between places mentioned; but they cannot be trusted. They are not only in frequent contradiction with one another, but also quite irreconcilable with certain measurements obtainable, with small risk of serious error, from modern maps.

is not possible to construct a map, however rude, from his descriptions. A correct map, showing the general outlines of the country, is on the contrary necessary for the purpose of enabling the student to follow the author in his descriptions. That published by Dr. Glaser in Petermann's Mittheilungen (1886, I.), may be said amply to fulfil the required condition. Indeed, a sure test of its excellence may be found in the fact that the student is able, with its assistance, to follow al-Hamdāni step by step, with hardly any other difficulty but that of identifying, in certain cases, the modern with the ancient names of places. And of that difficulty, in many important particulars, the reader is relieved by explanations supplied in the letter-press.

But, unfortunately, Dr. Glaser's map comprises only the northern part of the country. For the southern portion I have chiefly relied upon the map published by Manzoni in 1884 along with the account of his travels. Apart, however, from the delineation of his own lines of travel, the accuracy of which can no doubt be fully trusted, Mr. Manzoni has been compelled to rely upon the work of his predecessors, and creditably as his task has been performed, it is beyond all question that he is often led astray. The difficulties to be overcome by the student will be at least partially perceived on attempting to reconcile the great divergencies to be found between Dr. Glaser's and Mr. Manzoni's maps on the border country, where the two ought to combine into one, and where, on the contrary,

their disagreement could hardly be exceeded.

During the course of my work, I marked down, for my own use, on a roughly drawn sheet, the situation, as nearly as I could arrive at it, of several places, the localities of which require to be understood in following 'Omarah in his history and al-Janadi in his account of the Karmathians. have, with some hesitation, decided upon printing the map, such as it is. But the reader will understand that, so far at least as hitherto undetermined localities are concerned, I presume to do no more than indicate, more or less approximately, where certain of these places, or their remains, are to be sought-such, for instance, as Mudhaykhirah, Sharjah, 'Aththar, Harad or Mahall Abi Turāb, az-Zara'ib and others. Considerable difficulty in the attempt to determine the situation of some places is caused by the great changes that have occurred on the coasts of the Red Sea and of Yaman in particular. For many centuries past

al-Husayn ibn 'Abd ir-Rahmān il-Ahdal al-Husayni, and he was member of a family of some note in Yaman, but originally from 'Irāk. He was born, according to his own statement, about A.H. 779, and was living in A.H. 848. He himself designates his work an abridgment of Janadi's History. It is, indeed, but little more, though it contains sundry additions, which bring it down to the author's own time. The British Museum MS. consists of 318 folios.

Al-Ahdal complains that his copy of al-Janadi was very imperfect, and he makes the following remarks on the subject:

و انتهى ما اختصرت منه و ما تيسر من الزيادات و في الاصل الذي اختصرت منه مواضع سقيمة و قد تحريت فيها بحسب الامكان و من تحقق خللا فليصلحه و بالله التوفيق

Here end my abridgments from al-Janadi and the additions with which I have been able to supplement them. The copy of his book which has served me, contains many faulty passages, which I have striven to elucidate to the best of my ability. Let him who finds errors in my work correct them. From God cometh the aid that ensureth success.\*\*

Of the geography of Yaman—excluding, it must be said, the portion of the country recently surveyed by Dr. Eduard Glaser—our knowledge is as yet very imperfect. I have endeavoured to supplement the information obtainable from Western authorities, by reference to the works of native writers, but the task is one attended with much difficulty. Hamdām's Description of Arabia (he died A.H. 334) treats largely of Yaman, and the work is one the merits of which it is hardly possible to overstate. The well-known edition published by D. H. Müller has been of the greatest service to me.† But al-Hamdām's Geography pre-supposes in its reader a certain knowledge of the chief features of the country, of the direction of its principal chains of mountains and valleys and of the situation of many towns. It

<sup>\*</sup> Fol. 262. See also fol. 312.

<sup>†</sup> Müller's second volume, containing his notes and indices, had not yet appeared at the time I occupied myself with Hamdāni, nor did I become aware of its publication until after I had passed on to other matters. The book reached me, however, in time to be still of much service.

work by the same author, entitled Kitāh Kurrat il-'Uyūn fi akhbār il-Yaman al-Maymūn. The name of the author was Wajīh ad-dīn 'Abd ar-Raḥmān ibn 'Aly ad-Dayba', of the tribe of Shaybān.\* He died in A.H. 944 (A.D. 1536-7). The British Museum possesses two copies of the work, Add. 25111 and Or. 3022. The latter is a modern transcript of a MS. belonging to the Khedivial library at Cairo, executed in A.H. 1295 (A.D. 1878). Add. 25111 consists of 191 folios. The end of the book is wanting, but according to the Cairo

copy only one folio is absent.

The greater portion of the book is little, it might almost be said nothing, but an epitome of the Kifāyah. The author commences with Khazraji's fourth book, which he calls his first.+ He reproduces it in an abridged form, chapter by chapter, in the same order as that of the Kifayah and each under the same heading. Next follows his second book, Khazraji's fifth. The twelfth chapter ends at fol. 133 rev. To this he adds six more, in which he carries the history of the Rasulite dynasty to its conclusion. Then follows the third book, commencing at fol, 144 rev. It is divided into three chapters, containing the history of the Banu Tāhir, down to the end of the dynasty and to the conquest of Yaman by the troops of the last Mamlūk Sultan of Egypt. It will be seen, therefore, that it is only the latter part of the work, commencing at fol. 133, that can be said to be of any material value from the historian's point of view. In his Preface the author acknowledges his indebtedness to Khazraji, to whose book, it may be noted, he gives the title of Kitāb al-'Asjad.

Another writer to whom I have had occasion to refer in the following pages is al-Ahdal. He was the author of several works, of some of which the titles are given by Hajji Khalifah, and whereof one exists in the Library of the British Museum (Or. 1345). The first and last pages of the MS. are wanting and have been replaced by a fabricated title-page and colophon. There is, however, no room to doubt that it is al-Ahdal's work, the same to which Hajji Khalifah gives the title Tuhjat az-Zaman fi A'yāni Ahl il-Yaman. The full name of the author was Abu 'Abd Allah

<sup>\*</sup> The author of the *Tāj al-'Arūs* says that *Dayba'* is a Nubian word and that it signifies *white*.

<sup>†</sup> He begins, therefore, at the same point as the Leiden MS. of Khazraji's Kijāyah.

ventured to enter so deep a gulf, neither could we have found our way to this our resting-place."

The Leiden MS. DCCCV. is entitled Kitāb tarīkh il-Kifāyati wa 'l-A'lām fīman waliya 'l-Yamana wa sakanaha min al-Islam. It consists of 384 pages. The author appears to have divided his work into five books, each subdivided into chapters, but the Leiden MS. contains the fourth and fifth books only. The fourth is divided into ten chapters. the first five, the author, after citing certain traditions proving the high estimation in which the country and people of Yaman were held by the Prophet, gives an account of its conversion to Islam, of its government in the days of the Prophet and of his immediate successors, and under the Omayyads and Abbasides. The sixth contains the history of the Karmathians in Yaman, and the seventh (fol. 38) gives an account of the subsequent condition of San'a until it was taken by 'Aly the Sulayhite. (See infra, Note The eighth chapter is the history of the Sulayhite dynasty, the ninth that of the Hamdanite Kings of San'a, and the tenth that of the Zuray ite Princes of Aden.

The fifth book is divided into twelve chapters. The first four (pp. 77-108) contain the history of the Ziyadites, of their successors the Banu Najāḥ, of the Abyssinian Wazīrs who became the actual rulers of the country, and of 'Aly ibn Mahdy; the fifth that of the Ayyubite dynasty. With the sixth commences the history of the Rasulites, and it includes the reign of Sultan al-Mansur 'Omar (A.H. 626-647), the first of the dynasty. To each of his successors one of the remaining chapters is devoted, and the work ends with the twelfth chapter at the same point as the MS. of the India Office Library.\* The three last chapters of the fourth book and the first four of the fifth, that is to say, pp. 47 to 108, are for the most part an adaptation of 'Omarah's History. The author omits some passages and abridges others, often very slightly, and 'Omarah's language is frequently reproduced almost verbatim.

I have already had occasion to speak of a writer of much later date, Dayba', and of the small volume to which he has given the title of History of Zabīd. The British Museum Library possesses two copies, Or. 3265 and Add. 27540. It will be sufficient to add that the book is to all intents and purposes an abridgment and adaptation of a larger

<sup>\*</sup> See Dozy's Catalogue of the Leiden Library, vol. ii. p. 173.

different, have the same signification, and I feel satisfied, after comparison of several passages, that the two works are one and the same. It must, however, be mentioned that Khazraji gives, in his Kifāyah, an extract from the 'Ikd ath-thamīn, relating to the successors of Ibn Mahdy,\* not to be found in the British Museum MS. It seems probable therefore that the books are two separate editions.†

Some other writers are referred to by Khazraji, among whom I may mention the Sharīf 'Imād ad-dīn Idrīs, a descendant of Suleymān ibn Ḥamzah. In the Ukūd (fol. 173 obv.), the death is recorded of the Sharīf's father, Jamāl ad-dīn 'Aly ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Ḥamzah, in A.H. 699, and Khazraji adds that the Sharīf Idrīs was author of several historical works, among others of one entitled Kitāb Kanz il-Akhyār fi 't-tārīkhi wa 'l-akhbār, a book which, if it is still in existence, will probably be found to throw light upon the history of the Zaydite Imāms of Yaman.

The other works by Khazraji mentioned in Hajji Khalifah's dictionary are probably represented by the MSS. preserved in the Library of the University of Leiden, Nos. DCCV. and DCCCLXVIII. (Old Cat. vol. ii. pp. 173 and 196).

The last mentioned, despite its large size and its 369 pages, is but a fragment. It is entitled Tirāz A'lām iz-Zaman fi tabakāti Ā'yān il-Yaman. The book, according to the explanation of its plan given by the author in his preface, commences with an Introduction, containing in the first place a life of the Prophet, and next that of each of the Khalifahs, from Abu Bakr to al-Musta'sim. A biographical dictionary, supplying an account of the scholars, kings, etc. of Yaman, the chief purport of the work, begins at p. 280 and the MS, ends abruptly at p. 369, before completion of the first letter of the alphabet. The author tells us that the book was composed by command of the Rasulite Sultan al-Ashraf Isma'ıl (A.H. 778-803), who, he says, prescribed its form and the arrangement of its contents. Al-Khazraji, it must be added, handsomely acknowledges the debt he owes to the earlier labours of al-Janadi. "We have drawn," he says, "from his abundant springs, and we have drunk under his guidance. Without him we had not

<sup>\*</sup> See infra, Note 101.

<sup>†</sup> The British Museum MS, is dated A.H. 1062 (A.D. 1652), and a note which follows the colophon states that the copy was carefully collated at the end of the following year.

small bulk but of great value. The titles neither of this nor of ar-Rāzi's book are mentioned.

I come now to al-Khazraji, who, of all the writers to whose works I have had access, has been of the greatest assistance to me. His name was Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Aly ibn al-Ḥasan al-Khazraji, that is to say, of the tribe of Khazraji. He was surnamed Ibn Wahhās, and he died in A.H. 812. Hajji Khalīfah says that al-Khazraji was the author of three historical works. In one the writer, he says, followed the chronological order; the second was arranged in alphabetical order of the names; and the third gave a sepa-

rate history of each dynasty.

The first of these is probably the History of Yaman under the Rasulites, of which the India Office Library possesses a well preserved and valuable copy. The book is entitled Al-'Ukūd al-Lū'lū'iyah fi akhbār id-daulat ir-Rasūlīyah, "The Necklaces adorned with Pearls, being the History of the Rasulite Dynasty." \* It consists of 367 folios. The author commences with a chapter on the pedigree of the Banu Rasūl, who, he declares, were of Arab race, descendants of Jabalah ibn al-Ayham, the last king of the Ghassānite dynasty. The history ends with the death of the Rasulite Sultān al-Ashraf Isma'īl in a.h. 803. Fully two thirds of the book are a compilation, for the most part from three works, the Sīrat al-Muzaflarīyah, the 'Ikd ath-thamīn, and Janadi's History, from each of which long passages are incorporated.

The first mentioned seems to be a life of Sultān al-Muzaffar Yūsuf (A.H. 647-694). The 'Ikd ath-thamīn exists in the Library of the British Museum (Add. 27541), under the title of Kitāb as-Simt il-Ghāly ith-thaman fi Akhbār Mulūk il-Yaman, written by Badr ad-dīn Muḥaumad ibn Ḥātim, a descendant of the Hamdanite Kings of Ṣan'ā. The volume is composed of 114 folios, and it carries down the history of the Rasulites to the death of Sultān al-Muzaffar in A.H. 694. The titles of the book so largely quoted by Khazraji and of that at the British Museum, though verbally

<sup>\*</sup> I have reason to believe that the text and a translation of the History of the Rasulites, or at least of its most important parts, were prepared for the press by the late Sir James Redhouse, but that certain difficulties unfortunately prevented the publication of his work.

Al-Janadi tells us, in his Preface, that he has derived most of his information from the works of several predecessors—from the History of Ibn Samurrah, from the work of ar-Rāzi, from that of Ibn Jarīr, from 'Omārah's Mufīd, and finally from the collection of biographies of Ibn Khallikān. The notices of these works in Hajji Khalīfah's Bibliographical Dictionary (excepting of the last mentioned), seem to be borrowed from al-Janadi and add little or nothing to what the latter tells us in his Preface.

The History of Ibn Samurrah is entitled Tabakāt Fukahā 'l-Yaman wa Rā'asā az-Zaman (the Consecutive Series of the Jurists of Yaman and of the Chiefs of their time). Its author was Abu Ḥafṣ 'Omar ibn 'Aly ibn Samurrah, who died, according to Hajji Khalīfah, in A.H. 586. This, says al-Janadi, gives the most complete account of the scholars and Jurists of Yaman from the time of the introduction of Islām down to a date somewhat later than A.H. 580. The book seems to have supplied al-Janadi with the model he

followed in the composition of his own work.

Only second to Ibn Samurrah's History, continues al-Janadi, is the work of Abu 'l-'Abbās Alimad ibn 'Abd Allah ibn Muhammad ar-Rāzi, a native, as his surname indicates, of ar-Ray, but settled at San'ā. Many copies, says al-Janadi, are in existence, but all, he adds, represent themselves as being the third volume of the work, and though diligent inquiry has been made by the scholars of Yaman for the missing portion, the search has been unsuc-The volume in question, he continues, carries down the history to about A.H. 460. It has supplied him, he adds, with much that was deficient in Ibn Samurrah. The British Museum possesses a book (Or. 2903) by the same author, copied in A.H. 1090. The title is not given, but the book consists of legends and tales relating to Yaman and more particularly to San'ā, not, so far as I have been able to gather, of much interest or value, and it is obviously not the book referred to by Janadi.

Next comes the History of Ṣan'ā by Isḥāk ibn Yahya ibn Jarīr, a descendant of al-Aswad ibn 'Auf, brother of 'Abd ar-Raḥmān ibn 'Auf.\* It is a book, says al-Janadi, of

<sup>\* &#</sup>x27;Abd ar-Raḥmān ibn 'Auf, of the tribe of Kuraysh, was one of the earliest of the converts and companions of the Prophet. He died at Medinah in A.H. 31.

Al-Janadi's full name was Abu 'Abd Allah Bahā ad-dīn (Yūsuf?) ibn Yūsuf ibn Ya'kūb, but he is best known by his surname al-Janadi, that is to say, the native of Janad, or it may be, member of the tribe of Janad, a subdivision of the Banu Ma'āfir.\* He died in A.H. 732. His History extends, according to al-Ahdal, to A.H. 724, but in some copies it was probably continued to a later date. The work is really, as indicated by its title, a series of biographies, for the most part of men renowned for piety and learning. The author does not exclude princes and dynasties, but they occupy a subordinate place, for the reason he expressly gives, that they are of far less importance. He begins with the days of the Prophet, passes on to the Prophet's successors, and proceeds to sketch the lives of all who can claim the slightest connection with Yaman. He includes therefore the Imam ash-Shafi'y, the originator of the Shāfi'ite school of religious law, of whom it has been said that he was born in Yaman. His account of the Imam is little more than a panegyric, in which he conspicuously dwells upon the contention that ash-Shāfi'y, had he not exclusively devoted himself to theology and jurisprudence, would have ranked as one of the greatest of poets.† At fol. 30 obv. commences a history the Karmathians in Yaman, of which I have included a copy and translation in this volume. He then fairly enters into the subject that forms the main object of his book, the lives of the Jurists of Yaman, which he gives in geographical order, that is to say, under the heading of the places in which they were born or in which they abode.

<sup>\*</sup> I find al-Janadi everywhere styled Yūsuf son of Ya'kūb; but he himself (fol. 21 rev.) gives his father that name, and Khazraji ('Ukūd, fol. 133, obv.), mentions Yūsuf ibn Ya'kūb al-Janadi, father of Bahā ad-dīn the historian.

<sup>†</sup> It was not without surprise that I found al-Janadi attributing to the Imām, in a tone of perfect gravity, certain lines of verse which, according to Ibn al-Athīr, were written by the Okaylite chief Abu 'l-Musayyib Rāfi'. Janadi says they were addressed by ash-Shāfi'y to his mother, when on the point of leaving her for the purpose of devoting himself exclusively to religious studies. A portion, of far too ardent a character to be directed to a mother, is not included. The lines, together with a translation, may be found in a paper I contributed to the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. xviii. p. 518.

Khazraji, of which it remains for me now to offer the reader some brief notice.

It must, however, in the first place be stated that, with one exception, 'Omarah mentions no writer on the history of Muhammadan Yaman of a period previous to his own. The exception is a history of Zabīd, written by Abu 't-Tāmi Javyāsh, one of the early kings of the dynasty of the Banu Najāh. The book bore the title of Kitāb al-Mufīd fi akhlar Zabid, the Book of Instruction on the History of Zabīd, under which it is mentioned in the  $Kashf\ az$ - $Zun\bar{u}n$ . That identical title is usually attributed to Omarah's own History, but it does not appear in the Brit. Mus. MS., which is simply entitled Book of Chronicles by the illustrious Kādi 'Omārah the Yamanite. Khazraji mentions that Javyāsh's History was exceedingly rare in his day (see infra, Note 75). Omarah quotes the book at some length in his account of the death of 'Aly the Sulayhite and of the restoration of the Banu Najāh. It is highly probable that these passages are all that survives at the present day.

Janadi's work is mentioned in the Kashfaz-Zunūn under the title of Kitāb as-Sulūk fi tabakāt il-'Ulamā'i wa 'l-Mulūk, Book of the Pearl-threads, containing the consecutive Series of Scholars and Kings. An excellent copy is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, No. 2127, Suppl. 767. It is a large-sized volume comprising 207 folios, and is dated A.H. 820. It is written in a good and generally clear hand, discritical points as a rule absent, but on the other hand, the vocalization in the case of names, both personal and geographical, is frequently specified with great care. The title of the book is absent, but its identity with that mentioned in the Bibliographical Dictionary is beyond all reasonable doubt. The copy at the Bibliothèque appears to have been the property of one of the last Princes of the Rasulite dynasty, Ahmad, son of Sultan az-Zähir Yahya who reigned from A.H. 831 to 842. inscription on the fly-leaf to that effect is imperfectly legible through the edges of the paper being partly cut and partly worn away, and owing to slips pasted upon the sheet, but  $1~{
m read}$  it as follows :

من كتب العبد الفقير الى كرم الله تعالى احمد بن يحيى بن اسمعيل بن العباس بن (على) بن داوود بن يوسف بن عمر بن عليّ بن رسول عفا الله عنه و عنه و عن الله عنه و عن الله عنه و عن الله عنه و عنه و عن الله عنه و عن الله عنه و عن الله عنه و

Arabic literature by the tales of the Thousand and One

Nights.

The MS. of the British Museum is, as I have already had occasion to remark, very imperfect. Errors of all descriptions are numerous, and nothing is more evident than that the copyist has not, as a rule, given himself the trouble to understand the plain sense of what he wrote. Some faults are habitual, but of a class not unfrequently met with. Such for instance are the erroneous substitution of Alif for ya in defective verbs, the retention of the letter Alif in the word ibn when it ought to be omitted and its omission when it ought to be retained. The tashdid and hamzah are, as a rule, omitted, even when the absence, especially of the former, prevents the true sense in which the word is used from being readily apprehended. The two points over the final ta in words of the feminine form are almost invariably omitted. All these are in addition to orthographical errors of a varying character and to omissions, sometimes of single words and at others of entire sentences.

Without speaking of omitted and misplaced diacritical points, I have said enough to show that it was out of the question to reproduce the text precisely as it stands in the MS. I have followed that course as a general rule; but wherever it seemed useful—perhaps in some cases where I need not have done so—I have supplied the missing tashdid and hamzah as well as diacritical points. I have refrained from reproducing or noticing certain verbal errors, the correction of which could be made without any reasonable doubt and which, while in some cases an offence to the reader's eye, were in others calculated to produce perplexity, more or less momentary it is true, but likely to be an interruption to the reader. It may perhaps be considered that I have not been sufficiently careful to lay down to myself a strict rule, and I must, indeed, confess that I have not heeded a certain degree of inconsistency between what I have done in some places and abstained from doing in others.

Ibn Khallikān's Biographies, more particularly that of 'Aly the Sulayhite, Yākūt's Geographical Dictionary, Ibn Khaldūn's History, and some other books, to be hereinafter more particularly mentioned, have each in their turn assisted me in the performance of my task. But my chief debt is due to the Histories of al-Janadi and of al-

Mayhap ye will return (O sons of 'Aly), that the world may be

released of its bonds. . . .

They that have been false in their allegiance, will not escape the effects of God's anger . . . Their burning thirst will not be slaked by the hand of the noblest of created beings, the Seal of the Apostles. . . .

Love of the Imams is the foundation of faith in God, and of all

good works.

They are the divine Light of true guidance, torches piercing through the darkness of night.

The composition of that poem, says Makrīzi, was the cause of 'Omārah's death. And, indeed, if the verses have reached us in the form in which they left the author's hands, it is not surprising that he was regarded as an Ismailite, and, on the contrary, difficult to understand why he persistently refused to be enrolled as a member of the sect,\* at a time when every consideration of ambition and self-interest must have nrged him to do so.

'Omarah's History of Yaman, it must be confessed, is not such as can entitle its author to be ranked among the great historians of the world. The object of the book, as may be seen at almost every page, is simply that which he himself avows. It was written, not for purposes of instruction, but to amuse the leisure moments of a great personage. All that could serve the object is prominently and skilfully brought into relief. Matters of graver import are lightly touched upon, and some are, no doubt, passed over in silence. But in his own way, 'Omārah has preserved for us the leading facts of Muhammadan history in his country, down to his own time. The style in which he has written is one of perfect simplicity, and one which, in many passages, exhibits a natural sense of the picturesque, and a power of expressing it, somewhat remarkable in a writer of his nation and of his time. And finally, though not his least merit, 'Omarah has preserved for us an exceedingly curious picture of Arab life and manners, such, I may perhaps venture to say, as is only excelled in

his cause, and the creation of fresh subjects of dissension among the followers of Islam.

By the twin palaces are meant the two great historic palaces of the Fatimites, the sites of which are still held in remembrance by the modern inhabitants of Cairo.

<sup>\*</sup> See infra, Note 68.

thy life." 'Omārah drooped his head in silence. To himself, and to all present, the incident was a manifest sign that his fate was ordained by divine and irrevocable decree.

Whether or not 'Omarah was guilty of the crime with which he was charged, this much is certain, that he excited the mistrust and finally the hatred of Saladin's adherents, by his bold not to say reckless advocacy of the fallen dynasty, and by the impassioned words with which he was ever ready to defend it. On one occasion he was along with another poet in the presence of Najm ad-din Ayyūb, the father of Saladin, then inhabiting a palace or pavilion known by the name of the Pearl, formerly a place of resort for the Fatimite Princes, and still bearing the decoration with which it had been enriched for the use of its original masters. 'Omārah's companion recited to Najm ad-dīn four lines of verse, in which he spoke of the palace as receiving greater honour from the Prince's presence than it had ever derived from that of its former occupants. "The palace," he ended, "is a pearl, whilst they that formerly inhabited it were nought but shells. Thou art a pearl, unto whom the palace is but a shell." 'Omarah indignantly answered his companion, in lines of the same metre and rhyme. He dealt with the rhetorical figure in which the shell is spoken of as the occupant of a pearl, and ended with a line in which he denounces the poet as of less account than a dog, an animal which, at least, practises the virtues of gratitude and fidelity. The story is told by Makrīzi, who has preserved also a considerable fragment of a poem by 'Omarah, a lament over the fate that had overtaken the Fatimite dynasty. The following is the opening line, to which I add a few passages taken almost at random:-

Thou hast blighted, O Fortune, the noblest of hands—Thou hast stripped a graceful neck of the jewels that once adorned it. . . .

O censurer of my love for the sons of Fatimah. . . . Come, I adjure thee, cease weeping over Siffin and the Camel,\* and join in my tears over the desolate halls of the twin Palaces. . . .

<sup>\*</sup> The battles of the Camel and of Siffin were fought in A.H. 36 and 37, between the two contending parties into which the Muslim world had already divided itself. At Siffin, although on the verge of victory, 'Aly was induced to agree to the reference of his claims to arbitration, and thereby brought about the ruin of

an important office as chief secretary under the Fatimite Government, and enjoyed a high reputation for general ability and for familiarity with the details of Egyptian administration. He was, moreover, widely noted for his talent as an elegant and ingenious letter-writer. British Museum possesses two volumes (Add. 7307 and 7465) containing a collection of the Kadi's sayings and of his writings, which are still regarded by his countrymen as models of epistolary style, of a kind, it must however be said, generally too florid to commend itself to the taste of Western readers.\* In personal appearance the Kadi al-Fādil was ill-favoured, indeed deformed. He was nevertheless exceedingly popular. Few names are oftener met with than his in the pages of Makrīzi's Khitat. He was held in the highest estimation by Saladin, of whose cause the Kādi became a warm adherent, and who was in the habit of listening to his opinions, and of consulting him on the most important affairs of the State. He became possessed of great wealth, and among his charitable foundations was one, the revenues of which were applied to the ransom of Muslim captives from the hands of the Christians. He built also a college, which he endowed with a library composed of more than 100,000 volumes, + The Kādi, it remains to be added, was one of those who most strenuously urged upon Saladin the deposition of the Fatimite Khalīfah.

'Omārah enjoyed for a time the favour of the Kāḍi al-Fāḍil, and it was at the latter's request, as will be seen, that the History of Yaman was composed. But between two men of such opposite character, friendship, if indeed it ever existed, could not long endure. Political events parted them, and 'Omārah, ere long, knew the Kāḍi only as an enemy. It is related, that when sentence of death was pronounced upon him, the Kāḍi approached Saladin and spoke to him in private. "My lord," eried 'Omārah, "listen not unto what he says concerning me!" The Kāḍi departed in anger, and Saladin, turning to the unhappy man, answered with the words: "He was interceding for

<sup>\*</sup> I had occasion in a paper, printed in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (vol. xxiii.), to insert a short passage, quoted by Maķrīzi, which may be taken as a favourable specimen of the Kādi's literary performances.

† Makrīzi, vol. ii. pp. 79 and 366.

possession of Egypt. Asad ad-dīn, the Atabek's general, eventually triumphed. The Crusaders were compelled to abandon the country, in which their rapacity and cruelty had caused them to be thoroughly detested. Shāwar was slain in A.H. 564, and Shīrkūh, though still acknowledging the authority of Nūr ad-dīn, was formally installed as Wazīr by the helpless Khalīfah al-'Ādid, under the title of al-Malik al-Manṣūr (the Victorious King). He died before the end of the year, and his nephew Ṣalāḥ ad-dīu Yūsuf (Saladin) was appointed his successor and invested by al-'Ādid with the office of wazīr, and with the title of Malik an-Nāṣir (the Succouring King), which he bore throughout his subsequent career and which he contentedly retained until his death.

In the first month of the year 567, Saladin, yielding to his own inclinations, as well as to the solicitations of his followers, and to the commands of his master Nūr ad-dīn, proclaimed the deposition of the Fatimite Khalifah and the re-establishment of the supremacy of the Abbasides. 'Adid was at the point of death, and it is doubtful whether he ever knew that his dynasty had come to an end. The country was ripe for the change. It was accepted, out of Cairo, with scarcely a murmur on the part of the people. To them, indeed, hardly a sign of the great revolution that had occurred was perceptible, apart from an alteration in the form of the Khutbah, thenceforward recited in the name of the Khalifah of Baghdad. But, ere long, a conspiracy was found to be in existence at the capital, for the restoration of the Fatimites, with the aid of the Christian King of Jerusalem. It was speedily suppressed, and the leaders arrested. Among those accused of being concerned in the plot was 'Omarah. He was found guilty and condemned to death. The sentence was carried into execution on the 2nd Ramadan, of the year 569, and his body was gibbeted and exposed to public view for three days. has been said that it was by 'Omarah's advice that the conquest of Yaman was undertaken and the army of invasion placed under the command of Turan Shah, whose absence, in the event of the death of his brother Saladin, would, it was thought, afford greater assurance of success to the objects of the conspirators.

Among other noteworthy personages of that period, was the Kādi Abu 'Aby 'Abd ar-Raḥīm al-Baysāni, more commonly known as the Kādi al-Fādil. He had formerly held

His final departure from Yaman occurred in A.H. 552, when he proceeded to Mecca, and thence to Egypt. spiritual head of the Fatimite Empire and Sect was at that time the Khalīfah al-Fā'iz, who at the age of five years, had been raised to the throne on the assassination of his father az-Zāfir in A.u. 549. The Khalīfahs were still the nominal rulers of the Empire, but it was and had long been governed in reality by the Wazīrs, as they continued to be styled, although not only possessed of the fullest political power, but actually invested with the title of Malik or King, first bestowed upon one of their predecessors in A.H. 530, by the Khalifah al-Ḥāfiz.\* The office, at the time of 'Omārah's arrival at Cairo, was held by Ţalā'i ibn Ruzayk, under the title of al-Malik as-Sālih, the Virtuous King. Our anthor was already personally known to the Wazīr, by whom, on the occasion of an earlier visit to Cairo, he had been treated with distinguished favour, and now again heartily welcomed him to his court. Talā'i', a zealous Ismailite, endeavoured to prevail upon 'Omarah to join the sect. He failed in his purpose, but continued nevertheless, throughout the remainder of his life, to extend his friendship and patronage to the Yamanite poet.

The Khalitah al-Fā'iz died in A.H. 555, and was succeeded by al-'Adid, the last of the dynasty. Tala'i' perished the following year. + His son was raised to his place under the title of al-Malik al-'Adil an-Nāsir, but was assassinated in the first month of A.H. 558. The dissensions that followed supplied the Atabek Nür ad-din Mahmüd, Sultan of Aleppo, with a pretext for intervention in the affairs of the country. He despatched an army to Egypt under the command of the Kurdish General Asad ad-dīn Shīrkūh. The re-instatement of Shawar, one of the rival claimants to the wazīrate was speedily effected. But the restored wazīr soon had occasion to direct his efforts to the object of ridding himself of his Turkish protectors. He solicited and obtained the aid of the Christian King of Jerusalem. During the next five years Egypt was the scene of a series of struggles, which soon resolved themselves into a conflict between the troops of Nür ad-din and the Christian Crusaders for the

<sup>\*</sup> Makrizi, vol. i. p. 440, I. Athīr, xi. 31. See also Suyūṭi, ii. 155 and 162-63.

<sup>†</sup> An interesting mosque, built by Talā'i' at Cairo close to Bāb Zuwaylab, is still in existence.

The volume (Or. 3265) is a small quarto. It comprises three separate parts. The first, of 85 folios, is Dayba's History of Zabīd. The third, 102 pages (52 folios), contains an account of events in Yaman from A.H. 1215 to A.H. 1258 (A.D. 1800 to 1842). The second part, consisting of 84 folios or 166 pages, is 'Omārah's history. Neither the name of the transcriber nor the date of the copy is given. The handwriting is not that of an accomplished penman, and the copyist, it may readily be perceived, could make no claim to scholarship. Errors, both of commission and of omission, are indeed numerous.

Even for the sole purpose of translation, the book, it was evident, would offer difficulty. But I had reason to believe that many deficiencies in the MS. would be supplied by the works of the author's successors. My expectations, it will be seen, have been amply fulfilled, and I have found it possible to print the original text, as well as to translate it, a task which without that assistance, I could hardly have ventured to undertake.

A life of 'Omarah is included in the Biographies of Ibn Khallikan (de Slane, vol. ii. p. 367). For his account of our author's earlier years, down, that is to say, to the time of his final departure for Egypt, the biographer seems to have drawn most of his material from the History of Yaman, in which 'Omarah touches upon sundry events in his own He was born, he tells us, at az-Zarā'ib, a town on or near the coast of northern Yaman, in the district of the Banu Hakam, the tribe of which he was a member, as shown by his denomination, the Hakamite.\* His name and designations seem to have been Najm ad-dīn 'Omārah ibn Abi 'l-Hasan 'Aly ibn Ahmad ibn Muhammad Zaydan. On the title-page of the British Museum copy of his History, he is styled the Kādi; but there is nothing to show that he ever exercised the office of Judge, and we find him invariably spoken of under the title of Fakih, the Jurist. He became a student at the College of Zabid, as he himself tells us, in A.H. 530, and he was probably born not earlier than A.H. 515, the year mentioned by Suyūti (i. 238).

<sup>\*</sup> Ibn Khallikān says, according to de Slane, that 'Omārah was born in the city of Marṭān, in the valley of Wasā', a place I am not able to identify. It will be seen that we have mention of Maṭrān (p. 68 etc.), but it is evidently not the place here in question.

neither destitute of interest, nor altogether uninstructive. Yaman, moreover, borders at the present day upon one of the great highways of the world. Its principal seaport has for more than half a century been in the possession of England, whose influence over the adjoining districts is willingly acknowledged by the inhabitants. A contribution to its past history may therefore, not unreasonably

be expected to prove acceptable to English readers.

Of the not inconsiderable number of native writers by whom the history of Muhammadan Yaman has been treated, the earliest in date, and in certain respects the most important, is 'Omārah 'the Yamanite.' His reputation among his countrymen rests perhaps somewhat too exclusively upon his merits as a poet, but he is held in remembrance also as the leading historian of his native country, and as the writer to whom almost all is due that can be learnt of its history over a period of at least two centuries and a half. 'Omārah's successors have freely acknowledged the debt they owe him, and indeed, for the period in question, they have done little or nothing more than reproduce what he has written, in a more or less abridged form, whilst very generally retaining his actual words.

Whatever, therefore, the deficiencies in 'Omārah's work, it was to be expected that it would be carefully preserved. But so far is this from being the case, that until quite recently, no copy was known to exist. None has been included in the important collections of MSS, that have come of late years from Yaman, and, so far as I am aware, a general belief has prevailed that the recovery of 'Omārah's History was all but hopeless. The event has happily turned out otherwise, and a copy of the book is actually in the possession of the British Museum library, acquired in 1886,

according to a note on the fly-leaf of the volume.

It is somewhat remarkable to find that the book has evidently been owned by a European. Not only is the binding of Western fashion, but other signs, pencil marks and the label on the back of the volume—Documents relatifs an Yemen—put the matter beyond all doubt. Another and indeed more singular circumstance is that the portion of the volume consisting of 'Omārah's History, is to all appearance a modern transcript, dating, so far as I can judge from the description of paper and from the style of writing, no further back than last century, or perhaps the early part of the present.

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#### INTRODUCTION.

The history of the Arabs of Yaman under Islām has, as it seems to me, hitherto received less attention from Western scholars than it may fairly be said to deserve; and hence it no doubt arises that readers desirous of information on the subject, find their endeavours to obtain it attended with almost insuperable difficulty. Lists of the dynasties have been included by Mr. S. Lane-Poole in his Catalogue of Coins at the British Museum, and he has added such brief explanations as the special purpose of his work would permit; but, with that exception, the subject is in English literature simply a blank. And the labours of continental scholars, it must be added, are in this particular case, of less assistance than might be expected.

The only book that treats, in a European language, of the Muhammadan history of Yaman, is a small volume by C. T. Johannsen, written in Latin and published at Bonn in 1828. It is an abstract of the history of Zabīd by the Arab author Dayba', itself an abridgment, but one that supplies a historical sketch of the dynasties into whose possession the city successively passed, from the date of its foundation down to the tenth century of the Hijrah. Johannsen's work affords, therefore, a brief account of the leading families that ruled over Yaman previous to the sixteenth century of the Christian era. But some, to whom Zabīd never belonged, such for instance as the Zuray'ite Princes of Aden, are necessarily excluded. Johannsen's book is, moreover, at the present day somewhat rare.

A certain lack of interest in the fortunes of the petty states and dynasties of a country so slightly connected with the great streams of Muhammadan history, can without much difficulty be accounted for. It is no more than natural also, that the attention of scholars should be mainly attracted to the country as the ancient seat of an extinct and as yet little known civilization. But its history under Muhammadan influences is nevertheless

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# YAMAN

#### ITS EARLY MEDIÆVAL HISTORY

BY

## NAJM AD-DIN 'OMĀRAH AL-ḤAKAMI

ALSO THE ABRIDGED HISTORY OF ITS DYNASTIES

BY

IBN KHALDŪN

AND AN ACCOUNT OF THE KARMATHIANS OF YAMAN

BY

ABU 'ABD ALLAH BAHA AD-DIN AL-JANADI

THE ORIGINAL TEXTS, WITH TRANSLATION AND NOTES

ВΥ

HENRY CASSELS KAY M.R.A.S.

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