YAMAN
ITS EARLY MEDIAEVAL HISTORY

BY
NAJM AD-DIN 'OMARAII AL-ḤAKAMI

ALSO THE ABRIDGED HISTORY OF ITS DYNASTIES
BY
IBN KHALDÜN

AND AN ACCOUNT OF THE KARMATHIANS OF YAMAN
BY
ABU 'ABD ALLAH BAHĪA AD-DĪN AL-JANĀDI

THE ORIGINAL TEXTS, WITH TRANSLATION AND NOTES

BY
HENRY CASSELS \( KAY \) M.R.A.S.

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The history of the Arabs of Yaman under Islam 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. Johanssen, written in Latin and published at Bonn in 1828. It is an abstract of the history of Zabid 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. Johanssen'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 Zabid never belonged, such for instance as the Zuray'ite Princes of Aden, are necessarily excluded. Johanssen'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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neither destitute of interest, nor altogether un instructive. 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 au 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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The volume (Or. 3265) is a small quarto. It comprises three separate parts. The first, of 85 folios, is Dayba's History of Zabid. 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 copyst, 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 'Omārah is included in the Biographies of Ibn Khallikān (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 'Omārah touches upon sundry events in his own life. 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 Abī Ḥasan 'Ali ibn Ahmad ibn Muḥammad Zaydān. 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 Suyūṭi (i. 238).

* Ibn Khallikān says, according to de Slane, that 'Omārah was born in the city of Marṣān, in the valley of Wasā', a place I am not able to identify. It will be seen that we have mention of Matrān (p. 68 etc.), but it is evidently not the place here in question.
His final departure from Yaman occurred in A.H. 552, when he proceeded to Mecca, and thence to Egypt. The spiritual head of the Fatimite Empire and Sect was at that time the Khalifah al-Fā‘īz, who at the age of five years, had been raised to the throne on the assassination of his father az-Zāfir in A.H. 549. The Khalifahs 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 Ṭalā‘i‘ ibn Ruzayk, under the title of al-Malik as-Sāliḥ, the Virtuous King. Our author 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 who now again heartily welcomed him to his court. Ṭalā‘i‘, a zealous Ismailite, endeavoured to prevail upon ‘Omārah 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 Khalifah al-Fā‘īz died in A.H. 555, and was succeeded by al-‘Adil, the last of the dynasty. Ṭalā‘i‘ perished the following year.† His son was raised to his place under the title of al-Malik al-‘Adil an-Nāṣir, but was assassinated in the first month of A.H. 558. The dissensions that followed supplied the Atabek Nūr ad-dīn Mahmūd, 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 Shāwar, one of the rival claimants to the wazirate 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 Nūr ad-dīn and the Christian Crusaders for the

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* Maqrizi, vol. i. p. 440, I. Athir, xi. 31. See also Suyūṭi, ii. 155 and 162-63.
† An interesting mosque, built by Ṭalā‘i‘ at Cairo close to Bāb Zuwaylah, is still in existence.
possession of Egypt. Asad ad-din, 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 Shīrkhūh, though still acknowledging the authority of Nūr ad-din, was formally installed as Wazīr by the helpless Khalīfah al-‘Aḍid, under the title of al-Malik al-Manṣūr (the Victorious King). He died before the end of the year, and his nephew Ṣalāḥ ad-din Yūsuf (Saladin) was appointed his successor and invested by al-‘Aḍid 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-din, proclaimed the deposition of the Fatimite Khalīfah and the re-establishment of the supremacy of the Abbasides. Al-‘Aḍid 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 Khalīfah 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 ‘Omārah. He was found guilty and condemned to death. The sentence was carried into execution on the 2nd Ramadān, of the year 569, and his body was gibbeted and exposed to public view for three days. It has been said that it was by ‘Omārah’s advice that the conquest of Yaman was undertaken and the army of invasion placed under the command of Turān 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 ‘Aly ‘Abd ar-Rahīm al-Baysānī, more commonly known as the Kādi al-Fāḍil. He had formerly held
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. The British Museum possesses two volumes (Add. 7307 and 7465) containing a collection of the Kādi’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 Kādi al-Fādil was ill-favoured, indeed deformed. He was nevertheless exceedingly popular. Few names are oftener met with than his in the pages of Makrizi’s Khīṭat. 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 Khalifah.

‘Omarah enjoyed for a time the favour of the Kādi al-Fādil, 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 ‘Omarah, ere long, knew the Kādi only as an enemy. It is related, that when sentence of death was pronounced upon him, the Kādi approached Saladin and spoke to him in private. “My lord,” cried ‘Omarah, “listen not unto what he says concerning me!” The Kādi departed in anger, and Saladin, turning to the unhappy man, answered with the words: “He was interceding for

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* I had occasion in a paper, printed in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (vol. xxiii.), to insert a short passage, quoted by Makrizi, which may be taken as a favourable specimen of the Kādi’s literary performances.

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 'Omārah 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-din 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." 'Omārah 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 'Omārah, 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 censor of my love for the sons of Fātūmah. . . . Come, I adjure thee, cease weeping over Siffin and the Camel,* and join in my tears over the desolate halls of the twin Palaces. . . .

* 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
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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 Imāms 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 Makrizi, was the cause of 'Omarah'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 urged 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, 'Omarah 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.

* See infra, Note 68.
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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-
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 Zabid, written by Abu ʿt-Tāmi Jayyāsh, one of the early kings of the dynasty of the Banu Najāh. The book bore the title of Kitāb al-Mufidj aMhdr Zabid, the Book of Instruction on the History of Zabid, under which it is mentioned in the Kashf az-Zunūn. 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 'Omarah the Yamanite. Khazraji mentions that Jayyāsh'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 Kashf az-Zunūn under the title of Kitāb as-Suluk ji tabakāt il-'Ulāma'i wa ʿl-Mulak, 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, diacritical 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, ʿAlīmd, son of Sultan az-Zāhir Yahya who reigned from a.h. 831 to 842. The 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 I read it as follows:

من كتب العبد الفقيه إلى كرم الله تعالى أحمد بن يحيى بن اسمعيل بن العباس ـ (عليه) بن داود بن يسفي بن عمر بن عليّ بن رسول عفا الله عنه و عن أباهه ـ
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 Imām ash-Shafi‘y, the originator of the Shafi‘ite school of religious law, of whom it has been said that he was born in Yaman. His account of the Imām is little more than a panegyric, in which he conspicuously dwells upon the contention that ash-Shafi‘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 of 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.

* I find al-Janadi everywhere styled Yūsuf son of Ya'kūb; but he himself (fol. 21 rev.) gives his father that name, and Khazrajī ('Ukūd, fol. 133, obv.), mentions Yūsuf ibn Ya'kūb al-Janadi, father of Bahā ad-dīn the historian.

† 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-Athir, were written by the Ḍaylī chief Abu 'I-Musayyib Rāfī. Janadi says they were addressed by ash-Shafi‘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.
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 Jarir, from 'Omārah’s Mu'īd, and finally from the collection of biographies of Ibn Khalīkān. 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 Tabākūt Fuḥahā '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 Ḥafs '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 ʿl-'Abbās Āḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allah ibn Muhammad ar-Rāzi, a native, as his surname indicates, of ar-Ray, but settled at Ṣanʿā. 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 unsuccessful. 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 Ṣanʿā, 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 Ṣanʿā by Ishāk ibn Yahya ibn Jarir, a descendant of al-Aswad ibn 'Amf, brother of 'Abd ar-Rahmān ibn 'Auf.* It is a book, says al-Janadi, of

* 'Abd ar-Rahmān 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.
small bulk but of great value. The titles neither of this nor of ar-Rāzī’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 ʿAly ibn al-Ḥasan al-Khazraji, that is to say, of the tribe of Khazraj. 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 separate 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-'Uktal al-Lu'lu'iyah fi ahlibdr id-daulat ir-Rasūliyyah, “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 Jabalāh ibn al-Ayham, the last king of the Ghassānitē dynasty. The history ends with the death of the Rasulite Sultan al-Ashraf Isma‘il in A.H. 803. Fully two thirds of the book are a compilation, for the most part from three works, the Sirat al-Muzaffariyyah, the ‘Ikd ath-thamin, and Janadi’s History, from each of which long passages are incorporated.

The first mentioned seems to be a life of Sultan al-Muẓaffar Yūṣuf (A.H. 647-694). The ‘Ikd ath-thamin exists in the Library of the British Museum (Add. 27541), under the title of Kīlāb as-Sīmt il-Ghālī ith-thaman ḫ Akhbar Mulūk il-Yaman, written by Badr ad-dīn Muḥammad 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 Sultan al-Muẓaffar in A.H. 694. The titles of the book so largely quoted by Khazraji and of that at the British Museum, though verbally

* 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 Kedhouse, but that certain difficulties unfortunately prevented the publication of his work.
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 Ṭād ath-thamin, 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 Sharif ʿImād ad-dīn Idrīs, a descendant of Suleyman ibn Ḥanuzah. In the Uḵūd (fol. 173 obv.), the death is recorded of the Sharīḥ’s father, Jamāl ad-dīn ʿAly ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Ḥanuzah, in a.h. 699, and Khazraji adds that the Sharīḥ Idrīs was author of several historical works, among others of one entitled Kitāb Kanz il-Akhyār fi ʿt-tārikhi wa ʿl-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 Ḥajjī Khalīfah’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 Aʿlām iz-Zaman fi ʿtabakāti Aʿyān 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 Khalīfahs, from Abu Bakr to al-Mustaʿṣim. 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 Sultān al-ʿAshraf Ismaʿil (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-Janādí. “We have drawn,” he says, “from his abundant springs, and we have drunk under his guidance. Without him we had not

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* See infra, Note 101.
† 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.
Introduction.

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-Kifāyatī va 'l-A'lam fīman waliya 'l-Yamana wa sakanaha min al-Islām. 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. In 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'ā until it was taken by 'Aly the Sulayhite. (See infra, Note 8.) The eighth chapter is the history of the Sulayhite dynasty, the ninth that of the Hamdanite Kings of San'ā, 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 Ziyādites, of their successors the Banū Najāh, 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 Rashīdūn, and it includes the reign of Sulṭān al-Maṣūr '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 'Omārah's History. The author omits some passages and abridges others, often very slightly, and 'Omārah'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 Zabid. 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

work by the same author, entitled *Kitāb 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 *Kitāb al-'Asjad*. The author commences with Khazrajī’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 *Kitāb al-'Asjad* and each under the same heading. Next follows his second book, Khazrajī’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 Banū Tāhīr, down to the end of the dynasty and to the conquest of Yaman by the troops of the last Mamluk 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 Khazrajī, 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 Hajjī Khalīfah, and whereof one exists in the Library of the British Museum (Or. 1315). 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 Hajjī Khalīfah gives the title *Tuhfat az-Zaman fi A’yūni Ahl il-Yaman*. The full name of the author was Abu ‘Abd Allah

* The author of the *Tāj al-'Arūs* says that *Dayba* is a Nubian word and that it signifies white.
† He begins, therefore, at the same point as the Leiden MS. of Khazrajī’s *Kitāb al-'Asjad*.
al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAbd ar-Rahmān il-ʿAbdal al-Ḥusaynī, and he was member of a family of some note in Yaman, but originally from ʿIrāk. 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 وما تيسر من الزيادات وفي الأصل الذي اختصرت منه مواضع سقيمة وقد تحررت فيها بحسب الأمكان و من تحقق خلا فليس الله 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. Hamdāni'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-Hamdāni'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

* Fol. 262. See also fol. 312.
† 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.
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, 1.), 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 'Omarāh in his history and al-Janadi in his account of the Karmathians. I 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-Zarā'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
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 Saʿīd, 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 Jiblāh stood on Mount Šābir, that Mudhaykhirah and Aden Lāʾah 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 ʿOmarah. 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 received. 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 Ṣanʿā," the assertion must always be received with caution. His Geographical 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 Taḥ al-ʿArrūs, 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 Yākūt.

I have been hardly less disappointed with the extracts from Ibn al-Mujāwir, given by Dr. Sprenger in his Reiserouten. Ibn al-Mujāwir 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.
It is only by the labours of competent travellers, who may make the topography and the archaeological 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. 'Omārah 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 particular 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 Sa'id. 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), on which it is consequently a reproduction. The chapter on the Bān 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...
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 Ḥadāʾik al-Wardīyah and the Yawākit 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-Manṣūr ‘Abd Allah.

The Yawākit 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 Muḥammad, based upon that contained in an earlier work, the Jawāhir wa ‘d-durar (Or. 3911). At fol. 141 the Yawākit 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 Ḥadāʾik. The book, which is evidently incomplete, ends at fol. 173, with the death of the Imām Aḥmad ibn Husayn 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 succes-

* Dr. Rieu'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.
sion are numerous, and the absence of dates so frequent that it is almost the general rule.

The Bughyat al-Murid (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’īy and grandfather of the Imam al-Kāsim son of Muḥammad surnamed al-Mansūr, whom I have had occasion to speak in the latter part of the present instance than in others.

The Kāshīfat al-Ghummah (Or. 3791) is for the most part devoted to the religious opinions and controversies of the Imām an-Nāsir li-dīn 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 noticeable 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 his never-failing good offices, of special service to me on the present occasion, in the furtherance 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.
### MUHAMMADAN AND CHRISTIAN DATES

(From Wüstenfeld's Tables.)

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THE HISTORY OF YAMAN

BY

NAJM AD-DIN 'OMARAH 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 Bāhā ad-Dīn Abu 'l-Majd 'Aly al-Baisānī (native of Baisān). May God preserve his greatness and perpetuate his dignities. He was Chancellor and Chief Secretary to the Khalīfah al-Ādīd. 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,1 of its nobles and of
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 an Jurist Nizar ibn 'Abd al-Malik, the native of Mecc, and by the Jurist Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Ash'ar—who and both are well acquainted with the histories of the people, with their genealogies and with the poetry—and I have also read in the book entitled Al-Mufid li-Akhbar Zabid (the Instructor on the history of Zabid), composed by the mighty Kitab Abu 't-Tami Jayyash, son of Najah, Nasir ad-d-Din al-Diryash (Defender of the Faith), sovereign of Zabid—the report that in the year 199 (A.H.) certain personal descendants of 'Abd Allah ('Obayd Allah) son of Ziyad were brought to (the Khalifah) al-Ma'mun son of ar-Rashid. One, named Muhammad grandson of 'Abd Allah ibn Ziyad, claimed to descended from ('Obayd Allah son of) Ziyad. Another represented himself to be descended from Suleyman, son of (the Omayyad Khalifah) Hisham, son of 'Abd al-Malik. Khalif ibn Abi Tahir, was of the Amir Jayyash son of Najah, was a descendant of that man.

Al-Ma'mun, in reply to the Omayyad, objected that 'Abd Allah ibn (Muhammad ibn) 'Ali ibn ('Abd Allah ibn) 'Abbas beheaded Suleyman ibn Hisham and caused his two sons to be executed on the same day. "I am a descendant," answered the Omayyad, "of Suleyman's youngest son, then

* Read adherents of the Omayyads.
his childhood. We form a tribe at Basrah, where we live in a state of obscurity." Another man, Muhammad, 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 Muhammad 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 Ziyād thereupon exclaimed, addressing the Khalīfah: "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."" Al-Ma'mūn approved and commended the words of Ibn Ziyād. All his prisoners were pardoned, and they were more than one hundred in number. He placed them under the care of Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Faḍl ibn Sahl Dhu 'r-Ri'āsatayn, or, according to others, under that of al-Faḍl's brother, al-Ḥasan.

In Muharram A.H. 202, the proclamation took place at Baghdād of Ibrahim, 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 ʿAkkites. 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...
to render good service. He advised their being sent to Yaman, Ibn Ziyād as Amir, 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 Zabid, known as the Banu Abi ‘Aḵāmah, 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‘mūn to Baghdād against Ibrahim, son of al-Mahdī. In A.H. 203 Ibn Ziyād and his companions performed the pilgrimage. He proceeded on his way to Yaman and conquered the Tiḥāmah (of Yaman),† after a war with the Arabs who inhabited that province. In Sha‘ban, A.H. 204, the date of the death, at Miṣr (in Egypt), of the Jurist and Imām Muḥammad ibn Idrīs ash-Shāfi‘y (the mercy of God be upon him), Ibn Ziyād laid the foundations of the city of Zabid.5 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. He proceeded to ‘Irāk, where he was received in audience by al-Ma‘mūn. He returned to Zabid in 206, bringing with him one thousand horsemen, including seven hundred adherents of the Abbasides of Khurassān. The rule of Ibn Ziyād extended itself, and he became possessed of the whole of Yaman, both of the mountains and of the maritime provinces. Ja‘far was appointed governor of al-Jībāl (the Highlands), where he founded a city known by the name of al-Mudhāykhirah, situated in the district of Raymat al-Ashtā‘ir, possessing streams of water and extensive gardens.6 The country over which

* The Mufti is the official expounder of religious law.
† For the word Tiḥāmah see infra (Geographical Index).
The Ziyādites.

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 astuteness. It was through him that the dynasty of Ibn Ziyād acquired its greatness, and for that reason Ibn Ziyād received a surname actually derived from the name of Ja'far. It was he who stipulated with the Arabs of Tihamah that they should not make use of riding horses. Ibn Ziyād became master of Ḥadramaut, of Diyār Kindah, of Shihr, of Mirbāt, of Abyan, of Lāḥj, of Aden and of the maritime provinces on the Red Sea as far as Ḥaly. From Ḥaly to Mecca (may God guard it) is eight days' journey. He possessed also in the Highlands, Janad and its dependencies, Mikhlāf al-Ma'āfīr, Mikhlāf Ja'far, San'ā, Sa'dah, Najrān and Bayḥān. Ibn Ziyād and his posterity after him caused the Khutbah to be recited in the names of the Abbaside Khalīfahs, 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 Ziyād (Ziyād?), whose reign did not long endure. He was succeeded by his brother Abu ʿl-Jaysh Isḥāk, 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. His name was As'ād ibn Ya'fur. The Khutbah was recited and the coinage was struck, in his province, in the name of Abu ʿl-Jaysh ibn Ziyād; but As'ād paid him neither voluntary offerings nor contributions of stores nor tribute. His revenues did not exceed 400,000 (dinars) a year, most of which
he expended in charitable deeds and in hospitality.* The rulers of Bayhan, of Najran, and of Jurash were likewise subject to Ibn Ziyad. As for Sa'dah, it became the scene of the revolt of the Hasanite Sherif (al-Hadi Yahya) known by the surnames of the Rassite and the Zeydite. It would not be proper to relate his history at this place, although . . . there is not in all Yemen 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, 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 Yemen have built a palace like unto it, or so lofty.

In the kingdom of As'ad ibn Ya'fur, Prince of San'a, 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.

Muhammad (read 'Aly) ibn al-Fadl the Dā'y, (was?) known as the Sheykh of Lā'ah, and this place Lā'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-Lā'ah. It is the place at which the Alide supremacy was first proclaimed in Yemen, and thence issued forth Mansūr al-Yaman. The Dā'y Muhammad (read 'Aly) ibn al-Fadl 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-

* Cf. Ibn Haukal, p. 20.
† Memecylon tinctorium (Freytag).
premacy in North Africa. It was there also that 'Aly, son of Muhammad the Sulayhite, studied in his youth. It was one of the centres of the Alide mission in Yaman.

Muhammad ('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 Muhammad ('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 ‘I-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 (‘Aththariyāh) dinars. 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-Harami, 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
ash-Sharjah to Aden, a distance of twenty days' journey, and from Ghulāfikah to Ṣan‘ā, 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.' 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 Bāb al-Māndab, 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.

Abū '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 Ziyād. The guardianship of the child was assumed by his sister Hind, daughter of Abū 'l-Jaysh, and by one of the slaves of Abū 'l-Jaysh, an Abyssinian eunuch of the name of Rushd. The latter [did not long survive, but he] possessed a Nubian slave known by the name of Husayn ibn Salāmah, Salāmah being the name of Husayn's mother. Husayn grew up a man of ability and resolute character, and abstemious in his habits. On the death of his master Rushd he became wazir to the son of Abū 'l-Jaysh and to the Prince's sister Hind. The outlying 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 Ḫusayn ibn Salāmah made war upon the mountain chiefs and compelled them to submit.
Ibn Ṭarf and Ibn al-Ḥarāmī 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-Maʿkir on the Wādi Dhuwal. 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 Khalifah) ʿOmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. He ruled for thirty years, and died in A.H. 402.¹³

Among the splendid works executed by Ḥusayn ibn Salāmah must be reckoned the construction of great mosques and lofty minarets along the road from Ḥadramaut 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 Ḥadramaut.*

A series of mosques was built extending thence to Aden, to Abyan, and to Lahj, 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) ʿOmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, which was restored by Ḥusayn ibn Salamah.

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

* See note 11. Of Tarīm, al-Hamdānī merely says that it was a large city (p. 87, l. 17).
al-Ḥawah (al-Juwwah?),* a large building, which I have seen in good order, as erected by Ḥusayn 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 Ṭulūn at Mīṣr. There stood formerly on its site a pretty mosque originally erected by Muʿadh ibn Jabal, on his being sent to Yaman. Muʿadh 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 al-‘Azīz son of Marwān. Next is the city of Ibb, then an-Nākil, then Dhamār. [Thence to Ṣan‘ā is a distance of five days’ (?) journey, at each of which a station has been built.] Then the mosque of Ṣan‘ā, a large building. From Ṣan‘ā to Ṣa‘dah is ten days’ journey [with a mosque at each stage], and from Ṣa‘dah to Ṭā‘īf, 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 Ṭā‘īf, which occupies a day to him who

* For al-Juwwah, see note 111, the latter part.
The Ziyādites.

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-‘Arāh, then *‘Athr, and next as-Sukya, with a mosque, and a well forty fathoms in depth. Then Bab al-Māndab, and then Mokha. Then as-Suhāri, al-Khauhāb, al-Ahwāb, Ghulafikah, Bi‘ah (?), al-Jardah (al-Hirdah), az-Zar‘ah (?), ash-Sharjah, al-Mufajjar (al-Hajar ?), al-Ḵandir (?), and ‘Aththar, which is the seat of an ancient kingdom.¹⁵ Then ad-Duwaymah, Ḥamīdāh, Dhahabān, Ḥali, 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, Zabīd, Fashāl, ad-Ḏiḥā‘ (written with Kisra to the letter Ḍād), al-Kāhmah, al-Kadra, which was the residence of Ibn Salāmah and was founded by him, al-Jaththah, ‘Irk an-Nasham, al-Mahjam, Maur, al-Wādiyānī, Jizān, al-Muṣā‘id, Ta‘shar, al-Mabny, Riyāh 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
'Omārah.

which is reached by the pilgrims, is Bayn (Bir?) ar-Riyādah, 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-Bayḍā, then al-Ḵarīn, and finally Mecca. Those proceeding to ‘Arafāt reach a well constructed by Ibn Salāmah in Wādi ar-Rahm, thence to Naʿman, and then ‘Arafāt. He built also a mosque on Jabal ar-Rahmah, at ‘Arafāt. May God have mercy upon him!\(^*\)

I have been informed by the Fākīh (Jurist) Abu Muḥammad ‘Abd Allah ibn Abī ‘l-Ḵāsim al-Abbār, under whom I studied the Shāfiʿīy doctrines, that the following incident was related to him by his father, Abī ‘l-Ḵāsim. The same was reported to me by ‘Abd ar-Rahman ibn ‘Aly al-ʿAbsi, and by al-Muḵry (the Ḥurʿān reader) al-Husayn, grandson of Ḥusayn, 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 Ḥusayn 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.” Ḥusayn, 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.\(^{17}\)

The following anecdote has moreover been re-
ported to me by the Jurist Abu 'Aly ibn Talik, 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. A man, it was said, complained in that valley, to Husayn ibn Salāmah, who was on his way from Zabid to al-Kadrā, that he had been robbed of a leathern bag, containing one thousand or, as it is also said, two thousand dinārs. This, he said, had occurred in Wādi 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 Ibrahim ?). He was placed under the guardianship of a paternal aunt and of a eunuch of
the name of Marjān, one of the slaves of Husayn 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 Malīdy in a.h. 554. He was father of the king Sa'īd al-Ahwal, the slayer of the Amīr 'Aly ibn Muhammad as-Sulayḥi, who was Da'īy (guardian and propagator) in Yaman of the Fatimite doctrines and of the supremacy of the (Egyptian) Khalifate, at that time held by al-Mustansūr. Najāh was likewise father of the most excellent and righteous King Abu 't-Ṭib (read Abu 't-Ṭami) Jayyash, in whose hands and in the hands of whose descendants, supreme authority remained until the above-mentioned date.

11 Najāh ruled over al-Kadrā, al-Mahjam, Maur and al-Wadiānī, 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. Nafis was of a tyrannical disposition and was dreaded by the people, whilst Najāh was merciful, righteous, and beloved. Their master, Marjān, nevertheless inclined unto Nafis, and favoured him at the expense of Najāh. It was intimated to the former that the aunt of his master Ibn Ziyād, was in correspondence with Najāh, and that she favoured him. Nafis complained thereof to Marjān, 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.
race. With him the dynasty of the Banu Ziyāḍ 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 Zabid 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 mercy, 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-Musta‘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; 18 but they tranquillized the minds of their subjects, by continuing the recitation of the Khutbah in the name of the Abbasides. When Nafīs murdered Ibrāhīm (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.

Najāh, 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 Zabid, and repeated battles were fought between the two rivals—the battles of Rima‘ and of Fashāl, in both which Najāh 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. Najāh captured the city of Zabīd in the month of Dhu 'l-Ka‘dah of the year
412. He then asked Marjān: "What hath Nafis done with thine own and our masters?" "They are in that wall," he replied. Najāḥ removed the bodies, prayed over them, and erected a mausoleum over their place of burial. Marjān was immured alive along with the corpse of Nafis, in the wall in which the two bodies were found.

Najāḥ now adopted the use of the royal umbrella and struck the coinage in his own name. He entered into correspondence with the supreme authorities in 'Irāk, tendering them his submission, and he received the title of al-Muʿayyad Nāṣir ad-Dīn. 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 Saʿīd, Jayyāsh, Muʿārik, adh-Dhakhīrah and Maṇṣūr.

But the governors appointed by Husayn ibn Salāmah in the Highlands, seized upon the mountain fortresses. Aden, Abyan, Lahj, ash-Shihr and Ḥadramaut were taken by the Banū Maʿīn, who, I believe, were not descendants of Maʿīn ibn Zāʿīdah the Shaybānīte. Samadān, a place of greater strength than Dumlūwah, also the fortress of Sawā, that of Dumlūwah, the fortresses of Šabīr, of Dhakhīr, of Taʿkar (which commands Janad), also the provinces of Janad (Jaʿfar), of ʿUnnah and of al-Maʿāfīr were appropriated by a family, descended from Himyar, known as the Banu ʿl-Kurandi. They achieved distinction by generous and noble deeds, by their powerful rule and brilliant estate. The fortress of Ḥabb, which is like unto at-Taʿkar, that which bears the name of ʿAzzān, that of Beyt ʿIzz, that of as-Saʿr (ash-Shaʿīr), a great fortress, that of Nūr
The Ziyūdites.

(Anwar), an-Nakīl, and as-Sahūl, the fortresses of Khardid, and of ash-Shawākī (Shawāfī). All these were conquered by the Sultān Abu Ṭabd 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 Aṣbah, a tribe to which the Jurist Mālik al-Aṣbahī, Imām of the City of the Flight, belonged. Sultan Abu Ṭabd Allah al-Husayn is he who contrived the stratagem whereby Sa‘id al-Aḥwal, son of Najāh, who had killed the Amīr ‘Ali, son of Muḥammad the Sulayhite, was himself slain. The province of Uhāzah (also called Wuhāzah), of which the seat of government is the stronghold of Baybars (Yaris?), was likewise appropriated. Among its other fortresses are Dahwan (Zahrān), Yaḥūz, Sha‘r (Sha‘b?), and al-Khadra. Its chief city is Shāhīt. Nizār, son of the Jurist Zayd ibn al-Husayn al-Wuhāzī, wrote the following lines on the Sultān of the country:—

They told us the Sultān was at Shāhīt.—He ascends the mountains from the barren plains.
I asked, Does the Sultān occupy the highest point?—Nay, they answered, he has gone down.

The fortresses of Wuhāzah 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
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 Wā'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 Wā'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 me. The Sultan As'ad ibn Wā'il ibn 'Īsa, celebrated for his generosity and the theme of exuberant praise, is a member of the tribe of Wā'il.

The fortress of Ashayah, 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 Bak'il, descended from Hamdān. San'ā and its dependencies were conquered by a Hamdanite family. That of 'Abd al-Wāhid seized the provinces of Bura', al-'Amad, and Li'san. They possessed themselves also of the fortress of Masār, which has no equal in Yaman, with the exception only of at-Ta'kar, of Samadān, and Habb. It was at Masār, in Ḥarāz, that as-Sulayhi first arose proclaiming the supremacy of the Fatimite Khalifah al-Mustansir. Ḥarāz is the name of the district, and its inhabitants are designated after it. They are closely allied with the tribe of Hamdān, and it was with their support that the Dā'y 'Aly, son of Muḥammad the Sulayhite, raised himself to power.
The History of the Dā'iy 'Aly, son of Muhammad the Sulayhite. Then proceeds the most important part of the History of Yaman, and therewith the subjects of the remainder of this book, touching the Kādis, the Dā'īys, the distinguished men and the poets of the country are closely connected.

The Kādi Muhammad son of 'Aly; father of the Dā'iy 'Aly the Sulayhite, was a follower of the Sunni doctrines, and he exercised great influence over the men of Ḥarāz, who were 40,000 in number. When the office of Dā'iy was transferred to 'Āmir ibn 'Abd Allah az-Zawahy (ar-Rawahy?), so named after a village in the province of Ḥarāz,25 he applied himself to win the favour of the Kādi Muhammad ibn 'Aly, father of the Dā'iy 'Aly ibn Muhammad, the Sulayhite. Az-Zawāḥi 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 ‘Āmir possessed a description of as-Sulayḥi, contained in the Kitāb as-Suwar (Book of Delineations), one of the treasures of the ('Obaydite) Imāms, 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-Zawāḥi ere long died, bequeathing to ‘Aly his writings and his learning. Before his death
‘Aly’s mind had become deeply impressed by az-Zawāḥi’s teaching. He was highly intelligent, and applied himself to study. Ere he had reached the age of manhood, he had become filled with knowledge, by means of which and of good fortune, he attained the highest objects of his ambition. He was learned in the jurisprudence of the Imperial sect, and versed in the science of (mystical) interpretation (of the Kuwān). He began his career as leader of the pilgrims, for several years, by way of as-Sarāt* and Īlīf. 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 ‘Adnān the ‘Akkite:—

Though my night watchings be attended with forebodings of evil—
(yet I know that) Ibn ‘Adnān will be unto me a protector from oppression.†

Similar circumstances were related to me also by az-Zibrīkān 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 he 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-Muraajjal, who bore the surname of the Hanafīte and belonged to that school of religion, and who was a distinguished scholar. He said that near the gate

* For the words Sarāt and Sarawāt, see infra (Geographical Index).
† The accuracy of these lines, as they stand in the MS., is, I think, very doubtful.
of Zabid, within the walls, there was the house of an Abyssinian of the name of Faraj as-Sahrati (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?

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. Aš-Sulayhi replied that he had a paternal (read maternal) uncle named Shihāb, whose daughter Asmā had few equals in beauty, and was unmatched 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'ān at Aden, or to the Banu Kurandi in the district of al-Ma'āfir. The Kā'id Faraj as-Sahrati, continued the narrator, supplied him with a large sum of money, double the amount that aš-Sulayhi actually paid. The bride
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 Aḥmad 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. The renown of her splendid virtues extended to her children, her brothers, and her kindred. Her 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 meaness she allows no trace to appear.

I say when people magnify the throne of Bīlḵīs—Asmā hath obscured the name of the loftiest among the stars. Ṣ

Among other anecdotes of the Daʾy 'Aly as-Sulayhi is that related to me by Aḥmad ibn Ḥusayn al-Amawy, surnamed ibn as-Sahāḥ (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 Ḥays, distant a night's journey from Zabīd. As-Sulayhi, on conquering Zabīd, 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 Ḥays for the purpose of gaining 17 intelligence touching the two slaves of Marjan, Nafis, and Najāh. He was met by a person who
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 Ḥayās. 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. ʿAlī ibn Muhammad, ʿAlīṣ 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-Sulayhi, relating to the commencement of his career, was told me by the Sultan Naṣir, son of Mansūr the Wāʾilite, who held it from his grandfather ʿĪsā ibn Yazīd. ʿAlī, 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. As-Sulayhi 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 Daʿy for the establishment
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. He lived in dread of Najāh, the Prince of Tihāmah, 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 Najāh by poison, with the help of a beautiful female slave whom he sent as a present to his rival. Najāh died at al-Kadrā in the year 452.

As-Sulayhi wrote to the Imam al-Mustansir (at Cairo), 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
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 Zabid and its dependencies in Tihāmah, as-Sulayhi had sworn that he would appoint as governor only such as would pay him a sum of one hundred (thousand) dinārs. Afterwards he repented 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...
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 will, and taketh no account thereof." * As-Sulayhi 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 Shahār. 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 Shahār, 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 Zabīd, and regards me as equal to Sultan As'ad ibn 'Arrāf, to 'Āmir ibn Suleymān az-Zawāḥī, and to such and such other kings. 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

* Kurān, S. iii. v. 32.
† Kurān, S. xii. v. 65.
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 during that period is, within my knowledge, chargeable upon my conscience."

Continuing his narrative, As‘ad ibn Shihāb stated that as-Sulayhi 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 Ahmad ibn Sālim, who had the superintendence of affairs from Wādi Ḥarāḍ 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 Kādī Abu Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn ibn Abī ‘Aḵāmah, a descendant of Muḥammad ibn Ḥarūn the Taghlībīte, whom the Khalifah 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-Ḥasan ‘Aly ibn

* 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.
Muhammad al-Kumm, father of Husayn 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 Ḥusayn:

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 as-Ṣulayḥi. The Prince and the Lady Āsim gave him strict orders to decide nothing without first consulting ‘Aly ibn al-Kumm. “I used to send him each year,” said Ibn Shihāb, “as my delegate to Šan‘ā, accompanied by Aḥmad ibn Šālim, governor of Tiḥāmah. I levied every year from Tiḥāmah, 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 as-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 mixed multitude of Africans. As-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 Ṭarf, 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,
whom my grandfather, Ahmed 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-Zara’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.39

I may mention that in the year 530, being then under twenty years of age, I came to Zabid 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 Zabid, 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 Dā’ī ‘Aly
ibn Muhammad the Sulayhite. I myself have seen the bones and horses hoofs, that are uncovered on the battle-field, and exposed to view whenever a violent wind blows. After visiting Zabid, as-Sulayhi returned to San'a (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'î '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.31 The Amîr, the Glorious Da'î, 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'a), and also the Lady Asmâ, daughter of Shihab, 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. He 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, Wâ'il ibn 'Isa al-Wuḥâzy, 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
personal affairs, scattered and divided into separate parties, that the Amir '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-Āhwal, who caused the men to be massacred by his spearmen. He spared Wā'il ibn 'Isa al-Wuhāzy, Ibn Ma'n, and Ibn al-Kurandy, but he slew the others, and captured Asmā, daughter of Shihāb and mother of the king al-Mukarram. Sa'īd then started from al-Mahjam on his way back to Zabīd, 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'īd ibn Najāh.

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How the King al-Mukarram Ahmad, son of 'Aly, son of Muhammad as-Sulayhi, Supreme Chief of the Arabs, Sultan under the Prince of the Faithful, proceeded from Šan‘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 Shawwal of the year 475. The Princess wrote to her son as follows: "I am great with child by the squint-eyed slave
(al-Alīwal). 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 to them. They burst into lamentations, but soon became eager to vindicate the honour of their tribe. Al-Mukarram marched from Ṣan‘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, saying 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 Qur‘ān teacher) Suleyman son of Ya-Sin that the following anecdote was related to him by the pious Sheykh Muḥammad son of ‘Ulayyah. "I was on a certain Friday," said Sheykh Muḥammad, "at near the hour of daybreak, in the mosque of Turaybah. The country people had taken refuge in the city of Zabīd out of fear of the Arabs. I was engaged in a recitation of the entire Qur‘ān, 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. I 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.

* Or, according to Janadi, three thousand.
† Qur‘ān, S. lixxxv.
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.* His 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!' In 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 Zabīd. I inquired of him who were these persons. 'That man,' he answered, 'is al-Mukarram, al-Malik as-Sa'īd (the auspicious king) Ahmad ibn 'Aly, the Sulayhite, that is al-Karam † the Yamite, and that is 'Āmir az-Zawālī, the most generous Arab that ever bestrode a horse.' The men called upon a fourth to come forward, but he declined. He was the

* Kulami I take to signify imported from Kulam, now known as Quilon, on the Malabar coast. See Ibn Khordadbeh, ed. de Goeje, p. 62, also Yule's Marco Polo, ii. p. 312, note.
† 'Abbas son of al-Karam?
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 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-Tayyīb al-Mutanabbi, as follows:

"Grasping my death-dealing sword, I will go down among my foes,—
A field whencee 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 Shihāb, 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'īd ibn Najāh 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

* See Dieterici's Mutanabbi, p. 463.
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 Aḥmad. 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 his. She asked him who he was, to which he answered that his name was Aḥmad, son of 'Aly son of Muhammad. "Verily the name Aḥmad 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 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 (Masḥḥad ar-Ḥaḍasayn). It is said that when al-Mukarram uncovered his face Asmā exclaimed:
"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 Najah, 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, Aḥmad (As'ad? see below) ibn Shihāb, to be ruler over Tihāmah as before, and he then departed for Sana'a, serene in mind after his victory, and accompanied by Aṣmā, daughter of Shihāb. A saying became common among the people of Zabid 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 Zabid, and who slew on her account twenty thousand Abyssinians, by my life! he was truly a man!" 53

Al-Mukarram having appointed his maternal uncle As'ad ibn Shihāb to the rulership over Zabid and its dependencies, (joined with him?) on that occasion Aḥmad ibn Sālim. As'ad sent him to Sana'a in charge of the tribute of the province of Tihāmah. Aṣmā distributed the greater part among the Arab envoys. Aḥmad ibn Sālim thereupon began to tear his beard, saying:—"I have
passed through fire for the sake of this money, and see now what has been done with it!" "If money 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 Al‘mad 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 San‘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, Sultan 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. 34

In that same year the Banu Najāh returned. They drove Al‘mad (read As‘ad?) ibn Shihāb out of Zabid, and made themselves masters of the city. But they were themselves again expelled by al-Mukarram ibn ‘Aly, and Sa‘id al-Ahwal, son of Najāh, was killed under the walls of the fortress of ash-Sha‘ir, the result of a stratagem effected by the Sultan 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 Al‘mad. The death of Sa‘id al-Ahwal took place in the year 481. That same year Jayyāsh, son of Najāh, together with the wazir Khalīf ibn Abi Ṭāhir the Omayyad, escaped in disguise to Aden, and

* Read 479, as in al-Janadi and Dayba'.
travelled thence to India. There they remained for six months, and then returned to Zabid, which they conquered before the expiration of the year. At that period As'ad ibn 'Arrāf was named ruler of Zabid, and 'Aly ibn al-Kumm, son (read father) of al-Ḥusayn 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 Ḥusayn, son of 'Aly ibn al-Kumm, ruled over Zabid, under As'ad ibn Shihāb, before the appointment of As'ad ibn 'Arrāf.  

The History of the Honourable Lady the Queen Sayyidah, Daughter of Ahmad.

Her name was Sayyidah, daughter of Ahmad, son of Ja'far, son of Mūsa the Sulayhite, and her mother was ar-Radāh, daughter of al-Fārī, son of Mūsa. Ar-Radāh was left a widow by the death of her husband Ahmad, father of the Lady Sayyidah, and she then married 'Āmir, son of Suleymān, son of 'Āmir, son of 'Abd Allah az-Zawāhi, 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 Da'ī of the Ḥāshimites,* but he was assassinated by the Amir al-Mufaddal, 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 444), and Asmā, daughter of Shihāb, superintended her education. It is related that she one

* Read Fatimites. See infra (chapter on the Da'īys of Yaman).
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, Sayyidah 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 'Aly son of Muḥammad the Sulayhite, in the year 461. She bore him four children, Muḥammad, 'Aly, Fāṭimah, and Umm Hamdān. Muḥammad and 'Aly died in childhood at Ṣanʿā. Umm Hamdān was married to Sulṭān Ahmad ibn Suleymān the Zawāhīte, son of her maternal uncle, to whom she bore a son 'Abd al-Mustaʿla. Fāṭimah, daughter of the Lady Sayyidah and of al-Mukarram, married Shams al-Maʿālī 'Aly, son of the Dāʿy Saba, son of Ahmad (the Sulayhite). Umm Hamdān died in 516 (or 510?). As for Fāṭimah, 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 Dhm Jiblah affirm that aṣ-Ṣulayḥī treated Sayyidah, in her earliest years, with a degree of deference he showed to no other person. "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.
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 Muhammad the Sulayhite, who was killed at al-Mahjam by Sa'id al-Ahwal, together with his brother the Amir and Dā'iy '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 Muhammad, in the year 458.

The people of Mikhlaf Ja'far gathered together around Sayyidah's stirrup, acknowledging her authority. On her return to San'ā she said to al-Mukarram: "My lord, send notice to the people of San'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.
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 palace. 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-Faql, of the sub-tribe of Yam and of the tribe of Hamdān, and As'ad ibn Shihāb.

In that year also, the queen encompassed by a stratagem the death of Sa'īd ibn Najāḥ al-Ahwal. She desired al-Husayn ibn at-Tubba'y, Prince of Sha'ir to write to Sa'īd al-Ahwal 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 Sa'īd himself was now the most powerful king in Yaman. Further, he suggested, as commanded, a joint attack upon Dhu Jiblah, by Sa'īd from Tihamah and by al-Husayn himself from the mountains. Sa'īd, he represented, could then relieve himself of his enemy and recover possession of the entire country. "If
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 Sa‘īd ibn Najāḥ 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 Zabīd for Dhu Jiblah at the head of thirty thousand spearmen. The Queen Sayyidah had meanwhile sent orders to As‘ād ibn Shīḥāb, and to ‘Imran ibn al-Fadl at Šan‘ā, desiring them to march into Tihāmah in the rear of Najāḥ, with three thousand horsemen, and to follow him stage by stage. They obeyed, and upon Sa‘īd ibn Najāḥ halting below the fortress of ash-Sha‘īr, 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 Dār al-‘īzz, inhabited by the Queen Sayyidah. His wife Umm al-Mu‘ārik 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‘ārik!"

Al-Mukarram, son of ‘Aly, died in a.h. 484, bequeathing the office of Dā‘y to the Most Noble Amir, the Unparagoned, the Victorious, the Pillar of the Khalifate, Prince of Amirs, al-Manṣūr Abu Ḥimyar Saba, son of Āḥmad al-Muẓaffar, son of ‘Aly the Sulayhite.37
History of the Dā'ī Saba, son of Ahmad, son of al-Muẓaffar, son of 'Alī the Sulayhite.

In his external appearance, the Dā'ī 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 acquainted with the sayings of the wise, nurtured on poetry. He requited eulogists with eulogy, as well as with substantial rewards. On that point 'Alī ibn al-Ḵumm has said of him:

When I panegyrized al-Hayzarī,* the son of Ahmād—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 Ahmād!—but assuredly free from evil is the age in which he liveth! 38

His residence was a stronghold called Ashyāh, a lofty castle equal in stateliness and strength to Masār and Ta'kar. It has been related to me by the Kur'ān reader, Suleyman ibn Yā-Sīn, who was a Ḥanafite, that he once spent several nights in the fortress of Ashyāh. In the morning, he said, he could see the sun rising in the east, but shedding no light (upon the country). Turning towards Tihamah, so much lingering darkness still prevailed as to prevent the wayfarer from recognizing a companion walking close beside him. Ibn Yā-Sīn 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

* Hayzar, according to the Ḫamūs, is a proper name.
rules of the Shâfy’îtes; for the followers of Abu Hanîfah postpone the hour until the sun has almost risen over the low-lying plains of Tihâmâh. The actual fact is simply that the eastern aspect from Ashyâh is unimpeded by mountains, in consequence of its own situation on a lofty summit.

The fortresses of the Banu Mužaffar overlooked the plain of Tihâmâh. They bordered closely upon the territories of Zabîd; and of all the mountains, those upon which these fortresses stand, are the nearest to Tihâmâh. Among other strongholds in the possession of the family were Makr, Wušâb, Kawarîr, az-Zarf, and ash-Sharaf. The last mentioned is the place where Ibn Mahdi rose in insurrection. The remaining places were Dhu'-'Rassah, Zafâr (Zafårān ?), and Raymah, with its districts.* As his territories adjoined Tihâmah, Saba used to make Jayyâsh taste the vicissitudes of war. His Arabs, on perceiving the approach of winter, were in the habit of descending into the low country. Jayyâsh 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 Jayyâsh during the summer and autumn months. When winter and spring passed away, the Arabs withdrew from Tihâmâh to the mountains, and Jayyâsh re-entered into possession. The withdrawal of the Arabs was sometimes attended with fighting, and sometimes it was peaceful.

On the return of Jayyâsh to Zabîd, the Kur’âns 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

* See note 24.
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 Ghifārī his wazir. This was carried into execution. After a 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 Jayyāsh 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 Khalf from his court. Jayyāsh followed the advice of the wazir, but thereupon the greed with which the Arabs coveted the country increased, and they reckoned themselves to be secure... The Ka‘id Rayhān al-Kahlani, freedman of Sa‘īd, son of Najāḥ, 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 fugitives. Towards the end of the night a party met and rescued him. The Arabs did not thereafter return to Tihamah.

Among other passages in the life of the Dā‘y Saba, son of Almād, is that related to me by the Jurist Abu ‘Abd Allah al-Husayn ibn ‘Aly al-Bajlī, who had learned it from his father. The latter resided at Dhu Jiblāh, 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

* That is to say, member of the tribe of Bajilah.
Ahmad a widow, the Dāʿy Saba asked her in marriage. She refused, whereupon he collected troops and marched from Ashyah, 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, Suleymān ibn ‘Āmir az-Zawāḥi, son of her mother, then said to Saba: “By Allah! she will not agree to that which thou desirest excepting by command of the Imām al-Mustansir billāh, Prince of the Faithful.” The Dāʿy Saba ibn ʿĀḥmad al-Auḥad (the Unparagoned) al-Mansūr desisted from fighting against her troops and returned to Ashyah. He despatched to the Imām al-Mustansir two messengers, the Kādi (Abu ʿAbd Allah al-) Husayn ibn Ismaʿīl al-İsfahānī and Abu ʿAbd Allah at-Ťayyib. In the course of the correspondence the Khalīfah wrote to the Lady three lines, commanding her to wed the Dāʿy Saba, and he sent her also one of his own eunuchs, known under the designation of Hamīl al-Madyah, who bore moreover the honorific surname of Yaman ad-Daʿwah (right hand of the Ismailite Mission), empowered to enter into the presence of the queen. Al-Jabali (Bajaly) relates that he was one of the persons sent by the Dāʿy Saba from the castle of Ashyah to Dhu Jiblah to accompany the two envoys and the eunuch who had arrived from Cairo the Muʿizzite. Upon their entering into the presence of Queen Sayyidah, daughter of ʿĀḥmad, in the palace, the Dār al-ʿIzz at Dhu Jiblah, the eunuch, 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 returneth salutations of peace unto the Honourable Lady, the Queen Sayyidah, the Favoured, the Pure, the Unparagoned of her time, Sovereign Lady of
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, belongeth liberty of choice when God and His apostle have decreed a command, and whosoever opposeth God and His apostle wandereth signally astray. Our lord, the Prince of the Faithful, gives thee in marriage to the Da'y, the Unparagoned, the Victorious, the Triumphant, the Pillar of the Khalifate, the Prince of the Amirs, Abu Ḥimyar Saba, son of Ahīmad, son of al-Muzaffar 'Aly the Sulayhite, with the dowry he has provided, of one hundred thousand dinārs in money, and fifty thousand dinārs 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 spoken. But as for thee, O Ibn al Isfahāni, 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. My 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'ībn Abī 'l-Fath al-Isfahāni 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.

* Kur. xii. s. 18.
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 Dā'ī Saba ibn Ahmad to feel humbled in his own estimation. He perceived that his reputation was dimmed, and that no person could be fitly compared with her. All her people were in the habit of saying that their Lady was their Mistress.

The Dā'ī 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 she 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 Dā'ī Saba that he never had intercourse with a slave girl, and that he never tasted intoxicating beverages. His wife al-Jumānah, daughter of Suwayd, son of Yazīd 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
been so privileged as al-Jumānah, with the exception only of Asmā', daughter of Shihāb.

At this period Shuja’ ad-Daulah arrived in Yaman. He was enriched by the gifts bestowed upon him, and Shams al-Ma‘ālī (son of Saba and husband of Fātimah daughter of al-Mukarram and of the Queen Sayyidah), who was of a most generous disposition, gave him sums of money amounting to thousands. After a time Shams al-Ma‘ālī took a 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 ʻl-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‘ālī 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. The Amir Shuja’ ad-Daulah, whom Shams al-Ma‘ālī 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 society. ‘Aly Shams al-Ma‘ālī son of Saba returned to Yaman, and gained possession of his father’s fortresses, but the Amir al-Mufaddal employed a person who poisoned him in the year 495.
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,—yea.ning after family and friends.

Not Cairo, nor Baghdad, neither Tiberius—be compared to the city enclosed between two streams.

Khadid commands the north, Ḥabb overlooks the east—and to Ta'kar the lofty, belong the southern climes of Yaman.

At-Ta'kar was at that time in the hands of Sultan As'ad son of 'Abd Allah son of Muḥammad 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 Muḥammad. His conduct became bad, and al-Mukarram removed him from Ta'kar, giving him in exchange the fortresses of Raymah. [He 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 Futūḥ) son of al-Walid, over the fortress of Ta'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 Amir al-Mufaḍḍal's father Abu 'l-Barakāt, which followed that of the King al-Mukarram, the Queen appointed al-Mufaḍḍal 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. The 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. Al-Mufaḍḍal exercised the powers which the Princess delegated to him and had access unto her, along with her chief wazirs, with the Amirs and with her
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 Tihāmah 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 Dār 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. She 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 Dā‘y Saba ibn Almahad when the latter asked her in marriage. She refused, and
al-Mufaddal marched against Saba with a large army. He fought also against 'Aly ibn Saba (Shams al-Ma‘āli), Prince of Kaydān (Kayzān), and expelled him from his province, and against 'Amru ibn Karmatāh (read 'Arkatāh) al-Janbi, and against others of the tribes of Sinḥān, of 'Ans, and of Zubayd. He recovered for her also, from the Banū Zuray', one half of the revenues of Aden, [which amounted to] one hundred thousand dinārs a year.

Sheykh Abu Ṭāhir al-Kābuni has related to me that he was on one occasion with al-Mufaddal 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 Ṭāhir disapproved of such scrupulous conduct, but al-Mufaddal 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-Mufaddal, 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-Mansūr, son of [Fātik son of] Jayyāsh, was driven forth from Zabīd, and replaced by his brother (read uncle) 'Abd al-Wāḥid son of Jayyāsh,
he fled with his slaves to Mufaḍḍal, and they pledged themselves to deliver unto him one fourth of the country in return for his assistance. Al-Mufaḍḍal marched with them against their enemies, expelled ‘Abd al-Wahid from the city, and reinstated al-Mansūr and his followers. He then, however, conceived treacherous designs against them, and purposed making himself master of Zabid.

But al-Mufaḍḍal'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-Ḥamal. This man was held in great respect, and was strongly attached to the (orthodox) faith. Seven jurists, brethren of al-Ḥamal, went up to him at Ta’kar. Among them were Muḥammad ibn Ḳabas (Ḵays?) the Wuhāzīte, ‘Abd Allah ibn Yahya and Ibrahim ibn Muḥammad Zeydān. The 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-Ḥamal. The Sunni subjects of the Suľayhites 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 Amir al-Mufaḍḍal in Tihāmah. He set out and turned neither to the right nor to the left till he reached Ta’kar. He besieged the jurists, but the Banu Khaulān rose to their assistance. The siege, however, continued, and ere long the garrison perceived that the Khaulānites were prepared to abandon them. Thereupon Ibrahim ibn Zeydān declared to his companions that he was determined not to die until he had slain al-Mufaḍḍal, after which, death, he said, would be welcome. He seized the concu-
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 ‘Azzan 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 Ramaḍān of the year 504.

The Queen thereupon ascended from Dhu Jiblah, and encamped on the open ground, near the 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 Fāṭḥ ibn Miftāḥ. I have been told by Sulṭān Nāsir ibn Manṣūr, that my uncle Ibrahim ibn Zeydān informed him, after his withdrawal from Ta‘kar, that his share of ready money amounted to twenty thousand dinārs.

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 Baljir, Banu Ḏinnah, Marrān, Rawāh (Razih ?), Sha‘b-Ḥay, and Banu Jumā‘ah. Al-Mufaddal dispersed them
among the strongholds of the country and made them take the oath of allegiance to the Queen. Upon the death of al-Mufaḍḍal, a man of the sub-tribe of Marrān, of the name of Muslim ibn az-Zarr, 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-Mufaḍḍal, son of Abu ‘l-Barakāt. He sent her his two sons, ‘Imrān and Suleymān, 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 Khaulān, which possessed great power and influence. Upon the death of Muslim, his son Suleymān succeeded to the fortress of Khadid. ‘Imrān 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. ‘Imrān made friendly advances to Fath, and after his rebellion, asked his daughter in marriage. On the night of the wedding Suleymān and ‘Imrān gained possession, by treachery, of the castle of Ta’kar, but ‘Imrān protected his father-in-law 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 Shār.* Thither he removed all

* Shār is mentioned by Yakūt as the name of a castle in Yaman.
that he held most valuable. On obtaining possession of the fortress of Ta'kar, 'Imrān sent the Honourable Lady the Queen repeated assurances of loyalty and homage, of which she took no heed. The 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 Khaulān and the Queen. When she saw their exceeding wickedness, she sent a letter to 'Amru ibn 'Arṣaṭah al-Janbi (of the tribe of Janb), consisting of one or two lines in her handwriting. She ordered the country of Suleyman and 'Imrān to be occupied by an army of horse and foot, and they were not to be relieved of its presence, until they humbled themselves unto her and made a request for its withdrawal. Sultan Yazid ibn 'īsa the Wā'ilite told me that he remembered being sent to the Queen by 'Imrān ibn az-Zarr, then facing the Arabs of 'Amru in order of battle. 'Imrān asked her assistance, and she sent him ten thousand dinārs to serve for the purchase of supplies. But the money was returned. "Does she not know," exclaimed 'Imrān, "what it is that can be of real service to me?" She thereupon wrote an order with her own hand, added Yazid ibn 'īsa, to 'Amru ibn 'Arṣaṭah al-Jabani ('Arṣaṭah 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 Rāshād, son of Marūh.
The History of Ibn Najib ad-Daulah.

In the year 513 Ibn Najib ad-Daulah came to Yaman, and the following is the history of al-Muwaffak Ibn Najib 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 Qur'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-Amir 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), Dā'iy of the Prince of the Faithful. He started from Cairo accompanied by twenty mounted men, carefully chosen from among the Hujariyahs. On arriving at the Island of Dahlak, he was met by an emissary (?) from Aden, Muhammad ibn Abi 'l-'Arab the Dā'iy, one of the sons of Sā'id ibn Hamid 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 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 world. The first thing he did on arrival at Dhu Jiblah was to lay hold of a Khaulānīte of the name of Suleymān ibn 'Obayd, belonging to (the sub-tribe or family of) the Banu 'Amru and a kinsman of 'Imrān ibn az-Zarr. He was a man widely
known and held in great respect. Ibn Najib ad-Daulah beat him with a stick until it caught in his clothes. The Banu Khaulân withdrew from Dhu Jiblah. Suleymân ibn Aḥmad (read Aḥmad ibn Suleymân) the Zawāhite, son of the Queen's (half) brother and husband of Umm Hamdân daughter of al-Mukarram, hurried to the spot and released the Khaülânite from the hands of Ibn Najib 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 Khaülânites restrained themselves from stretching forth their hands against the people.

Ibn Najib ad-Daulah then proceeded to make war upon the inhabitants of Wādi Maytam,52 of (Wādi) Zabîd and of the plains. Good order, together with cheapness and plenty, became prevalent throughout the country and evil-doers were repressed. He 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 found themselves constrained to desist from coveting the outlying provinces of her dominions. He took into his service three hundred horsemen of the Banu Ḥimās and Sinḥān, and appointed at-Ṭauk the Hamdānîte to command them. When al-Afdal (Shahinshah) died in the year 515, al-Maʾmūn (al-Baṭāʾīḥi) 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-Maʾmūn sent him four hundred Armenians and seven hundred black archers. Ibn Najib 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
Ibn Najib ad-Daulah.

endured by the kings of the time, namely, Suleyman and 'Imran, the two sons of az-Zarr, Mansur son of al-Mufaddal ibn Abi 'l-Barakat, Saba ibn Abi Su'ud, and Mufaddal ibn Zuray'. In the year 518 Ibn Najib ad-Daulah attacked Zabid, which was then ruled by the wazir Mann Allah the Fatikite.

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. As to the Dā'īy (Ibn Najib ad-Daulah), the Hamdānites fought strenuously in his defence, until one of them, a man of the name of As-Sā'īy, took him up and seated him upon his horse behind him. The Hamdānite horsemen who exerted themselves to save him were fifteen in number, and the chief, at-Tauk, was one of them. Ibn Najib ad-Daulah's horse 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 Zabid. 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 Hima Bani Salmah (?) by al-Mufaddal ibn Zuray'. Ibn Najib ad-Daulah received a lance-thrust and being a bad
horseman he fell to the ground. He was attacked by a slave belonging to Mas'ūd (al-Mufaḍḍal ?) ibn Zuray', named Musafir, but the slave was charged and killed by Ṭauḫ the Hamdānite, who stood by Ibn Najib ad-Daulah until he remounted, whereupon the Dā'y returned to Janad. He lost his breast-plate, 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 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-Futūḥ and Maṣūr ibn al-Mufaḍḍal. They asked her permission to besiege Ibn Najib ad-Daulah at Janad, which she granted. The city was defended by walls, and Ibn Najib ad-Daulah had a force, part of the garrison, consisting of four hundred picked horsemen belonging to the tribe of Hamdān. The kings arrived with an army, consisting of three thousand horse and three thousand foot soldiers, with which they surrounded the city. Ibn Najib ad-Daulah had with him certain men, each of whom was equal to one hundred horsemen. Among them were at-Ṭauḫ ibn Ṭābū, Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn 'Imrān ibn al-Fadl ibn Ṭābū, 'Aly the Yāmite, 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abd Allah, who exercised the functions of Dā'y after Ibn Najib ad-Daulah and who was a member of the family of Ṣulayhi, also 'Aly son of Suleyman az-Zawāhi, Abu 'l-Ghayth ibn Sāmir, Muḥammad ibn al-A'azz,
who lived until he was treacherously slain by Ibn Mahdi, and al-Faridayn (?). The siege was carried on with vigour, and Ibn Najib ad-Daulah was put to great straits. The Queen, thereupon wrote, according to her custom, to 'Amru ibn 'Arkatâh al-Janbi, who came to her and encamped at Dhu Jiblah. She sent also to the chiefs of the tribes and distributed among them ten thousand Egyptian dinârs, desiring her messengers at the same time to spread a report among the soldiers, to the effect that Ibn Najib ad-Daulah had distributed a sum of ten thousand Egyptian dinârs 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 up their encampment and abandoned the siege.* "Perceivest thou," it was said to Ibn Najib ad-Daulah, "the artifice accomplished by her of whom thou 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 Imâm, upon whom be peace. . . .

The cause of this arrest⁵⁴ of Ibn Najib 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'mûn (al-Batâ'îhy), when wazîr (in Egypt), sent an envoy to Yaman, entrusted with military power, known by the name of al-Amîr al-Kadhîhâb. On his reaching Dhu Jiblah, he was present at a crowded assembly held by Ibn Najib 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

* This, according to al-Khaźraji, occurred in Muḥarram, a.h. 520.
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 Najib ad-Daulah was himself humiliated by the reply he received, and his enemies thenceforward attached themselves to the envoy. They extolled his merits. He, on his part, plied them with presents and promised them the destruction of 'Aly ibn Ibrahim (ibn Najib ad-Daulah) by means of two expedients. He recommended them in the first place to give him letters for the Khalifah al-Āmir, stating that Ibn Najib ad-Daulah had invited and called upon them to recognize Nizār as supreme Imam and that they had refused. In the second place, they were to strike coins in the name of Nizār, which the envoy promised to transmit to our lord al-Āmir bi-Āhkām 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-Muwaffāk ibn al-Khayyāt to be sent to Yaman, for the arrest of Ibn Najib ad-Daulah. 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-dīn 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 Zabīd, notwithstanding the objections and repugnance he felt to doing so. A Dā'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
responsible for his safe keeping. The Queen feigned to be ill and sent to Ibn Najib ad-Daulah the Sharif As‘ad ibn ‘Abd as-Samad ibn Muhammad al-Ḥawwālī. This man was his most faithful friend. He overtook Ibn Najib 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 ‘Imrān, the sons of az-Zarr, interfered. The Queen confided greatly in the 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-Khayyāt. She wrote also to our lord al-‘Amir bi-Ahkam Illah, the Prince of the Faithful, interceding with the Khalīfah for Ibn Najib ad-Daulah, and she sent unto him her secretary, Muḥammad ibn al-Azrākī, 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
armour, enriched with jewels of the value of forty thousand dinārs. Ibn Najib 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-Azraki, for five days. Then they sent him off and they ordered the captain to wreck the ship. The vessel was sunk with all she contained, near Bāb al-Mandeb, and Ibn al-Azraki was drowned.

The Queen was greatly afflicted, when regrets could no longer avail. Suleyman and 'Imrān, the sons of az-Zarr, went into her presence, exulting over the fate of Ibn Najib 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 'Ā'ishah (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 Banu Zuray' were descended from Hamdān, and from Jusham, son of Yam, son of Ṭūsghā.
The Zurayites.

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 Muhammad the Sulayhite, when the latter was engaged in promoting the Fātimite Khalifah al-Mustansir’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 Lady Asmā, daughter of Shihāb, from the hands of Sa‘īd al-Ahwal, son of Najah.

The events that raised the family to the Principality of Aden were as follows. When ‘Aly son of Muhammad the Sulayhite conquered Aden, the city was under the rule of the Banu Ma‘n [who had subdued it as well as Lahj, Abyan, Shihr and Ḥadramaut. 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 Muhammad the Sulayhite lived; but when he was killed, in the year we have mentioned (a.h. 473), they declared themselves independent].

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-Khadrā, with authority over the coast and shipping, and command of the city. He made them take oath to the Honourable Lady the Queen Sayyidah, daughter of Ahmad, because as-Sulayhī had endowed her with the city of Aden when he

* Read Their ancestor al-‘Abbās.
married her to his son al-Mukarram in the year 461. 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-‘Abbās and Masʿūd, 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-‘Abbās, Abu Suʿūd son of] Zuray‘ and Abu ’l-Gharāt son of Masʿūd proclaimed their independence at Aden.† Al-Mufaddal ibn Abi ’l-Barakāt 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. Asʿad ibn Abi ’l-Futuḥ, 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 Taʿkar, 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 men. Ibn Najib 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 them.

Al-Mufaddal ibn Abi ’l-Barakāt, in the course of one of his wars, attacked Zabid. He was accom-

* Read From the time of the appointment of al-‘Abbās and Masʿūd.
† Zuray‘ and his uncle Masʿūd 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.
panied by Zuray', son of al-'Abbās, 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-Gharāt son of Mas'ūd. They were succeeded in the rulership over Aden by the Dā'īy Saba, son of Abu 's-Su'ūd, 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 Dā'īy Muhammad, son of Saba. 'Aly ibn Abi 'l-Gharāt was the last descendant of Mas'ūd.

The Dā'īy Muhammad ibn Saba was succeeded by his son 'Imrān. He died, and after him the country remained faithful in its allegiance to the family of Zuray', until the Zurayites were deposed by Sulţān al-Mu'azzam Shams ad-Daulah Turān 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 Muḥammad and Abu 's-Su'ūd, the two sons of 'Imrān, son of Muhammad, son of Saba. Ibn 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 'Imrān, son of Hurābah (Muḥammad?), or than Mufaḍḍal, 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-Dhūb. 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-Khādrijū, commanding the sea, the shipping and the city. The Dā'īy Saba, son of Abu Su'ūd, son of Zuray', son of al-‘Abbās, son of al-Karam the Yāmite, who bore the
titles of the Unparagoned, the Victorious, Glory of the Empire, Honour of the Khalifate, Right Arm of the Empire, Sword of the Imam, Crown and Chief of the Arabs, Dā'y of the Prince of the Faithful,—shared the sovereignty over Aden with the Sultan '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 Dumluwah,* Ar-Ramā (?), Sāmi', Mātrān (?), and Dhūbhān; also part of Al-Ma'āfir and of Janad. His possessions in the highlands were extensive.60 His sons were al-A'azz 'Aly, Muḥammad, al-Mu-faḍḍal, Ziyād, and Rauḥ.

How the Sovereignty of 'Aly ibn Abī '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 Sheykhhs of Aden, that they knew Ibn al-Khazary Abū 'l-Kāsim as deputy of 'Aly ibn Abī 'l-Gharāt over one half of Aden, and Sheykh Abīmad ibn Abū-Attāb al-Hadhaly as deputy of Saba son of Abū 's-Su'ūd, over the other half. Ibn al-Khazary dealt unrighteously, in the division of the revenues, with Abīmad ibn Abū-Attāb, and (his friends) the dependents of 'Aly son of Abī '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 Dā'y was meanwhile assiduously occupied, through

* Khazraji says (see extracts in Note 57) that Dumluwah was captured by Zuray' in a.H. 480.
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'īd al-Muwaffak Bilāl son of Jarīr, over Aden, and ordered him to stir up the people, and to promote war in the city. Bilāl, who was a man of energy and sagacity, obeyed. Saba meanwhile collected a force of Arabs from among the Banu Hamdān, and from among the tribes of Janb ibn As'ād (ibn Hurab?), 'Anbas ('Ans?), Khālān, Himyar, Madhhij, and others. He hurried down from the mountains, [from Dumlūwah,] and confronted his enemies in Wādi Lāhij. The Da'y Saba possessed in that valley a walled village, known by the name of Bany Abbāh, 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'ażī. 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.

I have been told by the Da'y Muḥammad ibn Saba, that he was out on one occasion with a reconnoitring party for Saba. They came in sight of 'Aly ibn Abī 'l-Ghārāt 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
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-Dhib, 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'ud, 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'yi Saba, or some other person, turned towards Mani' ibn Mas'ud. "What sayest thou," he asked, "O Abu Mudafi', of the Jushamite maidens' kisses this evening?" "I say of them," answered Mani', "as has been said by the poet al-Mutanabbi:—

Lance-thrusts to those that love them are as kisses." 61

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'azi', said to me the Da'yi Muhammad ibn Saba, endured for two years. 'Aly son of Abu 'l-Gharat at first distributed money without taking account thereof, whilst the Da'yi
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 Dā'īy 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 Hamdān came into the presence of the Dā'īy Saba, who was then occupying a tent in his camp. "Let me be a partaker of thy bounty, O Abu Ḥimyar," said the Hamdānite. 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 dinārs." The Dā'īy consented.

"Also," continued the man, "the blood money of my son So and so, and of his brother." He received two thousand dinārs on their account. "May God preserve thee from evil, O Abu Ḥimyar," he thereupon said, "but there remains a claim for the horses that were destroyed." "Did destruction extend to the horses?" asked the Dā'īy. "Pay me the price of the horses," answered the Hamdānite, "as thou hast paid me the blood money." The Dā'īy handed over to him a purse containing five hundred dinārs. "But there is," said the man, "another thing which I think thy generosity, O Abu Ḥimyar, 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 manner." The Dā'īy gave one hundred dinārs.

"Mayest thou prosper and increase in wealth," said the Hamdānite. "There remains but one thing more. It would ill become me to marry whilst my two sons are unable to do so." The Dā'īy gave him two hundred dinārs, for each
son one hundred. The Hamdānīte 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 ra'jaz 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 Jarār al-Muḥammady, that Saba expended upon the war with Sultān '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-Hasan Muḥammad ibn Abī '1-'Omari, a descendant of (the second Khalīfah) 'Omar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, Sheykh Abu '1-Hasan '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 Jarār al-Muḥammady, told me that when he took the fortress of al-Khadrā at Aden, and captured the Honourable Lady Bahjāh, mother of Sultān 'Aly ibn Abī 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
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 Abī Su'ūd. The same day on which he took al-Khaḍrā, the Dā' y captured the city of az-Za'ażī, 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.

ʿAly ibn Abī ʿl-Gharāt took refuge in the two fortresses of Munīf and al-Jabalāh (?). They belonged to the people of Saba ʿuḥayb, whose country is the higher portion of Lahj. He, Muḥammad ibn Manūr ibn Masʿūd and Riʿyah son of Abū ʿl-Gharāt, were slain by Muḥammad ibn Saba at Lahj 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 ʿAly al-Aʿazz. His death occurred in a. h. 533, one year after the death of the Honourable Lady, the Queen (Sayyidah).

The Amir al-Aʿazz al-Murtaḍa ʿAly, son of Saba, dwelt at Dumluwah. He meditated putting Bilāl to death at Aden, but died of consumption. He bequeathed the crown to his sons Ḥātim, ʿAbbās, Mansūr, and Mufaḍḍal, all of whom were in their infancy. He appointed Anīs al-Aʿazzi and the Governor Yahya ibn ʿAly, who was his wazīr and secretary, to be guardians of the children.

Muḥammad son of Saba, had fled from his brother, seeking refuge at Taʿizz and ʿSabīr with the Amir Mansūr ibn Mufaḍḍal ibn Abī ʿl-ʿBarakāt, from whom he received protection. When ʿAly died at Dumluwah, Bilāl sent certain Handānites
from Aden. They took Muḥammad ibn Saba from under the protection of Mansūr ibn al-Mufaddal, and brought him down to Aden. Bilāl 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 Dumluwah. The fortress was taken, and the whole country submitted to Bilāl. When I reproached Anis for having surrendered Dumluwah, 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, Muḥammad ibn Saba.

The Kādi 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-Murtada ‘Aly, son of Saba. On his arrival, he found that ‘Aly was dead, and he invested Muhammad 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 Righteous.

The Dā‘y Muhammad 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 culture and learning with generosity and often introduced one or more verses in his conversation. I once saw him on a feast day in the Muṣalla, out-
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 Kādis, 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 Muḥammad, both of whom were shining lights, and one of the two, Muḥammad, 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 56 dinārs. "Make it," he said, "three hundred dinārs. It is little enough." Thereupon he arose, 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-Jamāt. Several poets were in his company, among others Ṣafy ad-Daulah Ḥamad ibn 'Aly al-Ḥakly and the chief Kādi 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 Kādi Yahya ibn Ḥamad ibn Abī Yaḥya, Kādi of Ṣan'ā, who, in the opinion of the people of Yaman, occupies a rank among poets equal to that of Ibn al-Ḳumm. The Da'y
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 Kādī Abu Bakr ibn Muḥammad al-Yaṣī’īy 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 Dā’īy, and received the Kādī’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’īy’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 Dā’īy Muḥammad ibn Saba purchased, from the Amir Maṣūr son of al-Muḥafadāl, all the strongholds that had formerly belonged to the Sulayhītes.* They consisted of twenty-eight castles and cities, among which were the cities of Dhu Jīblah, Dhu Ashrāk, and Ibb. He bought them at the price of one hundred thousand dinārs. Maṣūr adopted his two fortresses of Sabīr and Ta‘īzz as his places of residence and he divorced his wife.67 Her name was Arwā, daughter of ‘Aly, son of Abī Daḥhām the Sulayhī. The Dā’īy went up to Mikhlāf (Ja‘far). He made Dhu Jīblah his place of residence and married the repudiated wife of the Amir Maṣūr ibn al-Muḥafadāl. He married also the Honourable Wuhāzīt Lady, the daughter of Sultān As‘ad ibn Wā’il ibn ‘Īsa. He removed her place of residence from as-SAṣārīhānī to the palace of Ibn Sibā‘. The poets vied more

* See Note 56.
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 Dā’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 the Sheykh Abu ’l-Hasan ibn ‘Aly ibn Muhammad the Sulayhite and by the Sheykh al-Murajja al-Ḥarāmī, and from Dhu Jiblah we proceeded to the fortress of Ḥabb. Every paper that was handed to the Dā’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 Sheykhς Ahmad ibn Mūsa ibn Abi ’z-Zarr the governor and Rayḥān al-Muḥammad. 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 Rayḥān, 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 Kādi Yaḥya ibn Aḥmad 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.
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 Zabid, 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 improvised 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 dinārs 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.:

The generous deeds performed by the Dā'ī Muḥammad ibn Saba are more than it is possible to enumerate. He died in the year 548,* and was succeeded by his son 'Imrān ibn Muḥammad 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 as-Ṣāliḥ (Ṭalāi' ibn Ruzayk) to the Dā'ī 'Imrān son of Muḥammad, 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 dinārs. "What is the purport of Malik as-Ṣāliḥ's letter," inquired the Dā'ī. The Kādi ar-Rashid informed him in reply that it asked for a settlement of the account. "Let 'Omārah offer us two lines of verse," answered the Dā'ī, "in which he shall strictly observe the

* See Note 70.
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 ‘Imrân, son of the Mighty Dā’y Muhammad, son of the Most Noble Dā’y Saba, son of Abu Su‘ūd, son of Zuray‘, son of ‘Abbâs the Yamite, that the Jurist ‘Omarah, son of al-Hasan* the Hakamite, is exempt from all liability for the money he owed and was unable to pay to our lord the Dā’y Muhammad son of Saba, amounting to two thousand seven hundred Malikiyah dinârs.”

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, Muḥammad, Abu Su‘ūd and Maṅsur, none of whom has yet attained the years of manhood at the present time, namely the month of Muḥarram of the year 564 of the Hijrah, the blessings of God and His 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 Jarîr son of Bilāl (read Bilāl son of Jarîr) al-Muḥammadyy.

We have already mentioned that he governed 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 Aḥmad ibn ’Attâb, and by the learned scholar Abu Bakr ibn Aḥmad al-’Abdi, both of whom possessed

* Son of Abu ’l-Hasan ‘Aly?
special knowledge of all that relates to Bilâl, that he left in money alone six hundred and fifty thousand Maliki dinârs and upwards of three hundred thousand dinârs in Egyptian coin. He left also several buhârs weight of silver plate, consisting of ornaments, horses' and mules' trappings, swords and lances, inkstands, basins and ewers, candlesticks, Ma'âsh (?) articles for presents, bath-basins, drinking-cups, cloaks (?), silver lace, utensils encrusted with gold, Sulayhî daggers, silver goblets and ba'liyat (?), weighing altogether five buhârs 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 Irâk, variegated stuffs (?) from Egypt, from 'Omân and from Kûrmân, all in quantities which it is impossible to reckon. All passed over by his bequest into the possession of his master the Dâ'y Muhammad, son of Saba. The latter in the course of two years spent the whole in works of piety and benevolence.

Bilâl died leaving several sons, grown up men. Among them were the Sheykh Mudâfi', son of Bilâl, who succeeded him in the office of wazîr. He died, and the wazîr Abu 'l-Faraj Yâsîr, son of Bilâl al-Muḥammady, assumed the guardianship of the two young Amirs, the sons of 'Imrân ibn Muḥammad, as well as that of their brother Mansûr.* Yâsîr 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.

* 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 Yâsîr as the guardian of 'Imrân's children, is substantially incorrect. See Note 69.
The Banū Najāh.

History of the Family of Najāh, the Abyssinian Kings of Zabīd.

Al-Mu'ayyad Nasir ad-dīn Najāh continued to rule over Tihāmah, from the dominions of Ibn Ṭarf to Aden, the kings of the highlands showing respect for his dynasty, and dreading his power. This endured until the Dā'īy 'Aly son of Muḥammad the Sulayhite brought about his death, by means of a slave girl, whom he sent to Najāh as a present, in the year 452. The sons of Najāh 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'īy '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-Dhakhirah, she had barely attained the age of puberty. Sa'id al-Ahwal, who afterwards slew the Sulayhite, (and Jayyash) were the two manliest characters of their house. Each cultivated literature, and enjoyed a prolonged life and great power. But their father Najāh brought up their elder brother Mu'ārik to succeed him.

Jayyash 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. Sa'id al-Ahwal and he were born of the same mother, but Sa'id was
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 Jayyāsh, who had prevented him from practising treachery against the Prince of Dahlak. Saʿīd concealed himself at Zabid in the house of the Raʿīs Mulāʿib 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. Saʿīd dug for himself a refuge in the grounds occupied by the dwelling-places of Mulāʿib, and he generally abode therein. He then wrote to his brother Jayyāsh at Dahlak, ordering him to come to Zabid, and announcing the speedy downfall of the Sulayhites and the restoration of their own family. On Jayyāsh's arrival, Saʿīd 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 nails mounted on palm-sticks. Ahmad ibn Falāh, chief of the Office of Control * at Zabid, has told me that when Saʿīd went forth from the city, he and his followers met a mounted soldier. They killed him, and Saʿīd appropriated the horse he was riding. Saʿīd started from Zabid, on his way to attack as-Sulayhī, at the close of the ninth day of Dhu 'l-Ḥaḍarah, of the year 473.

"We set forth," says Jayyāsh son of Najāh, "by the sea-board road, avoiding the royal highway for fear of being intercepted by the enemy. By forced marches the distance to al-Mahjām could be performed in three days. The news of our insurrection had preceded us and had reached as-Sulayhī. Both the highlands and the plains were, at the time, filled with rumours.† The time had come, it was

† The conjunction thumma, which occurs at this point, perhaps indicates an omission in the MS.
said, for the uprising of Saʿid al-Āhwal son of Najāh, 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 Saʿid 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.

"Aṣ-Ṣulayhi, 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 squint-eyed Saʿid, of his brother, and of his other companions.

"By adopting the sea-board road, we avoided the troops. I remember that when night closed in upon us at al-Murāwī‘ah,* in the province of al-Kadrā, a man stepped forward from behind the hillocks in the valley, and addressing us, said that we had doubtless strayed from our way. We 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. Saʿid, walking in our midst whilst the horse was led, continually exclaimed: 'O morning of prosperity, of triumph, and of happiness! Make ye haste unto the man, lest tomorrow he die otherwise than by our hands. By Allah! to-morrow's sun shall not rise and he still in this world!" We continued our march without intermission, until we at length entered the borders of the camp.

* Al-Murāwī‘ah is mentioned in the Tāj al-ʿArūs as the name of a village in Yaman, the burial-place of a member of the family of al-Ahdal.
"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-Alywal son of Najah, with his armed following, of whom we have received warning by As'ad ibn Shihāb's letter from Zabid.' 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 Ma'bad. 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-Hārith the 'Absite.' On hearing these words," says Jayyāsh, "as-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 Najah'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-Dhabrābāl. As for 'Abd Allah son of Muhammad 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 Jayyāsh, "transfixed both with a spear at one blow."
He then struck off the head of 'Abd Allah, imagining 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 Asmä, daughter of Shihāb and wife of aš-Sulayhi, was. 'Come forth,' he said to her, and offer thy morning greeting unto the two Sulṭāns!' 'May God never bestow upon thee the greeting of his favours, O Ahwal!' she replied. And, with her face uncovered, she recited the line composed by Imru 'l-Kais the Kindite,—


3 Verily none so insolently trample upon thee as—the feeble boaster.
None so arrogant in humbling as he that hath been abased."

"Sa'id sent a messenger to the five thousand, whom aš-Sulayhi had despatched on the previous night with orders to slay him. 'Aš-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 aš-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 Kaḥṭānite 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
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 Kahtān 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'id 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. The 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 both. 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'ān 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 Thy boundless power is over all things.* Neither can I forget the words of the poet al-'Othmānī, part of an ode which he improvised on the spot, and in which he described the royal canopy:—

How unsightly was his face under its shade!—How comely his head upon its stem!"

Three days after the battle, Sa'id departed for Zabīd, carrying the two heads with him. The vain possession of a kingdom was one of the spoils of his

* Kur'ān, S. iii. v. 25.
victory, together with a large amount of booty. It comprised two thousand horses and three thousand camels, with their harness and furniture. He entered Zabid 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 Zabid, and took refuge with al-Mukarram at Ṣan‘ā. The death of as-Sulayhi filled the hearts of all men with dread of Sa‘īd ibn Najāḥ. 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‘īd in Tihamah, on the contrary, acquired great strength, and he sent persons to Abyssinia to purchase for him twenty (thousand) spearmen. Al-Mukarram 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‘īd 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‘īr, the result of a stratagem contrived by Queen Sayyidah, daughter of Ahmad, and wife of the King al-Mukarram, as has likewise been mentioned.

* From Dahlak, in a.h. 479 (Khi).
How Jayyash son of Najāh went to India, accompanied by the wazir Kāsim al-Mulk Abu Sa‘īd Khalīf son of Abu Tāhir the Omayyad, descendant of Suleymān ibn Hishām son of 'Abd al-Malik.

Jayyāsh proceeded with his relation as follows:—

"After these events I disguised myself, and I went to Aden, accompanied by the wazir Khalīf, 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 wazir Khalīf 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 Jiblāh, 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 Zabīd, where I joined the wazir Ibn Khalīf, and received from him
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. I dwelt close to the royal palace, and when people went forth in the morning, I used to proceed to the maṣṭabah (bench at the outer gate) of ‘Aly ibn al-Kūmm, who was wāzīr to the governor appointed by the King al-Mukarram ibn ‘Aly. 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 Shihāb. Husayn, son of ‘Aly the Kūmmite, the poet came forth on a certain day. He was at that time the most skilful chess-player of all the inhabitants of Zabīd. ‘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 beaten at chess. His father replied that there had never been a person at Zabīd who could overcome him, excepting only Jayyāsh the son of Najāh, and he, he continued, has died in India. ‘Aly, the father of Husayn, then came forth to me. He was an ex-
ceedingly skilful player and we played together. I 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 Najāh!’ At night I used to join the wāzīr Khalf, and we were parted during the day. I occupied myself, meanwhile, in writing to
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 wazir Khalf that a certain sum was due to me by ‘Omar ibn Suḥaym. 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 wazir at night, and informed him that my Lord the Kāʾid Ḥusayn 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. Ḥusayn, 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.’

“I remember that on a certain day,” continues Jayyāsh, “‘Aly ibn al-Ḳumm 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 Ḥusayn 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-Ṭāmi!’ ‘Indian,’ asked the old man, ‘what is thy name?’ I answered, ‘Bahṛ.’ ‘Bahṛ!’ he said, ‘by Allah! the epithet Abu ’t-Ṭāmi is well suited to that name.’ I repented,” continues Jayyāsh, “of what I had said, and I began to mistrust my companions.

“When the time had come for the recovery of our
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 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. I 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 reproving 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. He 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. He ordered the palace of as-Ṣulayḥi, the Dār 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
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 Najāh,' 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 Fatik 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!"

* I have suggested in a note to the Arabic text, the substitution—though not altogether satisfactory—of مستضفین for مستضفین. The word مستضفین has since then occurred to me as a more probable reading.
Thenceforward Jayyāsh suffered no material harm at the hands of al-Mukarram, none greater than incursions into the territories of Zabid. It was in this condition of affairs that Ḥusayn ibn al-Kumm composed the following line, addressed to Jayyāsh upon his slaying the chief Ḥāḍī al-Ḥasan (Ḥusayn?) ibn Abī ʿAḵāmah:

Dost thou flee when al-Mukarram poiseth his lance?—And dost thou display thy bravery against one who neither sought favour nor excited hostility?

He alluded also to the same subject in an ode which will be mentioned hereafter.

Thou hast dealt unrighteously, O Jayyāsh, 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 ʿl-Ḥijjah (the last month of the year). The children he left were al-Fāṭik son of the Indian concubine, Maḥṣūr, Ibrāhīm, ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, adh-Dhakhīrāh and Muʿārik. 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-Fāṭik, who however was opposed by his brothers Ibrāhīm and ʿAbd al-Wāḥid. The former was a perfect horseman as well as benevolent, cultured and generous, whilst ʿAbd 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-Fāṭik son of Jayyāsh triumphed over his brother ʿAbd al-Wāḥid. He pardoned him, treated him with kindness, enriched him and conciliated him. As for Ibrāhīm, he took refuge with Asʿād ibn Wāʾil ibn ʿIsa the Wuhāzīte, who received him with such hospitality as has never been surpassed. The slaves of Fāṭik had meanwhile increased in number and had waxed in power.
Fāṭik died in the year 503, leaving a son Mansūr, below the age of maturity. His father’s slaves placed him upon the throne, but Ibrahīm son of Jayyāsh, upon the death of his brother Fāṭik, collected troops and invaded Tiḥāmah. He was confronted by the slaves of Jayyāsh, 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 Fāṭik, who held the power of Ibrahīm son of Jayyāsh in small estimation, ‘Abd al-Wāḥid, Ibrahīm’s brother, arose in arms, took possession of Zabīd and seized the Government House. The eunuchs and servants came forth by night with their master Mansūr, and fearing ‘Abd al-Wāḥid on his account, they enabled him to escape by letting him down by means of a rope, from the walls of the city. Mansūr took refuge with the retainers of his father Fāṭik, but the people turned away from him and from his supporters, and attached themselves to ‘Abd al-Wāḥid on his becoming master of Zabīd, he being beloved by the troops.

When Ibrahīm son of Jayyāsh beheld that his brother had forestalled him in the attainment of supreme power at Zabīd and in the possession of the country’s strongholds, he joined Husayn ibn Abī ’l-Hafāṭ al-Hajūry, who was at that time at al-Jurayb. The Banu Abī ’l-Hafāṭ belong to the family of the Banu Jurayb son of Sharahbīl, and they are regarded as descendants of Hamdān. As for al-Mansūr son of Fāṭik 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 Sulayhīte, at whose hands they met with a hospitable reception. After a time the slaves of Fāṭik bound themselves by an agreement with al-Mufaddal to relin-
The Banū Najāh.

quish in his favour one fourth of their country, in return for his alliance and for his aid against 'Abd al-Wāḥid son of Jayyāsh. Al-Mufadḍal accordingly drove 'Abd al-Wāḥid out of Zabīd and placed the supporters of Mansūr in possession of the city. [This was in the year 504.] He then, however, formed a design to act treacherously towards the family of Fāṭik and to take possession of the country. 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. Al-Mufadḍal hastily left Zabīd, 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 Mansūr, son of Fāṭik and by his father's retainers. The descendants of Fāṭik occupied the throne as Princes of the country, and the wazirs were selected from among the descendants of his slaves. Of these princes there was Mansūr son of Fāṭik. Next was Fāṭik son of Mansūr, whose mother was the Honourable and virtuous Lady, the distinguished Pilgrim ['Ālam]. When Fāṭik son of Mansūr died without issue, the succession passed on to the son of his paternal uncle, who bore likewise the name of Fāṭik, and who was son of Muḥammad son of Mansūr, son of Fāṭik son of Jayyāsh (read son of Muḥammad son of Fāṭik son of Jayyāsh). 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 Fāṭik son of Jayyāsh pos-
sessed none but the outward attributes of royalty. The Khutbah was recited in their names next after that of the Abbasside Khalîfah, 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 wazîrs, the slaves of Fâtîk son of Jayyâsh and of Mansûr his son. Although these wazîrs 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 wazîr was Anîs al-Fâtîki, who was member of an Abyssinian tribe named the Jazalis, to which the kings of the dynasty of Najâh themselves belonged. Anîs was stern and harsh, greatly feared, but brave, celebrated among the people, and just. He fought against the Arabs with the result that they were effectually deterred from making attacks upon Tihâmah. 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. He 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-Mansûr; but knowledge of his intentions was divulged, through his favourites, to the slaves of Fâtik, who contrived a plan for his overthrow. Their master Mansûr son of Fâtik [who had attained the years of discretion], prepared a feast in the Government House, to which he invited Anîs, and on the arrival of the wazîr he struck off his
head. He made a selection from the goods and harîm of the wazîr. Among that which Mansûr acquired by purchase out of the heritage of Anîs, was a slave girl, an accomplished singer, named 'Alâm, who bore him a son of the name of Fâtîk. 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 wazîrs, after Anîs, was the Sheykh Mann Allah al-Fâtîki, the next after Hûsâyñ ibn Salâmah to build walls around Zabîd. 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 Najîb ad-Daulah near the gate of Zabîd, and killed of his followers one hundred Arabs, three hundred Armenian archers and five hundred Blacks. [This was at the end of the year 518.] He fought another battle with As‘ad ibn Abi 'l-Futûh, in which upwards of one thousand Arabs were killed. He also granted endowments to the Hanafite and Shâfî‘ite Jurists’ Colleges, which enriched them beyond all other similar establishments, with lands, articles of utility and convenience, and houses. He liberally rewarded his eulogists. I was told by the Jurist Abu ‘Abd Allah Muḥammad ibn ‘Aly as-Sahhâmi (the mercy of God be upon him!), who was tutor to the wazîr Mann Allah’s sons, that he could remember having bound eulogistic verses in praise of the wazîr, and that they formed ten large volumes, the compositions of excellent, celebrated and well-known poets. It was Mann Allah who expelled Ahmad ibn Mas‘ûd al-Jazali and Muflih al-Fâtîki. They were the two leaders of the Abyssinian cavalry, and possessed the power of binding and loosing at
Zabid. 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 wazir 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 Manṣūr, at that time a young child.77

Manṣūr, his father Fātik and others of the family of Jayyāsh left at their death more than a thousand concubines. Every one of these fell into the hands of the wazir Mann Allah, with the exception of ten women, favourites of Manṣūr son of Fātik. Among these was the Honourable Lady, the Queen, mother of Fātik son of Manṣūr. 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 Abī 'l-Jaysh (mother of Abu 'l-Jaysh), a native by birthplace and breeding. She had a daughter by Manṣūr, and received the name of Umm Abī 'l-Jaysh on account of the disorders we are relating.78 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 Sulṭān 'Abd Allah ibn As'ad ibn Wā'il the Wuḥāzite, who had married the daughter she had borne to Manṣūr son
of Fatik. Another was the Honourable Lady Riyād. Also the Ladies Umm Abiha, Jinān al-Kubra and Tamanni. The mother of Fatik had no fellow-wife but the last-mentioned.

God having decreed the destruction of Mann Allah al-Fatiki, the wazīr fixed his desires upon the daughter of Mu'ārik son of Jayyāsh, 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 Fatik 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'ārik 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 Mansūr buried the body in his stables. The earth was levelled and smoothed over the grave, and its site continues
unknown unto this day. Mann Allah’s death occurred on the night of Saturday, the fifteenth of Jamādi ’l-Awwal of the year 524.

He was succeeded in the office of wazīr to Fātik son of Mansūr, by Ruzayḵ al-Fātīki, a brave and generous man.

As to his bravery, it has been related to me by Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allah the Yaṣīrite and Ḥimyarite, who was secretary to the wazīr, that he saw Ruzayḵ al-Fātīki one Friday, a memorable day of rivalry between him and Mufliḥ. 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. Mufliḥ called out: “Cut down the horse, or the rider will not fall to the ground!” Ruzayḵ thereupon charged Mufliḥ, and with one blow aimed at the horse’s back behind the saddle, he divided the animal into two separate parts. Mufliḥ 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 Mufliḥ, 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

* See Note 90.
the impossibility of determining the portion belonging to each heir.

In the year 539 I found at Aden an old man, a native of Ḥadramaut, of the name of ʿAlī ibn Muhammad al-Fāṣib (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 dinārs. He disbelieved the statement of any person who asserted he had seen a sum of one thousand dinārs, 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 ʿAlī ibn ʿFarāḍy 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 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 Ruṣayk, 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

* 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.
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 hand. And, by Allah! a long period of time had been spent, in combined efforts to solve the problem, by 'Othmān ibn es-Ṣaffār, by Muḥammad ibn 'Aly as-Sahhāmi, and by other experts in the laws of succession, each one of whom affected to regard Ibn al-Labbān 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 wazirs 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-ʿAlā', 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 Ruzayk, until I was able to repeat all the particulars to myself by rote. I then presented myself to the Kā'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
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 al-Abbār. Ibn al-Kāsim was at that time chief of the Shāfi'ītes at Zabid, and it was under him that I studied the Shāfi'īte doctrines. Surūr 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 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 Ḥadramauti Jurist. "I ask forgiveness of God, O my son," he said, "for whosoever told me that he had beheld one hundred dinārs, 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 Zabīd 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 Ruzayḵ? By Allah! he shall not be slain!"

Ruzayḵ 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 Muḥliḥ al-Fātiki, who was then absent in the highlands, was called upon to fill his place.
Wazīrate of Mufliḥ al-Fātiki.

Mufliḥ belonged to an Abyssinian tribe known by the name of Sahrat. He bore the surname of Abu Mansūr (father of Mansūr), the latter being the name of one of his sons. (Abu) Mansūr 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 Fātik nicknamed him al-Baghil, the mule. He was called Mufliḥ al-Baghil, and he showed no displeasure nor anger thereat. I was told by his secretary, Ḥimyar ibu As‘ad, that he was so named on account of a physical conformation, in which he resembled a mule.

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. Ḥimyar related in illustration of his master’s self-control, that Mufliḥ, when holding the office of wazīr, sent for him one day, and complained that life had become a weariness 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 Ḥimyar, "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
what price,' I asked, 'will then the wazir 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 Jayyāš had brought to the country to fight against Saba ibn Ḥamād the Sulayhite. 'Othmān 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 Jayyāš, numbered three thousand bows, but when two thousand marched from Mecca for Zabīd, Jayyāš 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. Jayyāš sent five hundred to the highlands, and they conquered the districts trodden by the hoofs of their horses. When they reached the province of Sanʿā, Jayyāš 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 Jayyāš 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 Dhuʿāl, a district inhabited by the 'Akkites and Ashʿarites. 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 Zabīd. The Ghuzz continued to collect the
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‘ād, 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 useless. 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 ‘Othmān, for the property of those of his companions who had died, had passed into his possession.

“When he was about to depart from Zabīd with his people, and the matter on the point of being irretrievable settled, I went,” said Himyar, “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,
mothers of their children, from Ibn Ḥimyar'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 Tiḥāmah and occupied a confidential position under ʿĀḥmad ibn Masʿūd ibn Faraj al-Muʿtaman (the Trusted), governor of Ḥays. After that he became secretary to Mann Allah al-Fāṭiki, and then to the Sheykh Abu Ṭa):(īr Mufliḥ al-Fāṭiki. It was from this same Ḥimyar that the kings purchased the poison they used for destroying their enemies. He had brothers and uncles in the country of Bakīl and Ḥāshid, 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 Najāḥ and all those of their wazīrs, who died (by poison), were victims to the drug supplied by Ḥimyar ibn Asʿād.* People of rank, when in his society, used to say to him, "We eat and we drink, O Abu Ṣabā, 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 Kāʿid ʿIshaḳ ibn Marzūk as-Sahrati (the Sahratite), from whom he received a liberal welcome, and who took

* Yaḥūt copies this passage in his account of the country of Bakil (vol. i. p. 706-7). Instead of لیبت لیبت he writes لیبت which probably the correct reading, and one which requires the subsequent word لیبت to be retained.
him into his confidence. He died at al-Kadrā in the year 553, at the age of upwards of seventy years. When he visited Zabīd, 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.

Himyar, proceeding with his narrative, said, "When the wine began to produce its effects upon 'Othmān, he spoke to me as follows: 'I have longed,' he began, 'to meet you, being desirous of settling matters with that tyrannical slave Muflīh, 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 possession 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 Muflīh 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.' 'Othmān was almost beside himself with joy, though he could not believe that the wazīr would visit him. I advised 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 'Othmān came to us, I advised the wazīr to bring forth the singing girls and female cup-bearers. He did so, and he promised 'Othmān that he would, on the next day, be his guest. A large sum of money was that night by 'Othmān's orders brought to his house. On the following day, after the usual morning
attendance at the Prince's palace, we rode to 'Othmān'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 banquet at which the wazir was seated, occupied the front of 'Othmān's garden, from one end to the other, a length of fifty cubits. The wazir on beholding the sight was filled with envious anger against 'Othmān, 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. 'Othmān next distributed among the members of the wazir's suite three buhārs of sweetmeats, a quantity equal to nine kāntars (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]. Thereupon, addressing 'Othmān, I said: 'Truly thou art as one of a herd of cattle, deprived of sense. Thinkest thou that the wazir hath visited thee for the sake of meat or drink? What hath happened to abridge thine understanding and to blind thine eyesight?' '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. He 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 said: 'I have nought else but Wardah, and she is

* See Note 71.
dear to me as my soul. But if she be suitable, I will part with her, even though I die. 'If the wazîr consent to accept of her,' I replied, 'she is such as will be a suitable present.' 'Speak then of her to the wazîr,' he answered, 'and if he accept her, I will reward thee with one thousand dinârs.'

'We then ordered Wardah to be brought into our presence, together with nine other slave girls. They kissed the wazîr's hand and commenced singing before him, with uncovered faces. I advised the wazîr 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 'Othmân 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 wazîr 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 wazîr 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 'Othmân. I restored the thousand dinârs he had given me, and I questioned him touching a farm in the valley of Dhu'âl. The wazîr sent for me in the evening and gave me a dress of honour. 'Your daughter Wardah,' he said, 'has sworn that I shall not approach her until I have satisfied you. What, therefore, will content you?'
of 'Abāda,' I replied, 'with all the contents of the farm, its growing crops and its cattle.' The wāzīr 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 wāzīr Muflih. Among them is that related by the Sheykh Abu 'Tāmī Jayyāsh, son of Ismā'īl, son of Albūkā. At an early period of the wazirate of the Sheykh and Ka'īd Muflih, Abu ʿl-Maʿālī ibn ʿAbbāb 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 ʿl-Maʿālī thereupon wrote to the wazīr] two lines of verse as follows:—

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 ʿl-Maʿālī. 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 ʿl-Maʿālī to his court and commanded him to compose a eulogistic ode. Abu ʿl-Maʿālī obeyed, and recited it in the presence of the wāzīr, who rewarded him with five hundred dinārs. Manṣūr son of Muflih gave him likewise three hundred dinars 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.
Honourable Lady the Queen, (‘Alam) the mother of Fātik, were brought up in the palace of al-Fātik son of Mansūr. Their names were Sawāb, Rayhān, 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 Surūr. The last mentioned was the chief of both parties, the foremost in influence and in ability. These men spoke in the name of the Sultān. 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 Muflih from Zabīd. Surūr 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 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.” They 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. Muflih’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 dinārs and by sending his son Maṇṣūr to accompany her to Mecca.
In pursuance of his purpose for the expulsion of Mufliḥ, Surūr then sent the wazir to Aden, to make war upon Sabā son of Abu Suʿūd and upon ʿAly son of Abu ʾl-Gharāt, the Zurayʿites. When he had reached the distance of a night’s journey from Zabīd, Muḥammad son of Fāṭik son of Jayyāsh suddenly rose in rebellion against the Queen and her son, and thereby obliged Mufliḥ to return.

Surūr then sought to bring about the departure of Mufliḥ by writing to the Arab tribes of Ziʿl and ʿImrān to join in the invasion of the district of al-Mahjam, then occupied by the Kāʾīd Masʿūd the Zaydite.* Mufliḥ 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 Burāʿ. He took possession of the fortress of al-Mukarrishah (al-Karish ?) and he attacked Tihāmah, harrassing it with raids, in the early morning and late at eve, whilst the retainers of Fāṭik attacked him in his encampments. Then leaving his women in the fortress, he joined the Arabs of al-Mahjam, members of the tribes of Mashʿal, ʿImrān and Ziʿl, accomplished and valiant horsemen. 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 Dabsān. Mufliḥ despatched depredating parties into the territories of al-Mahjam, and he entered into correspondence with the Amir and Sharīf Ghanīm son of Yaḥyā the Suleymanite and Hasānite, who then ruled over the province of Ibn ʿTarf. Mufliḥ entered into a pledge with the Sharīf and his kinsmen to abolish the tribute they rendered to the Prince of Zabīd,

* Or, according to Khazrajī, Surūr al-Kurandi.
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-Wādiyānī. The Sharīf marched with one thousand horsemen and ten thousand infantry, to the aid of Muflīh against the people of Zabīd. The allies were encountered by the Ka‘īd Surūr, who defeated Muflīh, 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-Wādiyānī. Surūr established his residence in the province, and Muflīh returned to the fortress of al-Karish, where he died in the year 529.*

His son Mansūr 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 Ka‘īd 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 Ka‘īd 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 Himyar ibn As‘ad, that a messenger from the wazīr Ikbāl bought poison of him. For whom it was destined, Himyar swore he knew not. Ikbāl, by ingratiating himself with the Prince, succeeded in administering the poison to his master Fātik son

* In A.H. 527, according to al-Janadi.
of the Lady 'Alam, and the Prince died in the month of Sha'bān [A.H. 531].

Wardah, the slave girl of the wazir Muflīḥ, relates that when her master died in the highlands, at the castle named al-Karish, or al-Mukarrishah, she was asked in marriage by the wazir Ikbāl, by the Kā'īd Surūr, by the Kā'īd Ishāk ibn Marzūk and by the Kā'īd 'Aly ibn Mas'ūd, Prince of Ḥays. "I made flattering promises to the messenger of each," she said, "but I consulted on the subject my lord Mansūr son of Muflīḥ. He indicated his preference for Surūr, but recommended me to seek advice of Himyar ibn As'ad. I accordingly sent for him to Tihamah. 'As for 'Aly ibn Mas'ūd,' said Himyar, 'he has ninety concubines and four wives. As for Ikbāl, he has twenty singing girls; he has moreover Najiyah, who has been carefully educated by the slave dealers, and the love he bears her son Mansūr is carried to an extreme. As for the Kā'īd Ishāk ibn Marzūk, he has the daughter of 'Uwayd, mother of his son Faraj, and also 'Uḥdūlā, the daughter of his uncle. By Allah, none equal to her treads the ground of Tihamah. I recommend to you the Kā'īd Abu Muḥammad Surūr al-Fātiki. He is a man of a prudent disposition, and he was reared by the King Fātik son of Mansūr (by Mansūr?) and by our Lady the mother of Fātik.' I was married," continued Wardah, "to the Kā'īd Abu Muḥammad 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
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 Sheykh Muslim ibn Yashjub, wazir of the Prince and Sharif Ghânim son of Yahya the Hasanite. "I came," he said, "from my country as an envoy to Surûr al-Fātîki, to negotiate a truce between ourselves and him. His wazîr 'Obayd ibn Bahr said to me: 'Would that thine arrival had happened either sooner or later! Thou hast come to the Kâ'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 Himyar 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 Kâ'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 Himyar 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 Kâ'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 Surûr. 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.'
Among the slaves of Fātik was he with the men-
tion 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 Kāʿid Abu Muḥammad Surūr
Amharah 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
Maṇṣūr ibn Fātik, having slain the wazir Anīs, pur-
chased from his estate the Honourable and pious
Lady, the Pilgrim and Lady of Zabīd, by whom he
had a son, whom he named Fātik ibn Maṇṣūr. She
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 ad-
vanced in years, he became distinguished for his
superior merits and great qualities. She placed him
in charge of the Mamlūks, 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
principal wazirs and the Sulṭān, who thenceforward
dispensed with the services of the stewards of the
palace. The Chief Steward at that time was the
Sheykh Sawāb, a religious man, who devoted him-
self exclusively to the worship of God. Whenever
he was reproached for his disregard of what had
occurred, he would answer that the Kāʿid Abu
Muḥammad 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
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 Muṣliḥ 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 authority.

It has been related to me by Sheykh ‘Abd al-Muḥsin ibn Isma‘īl, secretary of the Kā‘id Surūr, that he remembered the occasion when the Amīr and Sharīf Ghānim, son of Yahya the Hasanite, marched to the assistance of Muṣliḥ. “Ghānim,” he said, “had a thousand horsemen and ten thousand infantry, all of whom combined with the troops of Muṣliḥ. They were joined also by certain Arabs, in great numbers, by the Banu Mash‘āl, men who spent their lives in the saddle and who were the champions of their age, by the Banu ‘Imrān, the Banu Zi‘l, the Banu Ḥārām and the Ḥakamites. 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 for re-inforcements. The battle was fought at al-Mahjam, which is three days’ journey from Zabīd.” ‘Abd al-Muḥsin said he pointed out to Surūr, 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 defeat.” The two armies engaged, and the fortunes of the day went against Muṣliḥ and Ghānim and their allies. Thenceforward conviction of the high destinies reserved for Surūr acquired double strength in the minds both of his friends and of his opponents.
It was previous to these events that Muflih started from Zabīd for Aden, and that when he had reached the distance of half a day's journey, Muḥammad son of Fātik son of Jayyāsh, seeing the town denuded of troops, rose in insurrection, and gained possession of the Government House. The Kur'ān 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-Fatikī. 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 him. 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 slave-girls 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!" Muḥammad son of Fātik 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 Muḥammad ibn Fātik, 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 Zabīd until noon of the following day. These were some of the circumstances which necessarily operated to bring about Surūr's advancement over all other members of the government.
He next acquired rule over al-Mahjam, a royal seat of government. The Arabs, the Banu ‘Imrān, the Banu Zī‘l and the Ḥakamites, dispersed themselves, and the Amīr Ghānim ibn Yahya the Ḥasanite, whose dynasty has acquired great renown, separated himself from his allies.

The Kā‘id Surūr used to inhabit Zabid from the beginning of Dhu ’l-Ka‘dah (the eleventh month) until the end of Sha‘bān (the eighth). Then he would leave Zabid and spend Ramadān at al-Mahjam, occupying himself with the affairs of his province. His expenditure and charities in the month of Ramadān, amounted to a large sum. Sheykh ‘Obayd ibn Bahr, his wazir, informed me that the allowances for his kitchen expenses, in the month of Ramadān, amounted to one thousand dinārs 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 Ḥanafite 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. On entering the city, after saluting and paying due honour to the Sultān, 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 Ghazāl, who was his wife’s sister, and of two slave girls formerly belonging to her Lord Mansūr 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
respect for his exalted rank, and she would say unto him: "Thou, O Abu Muhammad, art not simply our wazir, 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. He would remain seated before the Princess, with the 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, Kādis, 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 ʿObayd ibn Bahr and others, that the presents he made each year to the Sultaṅ’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.
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 Ka'id Abu Muḥammad 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 wedding. He did not confine his visits to the great military chiefs, to the learned and to merchants, and neglect those of a humbler rank. Whosoever, 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,
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.]93 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 Zabid (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.94 The Abyssinian dynasty did not long endure after the death of Surur. It was subverted by 'Aly ibn Mahdy, who conquered Zabid 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.
The Insurrection of 'Aly ibn Mahdy in Yaman.

As to his lineage, he was a descendant of Himyar, and his name was 'Aly ibn Mahdy, native of a village named al-'Anbarah, situated on the coast near Zabid. His father was a virtuous and pure-hearted 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. He had an agreeable voice, which he skilfully modulated in chanting, and a winning manner of imparting instruction. He possessed a well-stored 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 people.

His career commenced on the coast of Zabid, in the village of al-'Anbarah, in that of Wāsit, that of Kudayb, at al-Ahwāb, al-Mu'tafi (?) and the shores of al-Farah (al-'Arah ?). He used to journey thence, and the respect in which he was held ever increased with the lapse of time. I had at that

* Janadi and Khazraji here add that Ibn Mahdy's public career commenced in a.h. 531.
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 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 Mansür, then relieved him, his brethren, his kins and those under his protection, from payment of the assessment (kharaj) 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. 96

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'īd Ishāk ibn Marzuk as-Sahrati 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 Zabid and asked protection for himself and for his followers, and permission to return to his country. Notwith-
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-Dashir, subject to the Khaulânites [where he remained for a time]. Thence he ascended to a fortress named ash-Sharaf, which belonged to a tribe of the sept of Khaulân known by the name of Banu Ḥaywan (Ḫaydan?), a word which is pronounced with a quiescent ʿ. These people he surnamed (in imitation of the Prophet) al-Ansār (the Auxilaries), and those who had accompanied him from the low country, he distinguished by the title al-Muhājirūn, (the Emigrants). But he then began to mistrust all his companions and to fear for his own safety. He appointed over the Ansār a Khaulānīte of the name of Saba ibn Yusuf, to whom he gave the title of Sheykh al-Islām, and over the Muhājirūn a man [of the tribe of 'Imrān], named an-Nūby, 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 Tihāmah with raids, both

* Kur. viii. v. 43, 46.
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 ash-Sharaf, besides being defended by large numbers of Khaulânîtes, 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 them.

Thus he continued to act with the people of Zabîd, 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 Dâ'i Muhammad ibn Saba Prince of Aden, in the city of Dhu Jiblah. He was seeking aid against
the people of Zabid, 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-Dūshir, 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 Zabid. 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 Zabid. 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 Sharif Ahmad ibn Suleymān, Prince of Sa'idah. He gave them aid, impelled thereto by his eagerness to
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 Jayyash son of Najāh. This Najāh was the freedman of Marjān, who was the freedman of Abu ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn ibn Salāmah, and Ħusayn ibn Salāmah was the freedman of Rushd the steward, who was the freedman of Ziyād son of Ibrahim son of Abu ʾl-Jaysh Ishāk son of Muhammad son of Ibrahim son of ʿAbdallāh (son of Mulihammad) ibn Ziyād.93

The slaves above mentioned slew Fātik in the year 553. But the Sharif found himself unable to defend the people of Zabīd against ʿAly 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.

ʿAly ibn Mahdy survived the event through the remainder of that month and throughout Shaʿbān and Ramaḍān. 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 ʿAbd an- cánh ʿAly ibn Mahdy’s son ʿAbd 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.

ʿAbd an-Naby is sovereign both of the Highlands...
and Lowlands, and all the kingdoms and treasures of the Kings of Yaman have passed into his hands. Muḥammad ibn ‘Aly, a citizen of Dhu Jiblah, has 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 Zabīd. 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 people.*

The dynasty of Ibn Mahdy acquired the kingdom of the Suleymanite Sharifs, that of the Banu Wa’il Sulṭāns of Wuhāzah, a ruling family of ancient and noble race, likewise the fortresses of the surviving members of the Sulayḥite family, unto each of whose strongholds a wide extent of territory and large revenues were attached. As to the possessions of the King Maṅṣūr son of al-Mufaḍḍal son of Abu ’l-Barakāt 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 Muḥammad the Sulayḥite, those of al-Mukarram Ahmad son of ‘Aly, husband of the Honourable Lady the

* Kur. s. xlii. v. 25-27.
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-Mufaḍdal ibn Abi ‘l-Barakāt gained possession of the castle and of its contents. They were inherited by his son Manṣūr ibn al-Mufaḍdal. 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. 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 Fātimite supremacy and capital of the Sulayhites, likewise the city of al-Janad and its dependencies, and in like manner Thālithah and Sharyāk, and Dhakhîr together with its dependencies. And the possessions of that chieftain, ‘Aly ibn Muḥammad Prince of Dhakhîr, were not inferior to those of Manṣūr ibn al-Mufaḍdal. 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 Khulān, the fortresses of the Banu Rabi‘ah, namely ‘Azzan, Habb and ash-Shamākhī. He captured Sulṭān Abu ’n-Nurayn Abu ’l Fath, and the fortress of as-Sawā remained in the possession of Ibn as-Sabā‘ī (the Khulānīte). Ibn Mahdy next conquered the strongholds of the Da‘īy ‘Imrān ibn Muḥammad, that is to say, the fortresses of Sāmī and Maṭrān [and Numayr] situated in the district of al-Ma‘āfir. 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 Samadān, 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
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 Mu'azzafar, Saba son of Ahmad the Sulayhite, nor the districts of Ḥarān (Haraz?), nor Bura', nor the country of Bakil, nor that of Ḥāshid, nor Jublah (Jublah Raymah?) with its fortresses and provinces, nor Wādi 'Unnah nor Wādi Zabid, nor other places, such as the valleys of Rim'a and of Raymat al-Asfā'ir, their castles and their villages, Mudhaykhirah and its dependencies, which are several days' journey in extent, Damt and Wādi Taḥlah (Nakhlah?).

Now, as to the sect to which Ibn 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 professing 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 (Dār al-Ḥarb). 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 slaying 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 fathers, 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.* I knew (added the narrator?) a youth among them, who was my neighbour and a student of Juris-

* Kur'ān, s. lviii. v. 22.
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 yarn 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 else. 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 father's grave on these two days suffered death. To these laws the soldiery alone were subject.
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.

Chapter in which are enumerated the Persons who have held in Yaman the Office of Dā'īy for the Fātimites.

Of their number was the Dā'īy 'Aly son of Muḥammad the Sulayhite, who combined the office of Dā'īy with supreme power as temporal sovereign. Next was his son al-Mukarram Ahmad the Sulayhite, who likewise combined both offices. After him Sulṭān Suleymān az-Zawāḥi exercised the functions of Dā'īy, but did not hold sovereign rule. Then the Ḫādī . . . . . * ibn Malīk the Sulayhite combined the office of Dā'īy with that of Judge, but did not exercise sovereign rule. Next 'Aly son of Ibrāhīm al-Muwaṣṣak fi 'd-dīn, son of Najīb ad-Daulah, held the office of Dā'īy and exercised sovereign rule, under the authority of the Honourable Lady Queen Sayyidah, over part of her dominions.

Then, when the official notification was received from our Lord the Imām al-Āmir bi-Ḥkam Ilīh, 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 at-Ṭayyib Abu 'l-Ḵāsim, and of the new-born Prince's designation

* Lacuna in the MS.
as successor to the Imāmate, (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-Manṣūr Abu ʿAly 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 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 Rabīʿu ʿl-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
dynasty of the Fatimites. 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 at-Tayyib, for the sweetness of his nature, and he hath surnamed him Abu 'Il- Ka'asim, 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 Imamat 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 Imams, hail them with salutations of peace, exalt them and honour them unto the last day! 103

* Mandal is said to be the name of a place in India (the Indian Archipelago?), celebrated for its aloes-wood.
Soon after the sceptre departed from the hands of our Lord al-Āmir, and al-Ḥāfiz 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'ī Yahūm ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥāmīdī.

She next transferred the office of Dā'ī on behalf of the Khalīfah al-Ḥāfiz to the family of Zuray'. "Sufficient," said the Queen, "for the Banu as-Sulayhi, is that which they know respecting (the fate of?) our Lord at-Tayyib."

Then the office was held by his son Ḥātim ibn Yahūm ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥāmīdī, 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'ī with sovereign rule. He was succeeded by his son, the great, the crowned, the powerful Dā'ī, Dā'ī of the Prince of the Faithful, Muḥammad son of Saba, in whose hands likewise the functions of Dā'ī 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'īs.

End of the auspicious history. Praise be to God, by whose grace all good works are brought to completion.

* See Note 102. It will be noticed that in Janadi we find the verb عَمَل to do instead of عَلَم to know.
THE HISTORY OF YAMAN

EXTRACTED FROM THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

'ABD AR-RAḤMAN IBN KHALDŪN.

THE HISTORY OF YAMAN AND OF THE ISLAMITIC STATES THAT HAVE EXISTED THEREIN SUBJECT TO THE 'ABBĀSIDES 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 Islamic 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
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 Badhān, 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-Aswād had married. The leading part, in these occurrences, was taken by Ḥays ibn 'Abd Yaghūth, the Murādite. He, Fayruz and Dādhwayh came to al-Aswād by night, with the concurrence of his wife, and slew him. The governors of the Prophet returned to their provinces, and this occurred shortly before the Prophet's death.

Ḥays became sole ruler at San'ā and he collected together the scattered soldiery of al-Aswād. Abu Bakr appointed Fayruz and the Abnas who owned his authority, over Yaman, and commanded the people to obey him. Fayruz attacked Ḥays ibn Makshūh and put him to flight.104

Abu Bakr then appointed al-Muhājir ibn Abī Umayyah to be commander in the war against the apostates of Yaman, and likewise 'Ukrīmah ibn Abī 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.105

'Āly appointed over Yaman 'Obayd Allah ibn 'Abbās, and then 'Obayd Allah's brother 'Abd Allah. Afterwards Mu'awiyah appointed over

* Also known as Ibn Makshūh.
San‘ā Fayruz the Daylamite, who died A.H. 53. In A.H. 72, when ‘Abd al-Malik sent al-Ḥajjāj 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-Saffāḥ appointed over the province his uncle Dāūd ibn ‘Aly, and upon Dāūd’s death, in A.H. 133, he replaced him by Muḥammad, son of his maternal uncle Yazid (read Ziyād), son of ‘Obayd Allah son (descendant) of ‘Abd al-Madān.

Thenceforward the governorship passed successively from one ruler to another, all of whom established their residence at San‘ā, until the accession of al-Ma‘mūn to the Khalifate. The missionaries of the Ta’libites appeared in the provinces, and Abu ’s-Sarāya, of the Banu Shaybān, proclaimed in ‘Irāk the supremacy of Muḥammad ibn Ibrahīm Taḥtābā, son of Isma‘īl, son of Ibrahīm, the latter, brother (read uncle) of the Mahdi, an-Najīs az-Zākiyāh (the pure in spirit), Muḥammad, son of ‘Abd Allah son of Ḥasan (son of Ḥasan son of ‘Aly son of Abu Taḥālib). Disturbances increased in violence and Muḥammad ibn Taḥtābā appointed rulers over the various provinces. He was eventually killed, and Muḥammad son of Ja‘far as-Ṣādiq was proclaimed in the Hijāz, whilst in Yaman, Ibrahīm son of Mūsā al-Kāzīm rebelled in A.H. 200.* He did not succeed in his designs, and he was surnamed al-Jazzār (the Butcher), by reason of his blood-shedding disposition. Al-Ma‘mūn 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.

* See Genealogical Table of Imāms, Note 107.
The Dynasty of Ziyād under the Supremacy of the Abbāsides.

Among the leading men of Yaman sent up to al-Ma'mūn there was one, Muḥammad son of Ziyād, a descendant of 'Obayd Allah son of Ziyād son of Abu Sufyān. He propitiated the Khalīfah, and having engaged to protect Yaman against the Alīdes, he won his favour and was appointed to the government of the province, where he arrived in A.H. 203. He conquered the Tihāmah of Yaman, that is to say, the western country adjoining the sea-coast, and founded there the city of Zabīd, which became his place of residence and the capital of his kingdom. He appointed over the highlands his freedman Ja'far. Tihāmah 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 Ziyād became sovereign of the whole of Yaman. His authority was recognized in the provinces of Ḥadramaut, ash-Shihr and Diyār (the country of the) Banū Kindah, and he acquired the power and dignity formerly enjoyed by the Tubbas (the ancient Kings of Yaman).

There existed at Ṣanʿā, the chief city of Yaman, the Banū Yaʿfur, descendants of Himyar, 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 Abbāsides. Besides Ṣanʿā they possessed Bayḥān, Najrān, and Jurash. The last of the family were Asʿad ibn Yaʿfur and, next after him, his brother Muḥammad. The Banū Yaʿfur recognized the supremacy of Ibn Ziyād.

'Āthṭhar, likewise one of the kingdoms of Yaman,

* See infra, p. 172, and 'Omārah, supra, p. 6. The Paris MS. writes Tājrāṭ.
was under the rule of Suleymān ibn Ṭarf, who also submitted.

Muḥammad ibn Ziyād perished, and he was succeeded by his son Ibrāhīm. Then followed Ziyād son of Ibrāhīm, then the brother of Ziyād, Abu 'l-Jaysh ʿIṣḥāk son of Ibrāhīm. His reign endured for a long period, until he attained the age of eighty years. 'Omārah says that he reigned eighty years over Yaman, Ḥadramaut and the maritime islands. When Abu 'l-Jaysh heard of the assassination of the Khalīfah al-Mutawakkil and afterwards of the abdication of al-Mustaʿīn (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 Yahya son of al-Ḥusayn son of al-Kāsim ar-Rassy son of Ibrāhīm ʿTabāṭābā arose in Yaman proclaiming the supremacy of the Zaydites.107 He came from Sind, whither his grandfather al-Kāsim 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 Ḥusayn and his grandson Yahya were born. Yahya appeared in Yaman in A.H. 288 and proceeded to Saʿdah, where he made open profession of the doctrines of the Zaydites. He then marched upon Sanʿā and wrested it from the hands of Asʿad ibn Yaʿfur, but the Banu Yaʿfur recaptured the city and Yahya returned to Saʿdah. His followers gave him the title of Imām 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

* Injīrā, p. 184.
Yaman. Muhammad (read 'Aly) ibn al-Fadl established his authority in their name, in A.H. 340, over Aden La'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 Muhammad ('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 San'ā, Suleyman ibn Tarf at 'Aththar and the Imam ar-Rassy at Sa'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'id says that he had examined a statement according to which the revenues of Abu 'l-Jaysh amounted to 1,366,000 'Ashariyah dinars, * besides duties levied upon the shipping from Sind, upon ambergris arriving at Bab 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 Ibrahim or, as is also said, of the name of Ziyād. His sister and his freedman Rashid the Abyssinian became the guardians of the child. Rashid appointed over the highlands his mamluk Hasan (Ḥusayn) ibn Salāmah the Nubian. Thenceforth the office of wazir passed from one Abyssinian

* Read : Amounted in A.H. 366 to one million 'Aththariyah dinars. It will be observed that Ibn Sa'id's statement is simply appropriated from 'Omarah, who, as we have seen, borrowed his information from Ibn Ḥaukal. (Note 12.)
or Nubian freedman to another. They acquired absolute control over the state, and the Ziyādite 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 Ziyād, younger than his predecessor. Ibn Sa'īd remarks that 107 'Omarārah knew not his name, in consequence of the absolute control exercised over the Prince by the chamberlains. He means 'Omarārah, the historian of Yaman. It is, however, said that this second child bore the name of Ibrāhīm. He was placed under the guardianship of his aunt and of Marjān one of the freedmen of Hasan (Husayn) ibn Salāmah. Marjān became possessed of supreme power. He had two freedmen, Kāys * and Najāḥ. He placed the infant Prince, the nominal King, under the care of Kāys (Nafīs), who was appointed to reside at Zabīd along with the child. Najāḥ he appointed over all the provinces other than Zabīd, including the cities of al-Kadrā and al-Mahjam. Marjān preferred Kāys (Nafīs) to Najāḥ, between whom jealousy consequently arose. It was stated to Kāys (Nafīs) that the child’s aunt favoured Najāḥ, and was in secret correspondence with him. He seized her (and the child), with the concurrence of his master Marjān, 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, Najāḥ placed himself at the head of an army, and marched against Kāys (Nafīs), who came forth to meet him. Several engagements and battles took place and Kāys (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

* See Note 13, last par.
Kays (Nafis) 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 Ḥasan (Hu-
sayn) ibn Salāmah. The neighbouring kings dreaded his power, and he continued in the en-
joyment 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 as-Sulayhi possessed himself of the city and ruled over it, as will be related.

The History of the Banu 'š-Sulayhi, who ruled under the authority of the 'Obaydites, and propagated their supremacy in Yaman.

The Kādi Muhammad ibn 'Aly the Hamdānite, surnamed as-Sulayhi, 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-Zawāhi (the Zawāhite), so named after a village in Ḥarāz. It was said that he possessed the book al-Jafir, one of the treasures, it was represented, of the 'Obaydite Imāms, and it was pretended that the name of 'Aly, son of the Kādi Muhammad, was mentioned in the book.
'Aly studied under the directions of the Dā'īy and received his teaching. When the youth's merits and talent became manifest, the Dā'īy showed him his name and particulars describing him, set forth in the book. "Take care of your son," he said to the Kādi, "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 Ta'if and the Sarawāt. He attained a great reputation, his name became widely known, and people commonly spoke of him as Sultān of Yaman. The Dā'īy 'Āmir az-Zawāhi died bequeathing to him his writings and appointing him his successor. 'Aly 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 Hamdān, who had accompanied him, and called upon them for their assistance and support. They consented and swore 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 Harāz, which he strengthened. His power waxed great, and he wrote to al-Mustansir, 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 San'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 'Tarf, Kings of 'Aththar and Tiḥāmah, and in a.h. 452, as we

* Between the 8th and 13th of the month of Dhu 'l-Hijjah.
have mentioned, he brought about the death of Najah, 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-Mustansir the ruler of Egypt, for the purpose of putting an end to the 'Abbaside supremacy and to the rulership of the Hasanites. He appointed his son, al-Mukarram Ahmad, his deputy at San‘ā, and he took with him his wife Asma 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-Wuhāzy, and others. Sa‘īd ibn Najah 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, Asma daughter of Shihāb, had been captured by Sa‘īd ibn Najah, on the night of the attack. She sent a letter to her son al-Mukarram. “I am with child,” she wrote, “by the squint-eyed slave Sa‘īd, al-‘A hwāl. 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 them. Sa‘īd ibn Najah 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-Šulayhi 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 Tihamah as before, giving him Zabīd for his place of residence, and he then departed with his mother for San‘ā.
She conducted the affairs of his kingdom. After a time, As'ad ibn Shihāb having collected the tribute of Tihamah, transmitted it under the charge of his wazir 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 Saʿīd ibn Najāh. Al-Mukarram removed to Dhu Jiblah in 480 and appointed over Ṣanʿā Imrān ibn al-Faḍl the Hamdānīte. Imrān 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 Ḥātim son of Aḥmad, but after him there was at Ṣanʿā no Prince of any renown, until the city was conquered by the Suleymānītes, upon that family being overcome at Mecca by the Ḥāshimītes, as is mentioned in their history.† Dhu Jiblah is a city founded by ʿAbd Allah son of Muhammad aṣ-Ṣulayḥī in the year 458. Al-Mukarram removed thither by the advice of his wife Sayyīdah 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 Dār al-ʿIzz (the abode of Majesty). He applied himself to contrive the death of Saʿīd ibn Najāh and succeeded in his design, as we will relate in the history of Ibn Najāḥ.

Al-Mukarram became absorbed in the pursuit of

* Read 479. See supra, p. 37.
† See infra, p. 187 and Note 130. It is hardly necessary to add that the Suleymānītes never conquered Ṣanʿā. Ibn Khaldūn, misled, it would appear by Ibn Saʿīd, has hopelessly confused the Suleymānītes and Rassītes. But it will indeed be seen that the Rassīte Imāms themselves did not at the period referred to, nor for long after it, become permanently possessed of Ṣanʿā. And Ibn Khaldūn's statement touching Imrān ibn al-ʿFaḍl and his descendants, is likewise incorrect. See Note 8, the latter part.
The Sulayhites.

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-Mansūr Saba son of Ahmad son of al-Muẓaffar son of ʿAly as-Ṣulayḥī, Lord of the fortress of Ashyah. He was invested by al-Mustansir the ‘Obaydite and made that fortress his place of 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 Sulaymān ibn ʿĀmir az-Zawāḥi 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 Dāʿy Mansūr Abu Ḥimyar Saba son of Ahmad son of al-Muẓaffar, and appoints unto thee a dowry of one hundred thousand dinārs 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-ʿIzz. 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 Abī ʿl-Barakāt

*Kūrān, S. xxxiii. v. 36
of the Banu Yam, the tribe to which the Sulayhites belonged.* He invited his allies of the tribe of Jaub 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 enterprises.

Sayyidah 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 Najah. A Jurist, who bore the surname of al-Jamal, seized the opportunity to raise an insurrection in the castle of Ta'kar, assisted by several (or seven) other men of his profession, one of whom was Ibrahim ibn Zeydān, 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 Imāmites. Al-Mufaddal hastening back besieged them, and the Banu Khaulān came to the assistance of the rebels. Al-Mufaddal adopted a conciliatory and temporizing policy towards the Khaulānites, 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-Mufaddal. 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-Mufaddal over the Lady Sayyidah. At her death, he and his brother remained sole masters of the castle of Ta'kar.

* 'Omarah speaks of Abu 'l-Barakāt as a Ḥimyārite.
Mansur, the son of al-Mufaddal son of Abu’l-Barakat, 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 Ashyah, which had formerly belonged to the Dā’y al-Mansūr Sābā son of Ahmad.

Al-Mansūr Sābā 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 Ashyah. He gave annoyance to al-Mufaddal ibn Abi’l-Barakat and to the Lady Sayyidah, and they felt themselves helpless against him, until al-Mufaddal at length contrived, by means of poison concealed in a quince, to bring about the death of his enemy.

The family of Abu’l-Barakat possessed itself of the fortresses of the Banu Muẓaffar, and al-Mufaddal died soon afterwards, as has been related. Sayyidah undertook the guardianship of his son Mansūr, 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 Muẓaffar 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 dinārs, 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.

* See Note 56, the latter part, and Note 99.
The History of the Dominion, at Zabid, of the Banu Najah, freedmen of the Banu Ziyad, their early career and the vicissitudes they underwent.

'Aly as-Sulayhi, as has been related, gained possession of Zabid from the hands of Kahlan, after having destroyed him (read Najah) by poison in a.h. 452 with the assistance of the slave girl he had sent him.

Najah had three sons, Mu'arik, Sa'id and Jayyash. Mu'arik 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'an and of literature. After a time Sa'id departed, in anger with his brother Jayyash, and returned to Zabid, where he concealed himself in a cave, which he dug for himself in the ground. He then sent for his brother Jayyash, who joined him and they remained together in concealment.

It next happened that the Hashimite Amir of Mecca, Muhammad ibn Ja'far, having renounced the supremacy of the 'Obaydite Khalifah of Egypt al-Mustansir, the latter wrote to as-Sulayhi, commanding him to make war upon the Amir and to compel him to maintain the Alide supremacy at Mecca. 'Aly as-Sulayhi accordingly marched from San'a, and thereupon Sa'id and his brother issued forth from their hiding-place. As-Sulayhi obtaining intelligence thereof, despatched against them a force of about five thousand horsemen, with orders to put the two brothers to death. But Sa'id and Jayyash avoided the troops and went in pursuit of as-Sulayhi and his army. They made a night attack upon him at al-Mahjjam, which he had reached on his way to Mecca. He had with him five thousand Abyssinians†

* Read Abyssinians. See supra, p. 83.
† See supra, p. 30.
who, however, made no attempt to defend him. His troops were scattered and as-Šulayḥi was killed, falling, it is said, at the hands of Jayyāsh. This occurred in the year 473. ‘Abd Allah as-Šulayḥi brother of ‘Aly, was likewise killed, as well as one hundred and seventy men of the family of Sulayḥi, and ‘Aly’s wife Asmā, daughter of his uncle Shihāb, was captured together with thirty-five Kaḥtanite kings, who had been deprived of their dominion in Yaman. Saʿīd 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 Zabīd, which was ruled by Asʿad ibn Shihāb the brother of Asmā, wife of as-Šulayḥi. Asʿad fled to Saʿnā, and Saʿīd made his entrance into Zabīd with Asmā, the wife of as-Šulayḥi, 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 Saʿīd assumed the title of Naṣr ad-Daulah (Defender of the State).

The commanders of the fortresses made themselves masters of the places that had been entrusted to them. At Saʿnā, al-Mukarram son of as-Šulayḥi, 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 Saʿnā, employing as his medium one of the commanders on the frontier, and flattering Saʿīd with promises of victory.109

Saʿīd consequently advanced at the head of
twenty thousand Abyssinians. Al-Mukarram issued forth from Ṣan‘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 ʿaṣ-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-Ḥusayn), Lord of the fortress of Sha‘ir, desiring him to incite Sa‘īd 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 Sayyidah daughter of Aḥmad, and that he was afflicted with paralysis. The artifice was crowned with success. Sa‘īd came forth at the head of thirty thousand Abyssinians, and al-Mukarram prepared an ambush for him below the castle of Sha‘ir. Sa‘īd fell a victim to treachery. His troops were routed and he himself killed. His head was put up at Zabīd on the spot, close to the casement, where the head of ʿaṣ-Ṣulayḥi was formerly exposed. Al-Mukarram became master of the city of Zabīd, and its subjection to the Abyssinians ceased. Jayyāsh fled accompanied by his brother’s wazīr Khalīf son of Abu Ḥāhir the Marwānīte. 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) Sarandīb and who cheered them with happy predictions concerning their future fortunes. They returned to Yaman
and the wazir Khalf proceeded in advance to Zabid, where he spread a report of the death of Jayyāsh, and obtained an amnesty for himself. Jayyāsh also came to Zabid, but remained in concealment.

The Governor of Zabid at that time was As'ad ibn Shihāb, the maternal uncle of al-Mukarram, and along with him 'Aly ibn al-Kūmān, wazir of al-Mukarram. This man entertained feelings of intense hatred against al-Mukarram and his dynasty. The wazir Khalf contrived to win his confidence and played chess with Husayn the son of 'Aly. After a time he played with the father. He 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-Kūmān overheard him. 'Aly questioned him and Khalf revealed his purpose, swearing him to secrecy. During that time Jayyāsh 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 Zabid. 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. Jayyāsh became King of Zabid and of Tihāmah 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 Jayyāsh died at the commencement (read at the end) of the fifth century. He bore the surname

* I have read اَلْنَامَّٰinstead of اَلْنَامَّٰ, but Ibn Khaldūn’s story, it will be observed, is not perfectly clear, nor is it consistent with 'Omarah’s narrative.
of Abu 't-Ṭāmi (the Exalted), and was celebrated for his justice.

He was succeeded by his son al-Fātik, who, however, was opposed by his two brothers, Ibrāhīm 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 Ibrāhīm 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.

Mansūr remained king of Zabīd until one of his slaves, Abu Mansūr 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 Fātik 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. He was attacked by Ibn Najib (ad-Daulah), the Dā'ī 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 Muṭārik son of Jayyāsh. Perceiving no means of escape...
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 Najāḥ.

‘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 wazir, of Surūr the Abyssinian, who was surnamed al-Fâtiki, and who was one of the freedmen in the personal service of the mother of Fātik.

According to ‘Omārah, Fātik son of Mansūr died in a.h. 531. He was succeeded by the son of his paternal uncle, Fātik son of Muhammad son of Fātik, with Surūr as his wazir, the conductor of the affairs of the realm and of the wars with his enemies. Surūr 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 Najāḥ were thrown into a state of consternation. They were attacked by ‘Aly ibn Mahdy the Khārijite, who fought many battles with them and besieged them for a long period of time. They besought assistance of the Sharīf al-Mansūr Aḥmad ibn Hamzah the Suleymanīte, who ruled over Ṣa‘dah.* He consented to help them, on condition of their raising him to the throne after killing their master Fātik ibn Muhammad. They agreed to his

* See Note 130.
conditions. The Prince was slain in a.h. 553 and the Sharif Ahmad 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 Najah came to an end. Perpetuity belongeth unto God!

Abu l'-Jaysh ibn Ziyād.
Rashīd the Abyssinian, his freedman.

Hasan (read Ḥusayn) ibn Salāmah the Nubian, his freedman.

Marjān, his freedman.

I. Najāh, his freedman.

II. Sa'id.
III. Jayyāsh.

'Abd al-Wāḥid.
Ibrahim.

IV. Fātik.
Mu'ārik.

V. Mahmūd.

VI. Fātik.

VII. Fātik.

VI. Fātik.

The History of the Dynasty of the Banu Zuray'at Aden, Dā'ys of the 'Obaydites in Yaman, of its Rise and Progress.

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 Islam it was the seat of government of the Banu Ma'n, who according to
al-Bayhaḵi claim to be descended from Ma‘n ibn Za‘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 Dā‘y ‘Aly ibn Muhammad aṣ-Ṣulayhi 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 Aḥmad al-Mukarram expelled the Banu Ma‘n from the city and appointed over it the Banu ‘l-Karam, a family belonging to his tribe, that of Jusham ibn Yam, a subdivision of the Banu Hamdān. 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 Masʿūd son of al-Karam, and the descendants of Zuray‘ son of al-ʿAbbās 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 Suʿūd 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. Saba was attacked by the son of his uncle, ‘Aly son of Abu ʿl Gharāt son of Masʿūd son of al-Karam, lord of Za‘azi‘. He (Saba) wrested Aden from his (ʿAly’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-Aʿazz, whose place of abode was the castle of ad-Dumlūwah, the fortress, which (by reason of its great strength) no enemy ever desires to
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 Ḧijlāh and placed himself under the protection of Maṣnūr ibn al-Mufaddal, the Sulayhite King of the Highlands of Yaman.

Al-A‘azz died shortly after, and Bilāl sent for Muḥammad ibn Sabā, who thereupon came to Aden. A deed of investiture had come from Egypt in the name of al-A‘azz. The name of Muḥammad 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 Muḥammad. Bilāl gave him his daughter in marriage and placed at his disposal the wealth he had accumulated in his treasury. After a time Bilāl died leaving immense riches, which were inherited by Muḥammad ibn Saba and which he devoted to great and benevolent objects. He purchased the fortress of Dhu Ḧijlāh, the residence of the Sulayhite kings, from Maṣnūr ibn al-Mufaddal ibn Abī 'l-Barakāt, as we have already mentioned, and he married Sayyidah (read Arwa) the daughter of ('Aly son of ?) ‘Ābd Allāh the Sulayhite. Muḥammad died in a.h. 548 and was succeeded by his son 'Imrān son of Muḥammad son of Sabā. The affairs of his government were conducted by Yāsir son of Bilāl, and 'Imrān died in 560, leaving two infant sons, Muḥammad and Abū Su‘ūd. Yāsir confined them to the palace, and exercised supreme power over the State.

He was greatly eulogized and was liberal in his rewards to the poets. Among those who came to his court and wrote in his praise, was Ibn Ḥalāḳis.
The poet of Alexandria. The following line is from an ode he wrote in praise of Yāsir:

Abandon thy home if thou desir'est greatness—The crescent, having travelled, becomes a full moon.112

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 Bīlāl. 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.113

THE HISTORY OF IBN MAHDY THE KHĀRIJITE 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 Zabid. His name was 'Aly ibn Mahdy, the Himyarite. 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 'Irāk, and he learnt from their preachers the art of warning and exhorting the people. He returned to Yaman, where he withdrew himself from society
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 popularity.

From the year 561 he travelled to and fro on the pilgrimage, preaching to the people in the deserts. At the season of the Mansūm 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 Mansūr, 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 party they formed became powerful. It became ʿĀly'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 Fātik, 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 Haywan (Haydān ?), 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 Banu Mahdy.

steep pass. 'Aly Mahdy gave these people the designation of Ansār, and upon his companions, who had accompanied him from Tihamah, he bestowed the name al-Muhājirūn. He appointed a chief over the Ansār, of the name of Sabā, and another over the Muhājirūn 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-Dāthir (read Dāshir), 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. 'Omarah 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 Sharīf Ahmad ibn Ḥamzah, the Suleymānite Prince of Sa'dah. He gave them aid, but stipulated that they should slay their master Fatīk son of Muḥammad, and they accordingly killed him in the year 553. The Sharīf 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 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
punished the use of wine with death. According to 'Omārah, 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. Their property was in his hands. He supplied their wants and they possessed nothing, neither money, nor horses, nor weapons. He slew any one of his followers who fled from the field of battle. The 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 Imam, 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
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‘īd.

Yaman forms part of the Arabian Peninsula and comprises seven royal seats of government. It is divided into two parts. Tihāmah and al-Jībāl (the highlands). Tihāmah consists of two kingdoms, that of Zabīd and that of Aden. The name Tihāmah denotes the low country of Yaman adjoining the sea-coast and extending from as-Sirrayn on the borders of Hijāz, to the extremity of the province of Aden, round by the Indian Ocean. Ibn Sa‘īd 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. Yaman 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 Kaḥtān, but it contains also people of the tribe of
'Anz son of Wā'il. 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 Hijaz, 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 Ṣulayhī, whose history has been related.

'Aththar, Ḥaly and ash-Sharjah are provinces of Zabīd, in its northern part, and are known as pelled minions of Ibn Ṭarf. They extend over a distance of the whole of a journey by two days', from twenty-five days to Ḥaly. From the latter to Mecca is of which he courne. 'Aththar is the seat of government, and situated on the borders of the sea, the payment of ṭrf held the place against Abu 'l-

When Shamsī, and his revenues amounted to brother of Saladi. After a time he submitted to Abu'l (read 569) and his name in the Khutbah and paid Yaman, he seized a later period, the kingdom passed him such inform: the Suleymānites, descendants of him a great amours of Mecca, on their being expelled Aden, which he c to the Ḥashimites.† Ghālib (read and made it the se long an unfavour vol. ii, p. 167-8.
Ghānim) ibn Yahya belonged to that family, and he paid tribute to the Prince of Zabīd. It was from him that Muḥīḥ, the freedman of Fāṭik sought assistance against Surūr. Ghānim was succeeded by ‘Īsa the son of Ḥamzah, who was one of the sons of Ghānim. When the Ghuzz conquered Yaman, Yahya the brother of ‘Īsa was taken prisoner and carried to ‘Trāḳ. ‘Īsa contrived to obtain his brother’s release, and Yahya 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 Saʿd al-ʿAshīrah. 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 Katadah, Sultan 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 Ẓarf. He was supported in that district by twenty thousand Abyssinians. When the Dā’y as-Sulayḥi arose, he attacked Ibn Ẓarf at az-Zara’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 Zabīd and of those that border on the middle road between the sea and the mountains, that az-Zara’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
two roads, the middle one and that running along the sea-shore, join and diverge at as-Sirrayn.

123 Aden is one of the kingdoms of Yaman, south of Zabīd. The city is the seat of government, and it is situated on the shores of the Indian Ocean. It has been a place of trade since the days of the Tubbas. It is thirteen degrees distant from the equator. Its soil produces neither crops nor trees, and the food of its inhabitants consists of fish. It is the port of embarkation for India from Yaman. It was at first ruled by the descendants of Ma‘n son of Za‘idah, who resisted the authority of the Banu Ziyad, but paid them tribute. When the Sulayhîtes became supreme over the country, the Dā‘y ‘Aly confirmed the Banu Ma‘n in their government. But his son Almud al-Mukarram afterwards ejected them, and appointed over the country the Banu al-Karam, of the sub-tribe of Jusham son of Yām, his kinsmen, and like himself, descendants of Hamdān. The Banu Zuray‘, a family of the Banu Karam, became possessed of exclusive power, and they inherited the office of Dā‘y held by the Sulayhîtes, as well as their sovereignty, all which has already been related. ‘Aly ibn Mahdy was not able to subdue the Zuray‘îtes, 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 neighbourhood of sh-Shihr.*

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-Jawwāh was built by the Zuray‘îte kings in the neighbourhood of Aden. The Ayyubites made it their place of residence, but afterwards they removed to Ta‘izz.

* See Note 11.
The Castle of Dhu Jiblah is one of the fortresses of the Mikhlaf 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 Sān‘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 Ahmad son of al-Muzaaffar the Sulayhite, who occupied the castle of Ashyāḥ. 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 Najib ad-Daulah came from Egypt as Dā’y. He abode in the city of Janad and obtained support from the tribe of Hamdān. Sayyidah fought against him, aided by the Banu Janb and Khaulān, 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-Barakāt, who established his influence over her.

At-Ta’kar, in Mikhlaf Ja’far, belonged to the Banu Sulayhi and subsequently to Sayyidah. Al-Mufaddal 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 Najāh at Zabid. His absence prolonged itself, and certain fakīhs (Jurists) revolted at Ta’kar, killed al-Mufaddal’s deputy and proclaimed Ibrahim ibn Zaydān, one of their number, who was uncle of ‘Omarah the poet. They asked assistance of the Banu Khaulān, and al-Mufaddal 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
in the Mikhlāf (province) of Ja'far. Al-Mufaḍḍal had introduced into the fortresses of the province, a large number of Khaulānites belonging to the tribes of Bahr, Munabbīḥ, Rizāḥ (Rāzīḥ ?) and Shaʿb (Shaʿb-Ḥay). When al-Mufaḍḍal died, the Khaulānites seized the fortress of Ta'kar, but Dhu Jiblah continued in the possession of Mansūr son of al-Mufaḍḍal, under the guardianship of Sayyidah, as already related. Muslim ibn az-Zarr the Khaulānīte suddenly arose and captured the fortress of Khudad from 'Abd Allah ibn Ya'la the Sulayhīte. 'Abd Allah fled to the fortress of Maṣdūd and Sayyidah appointed Muslim ibn az-Zarr successor to al-Mufaḍḍal. She acted with scrupulous good faith towards him and towards his two brothers (read sons) 'Imrān and Suleymān. 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 Ka'id Fath, governor on her behalf of the fortress of Ta'kar, of which Suleymān contrived by treachery to dispossess him. The Khaulānites extended their hands (oppressively) over the people, and Sayyidah sought assistance against the two brothers from the Banu Janb. 'Imrān and Suleymān were the Queen's advisers, and it was they who by her orders expelled the Dā'ī Najīb ad-Daulah from the city of Janad and from Yaman.

The Fortress of Maṣdūd is one of the (great) fortresses of the province of Ja'far, which are five 125 (sic) in number, namely, Dhu Jiblah, at-Ta'kar and Khudad. When the Banu Kaulān wrested Khudad from the hands of 'Abd Allah ibn Ya'la the Sulayhīte, he took refuge, as we have mentioned, in the fortress of Maṣdūd. The Khaulānites took it from him likewise, but they were dispossessed by Zaka-riya ibn Shakīr the Bahrīte.
The Banu Kurandi, descendants of Himyar, 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 Ḥad, and the fortress of Samadān.

The fortress of Maṣdūd was afterwards held by Maṣūr son of al-Mufaḍḍal son of Abu 'l-Barakāt, who sold it to the Banu Zuray', as already mentioned.

Ṣan‘ā 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 'Ād, and it was called Uwāl (or Uwwāl), signifying primacy, in the dialect of the country. Kaṣr Ghundān, in its neighbourhood, was one of the seven temples. It was built by ad-Dalihāk and dedicated to Zuhrah. It was an object of pilgrimage, and was destroyed by 'Othmān (the third Khalīfah). Ṣan‘ā is the most celebrated city of Yaman. 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 Kaḥlān, and Ṣan‘ā did not acquire celebrity as a royal seat (at that period), until it became the residence of the Banu Sulayhī. It was conquered by the Zaydites and then by the Suleymanites, after it had been held by the Sulayhītes.

The Castle of Kaḥlān is one of the dependencies of Ṣan‘ā, and it belonged to the Banu Ya‘fur, a family (descendants?) of the Tubbas. It was built near

* The name Ḥad is not in the printed edition. It looks, I think, like a copyist's error for Ḥāsh.

† Commonly regarded as the Arabian Venus.

‡ 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.
San'a by Ibrāhīm (son of Mūhammad son of Ya‘fūr), 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‘fūr and conquered Sa‘dah and Najrān. The Banu Ya‘fūr had recourse, for protection against their enemies, to the walls of the castle of Kaḥlān. Al-Bayhākī says that the castle was strengthened by As‘ad ibn Ya‘fūr 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 as-Sulayhi. Al-Mukarram restored to them some of their fortresses, which they held until they were deprived of power by ‘Aly ibn Mahdī. They possessed the province of Ja‘far, in which the city of Dhu Jiblāh and the fortress of Ta‘kār are situated. The Mikhlaḥ Ja‘far consists of the provinces of Janād 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 San‘ā, situated in the highlands. It was taken by the Banu Zuray and was appropriated by a member of that family, al-Mufaddal, son of ‘Aly son of Rādi son of the Dā‘y Mūhammad son of Sabā son of Zuray. The author of the Kharīdah gives him the title of Sultān. He further mentions that al-Mufaddal 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 brother al-A‘azz ibn ‘Aly.

Mount al-Mudhaykhīrah 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.
‘Aden-Lā‘ah is close to al-Mudhaykhīrah.† It is the place in which the Shī‘ah doctrines were first openly preached in Yaman. The Dā‘y Muḥammad (read ‘Aly) ibn al-Fadl was a native of ‘Aden-Lā‘ah, and it was to that place that Abu ‘Abd Allah ash-Shi‘ya‘i, the Ismailite missionary to North Africa, came. It was there also that ‘Aly son of Muḥammad the Sulayḥite 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-Fadl was the Dā‘y in the days of Abu ‘l-Jaysh ibn Ziyād and of As‘ād ibn Ya‘fūr.

Bayḥān is mentioned by ‘Umārah among other districts in the mountains.† It was possessed by Nashwān ibn Sa‘īd the Kaḥṭānīte (and Himyarite).

Ta‘izz is one of the greatest of the mountain fortresses that overlook Tiḥāmah. It has always been one of the royal strongholds. It is now the seat of the Rasūλīte 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 Sulayḥītes (read the Ḥimyarite). His father was (became) possessed of Ashyāh and made himself master of the fortresses owned by the Banu Abī ‘l-Barakāt and by the Banu ‘l-Muzaffar. His son Mansūr inherited them, but sold them one after the other to the Dā‘y the son of al-Muẓaffar and to the Zuray‘īte Dā‘y (read, sold them to the Dā‘y Muḥammad ibn Šabā the Zuray‘īte), until none remained to him but Ta‘izz, of which he was deprived by Ibn Mahdy.

The Fortress of Ashyāh is one of the greatest of the mountain strongholds, and it contained the treasures of the Banu Muẓaffar. It was owned by the Dā‘y al-Mansūr Abī Ḥimyar Šabā son of Aḥmad son of al-Muẓaffar the Sulayḥīte, to whom it was...

* See Notes 10 and 11.
† See Note 9.
bequeathed by the son of his paternal uncle al-Mukarram, Lord of Dhu Jiblah. (The Egyptian Khalifah) al-Mustansir appointed him supreme Dā'ī, and he died in a.h. 486 (read 492). His son 'Āly gained possession of the royal fortress of Ashyāh. 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 Muẓaffar passed into the possession of the family of Abu 'l-Barakat. Al-Mufaddal died and was succeeded by his son Mansūr. The latter after a time disdained the kingdom bequeathed to him by his father and sold all its fortresses. He parted with Dhu Jiblah to the Zuray'ite Dā'ī, Prince of Aden, for one hundred thousand dinārs. He sold also the fortress of Ṣabir, after having sworn the oath of divorce that he would not do so. His wife was consequently divorced from him and was taken in marriage by the Zuray'ite. Mansūr 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 'Āly ibn Mahdy.

Ṣa'dah is a kingdom adjoining that of Ṣan'ā and situated on the east thereof. It contains three seats of government, Ṣa'dah, Jabal Ḳuṭābah † and the fortress of Thulā, besides other strongholds. The entire country is known as that of the Banu Ḳ-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 Ḳ-Rassy the Zaydite Imāmate, of which they had been deprived by the Banu Suleymān.‡ The adherents of the Rassites withdrew to Jabal Ḳuṭābah, and in the year 645 they swore allegiance to

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* See Note 99. 
† See below. 
‡ See Note 130.
Ahmad 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 A.H. 648 (read 647). His son al-Muẓaffar (Yūsuf) became absorbed in the siege of ad-Dumluwah, whilst al-Mūṭi acquired great power and became possessed of the fortresses of Yaman. He marched upon Ṣa‘dah and the Suleymānites, whose Imam, as has been related in the history of the Banu Rassy, was Ahmad al-Muttaqikil, swore allegiance to him.

Kūṭābah is a lofty mountain on the east of Ṣa‘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.

Ḥārāz and Maṣār. Ḥārāz is part of the country of the tribe of Hamdān, and it is also the name of one of their sub-tribes, to which ḍ-Sulayḥi belonged, whilst the fortress of Maṣār, in the district of Ḥārāz, is the place where he first manifested himself. Al-Bayhaḵi says (of the Banu Hamdān) 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 Hamdān elsewhere but in Yaman. They are the greatest tribe of Yaman. It was with their support that al-Mūṭi rose to eminence. They became masters of several fortresses in the highlands, where they possess the districts of the Banu Bakīl and Banu Ḥāṣhid, the two sons of Jusham, son of Ḥābwān (read Khaywān) son of Nauf son of Hamdān. Ibn Ḥazm ‡ says that the sub-tribes of Hamdān branch forth from Bakīl and Ḥāṣhid. End of

* Infra, p. 189.
† See Note 23.
‡ Ibn Ḥazm the genealogist died in A.H. 456.
the quotation (from al-Bayhaki). To the tribe of Hamdân belonged the family of Zuray', who exercised sovereignty and held the office of Dā'îy at Aden and at al-Juwwah. The Banu Yâm, the tribe of the Sulayhites, are one of the subdivisions of the Banu Hamdân. The Banu Hamdân are Shâhîs. At the present time they carry heresy in their country to an extreme, and most of them are Zaydites.

The Country of (the Banu) Khaulân, according to al-Bayhaki, is situated in the east of the highlands of Yaman, adjoining the country of the Banu Hamdân. The Khaulânites possess the strongest fortresses of the highlands and of Mikhlâf 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 Khaulân and the Banu Hamdân are the greatest tribes in Yaman. The Khaulânites 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.

129 The district of the Banu Aṣbah is situated in Wâdi (valley of the) Sahûl. Dhu Aṣbah, from whom they claim descent, has been mentioned in tracing the genealogy of the Tubbas and Akyâl (kings, descendants of Himyar).

The District of Yahsub borders upon that of the Banu Aṣbah. Yahsub and Aṣbah were brothers.

The District of the Banu Wâ’il. The chief city of this province is Shâhît. Its ruler was As‘ad ibn Wâ’il and the Banu Wâ’il are a tribe of Dhu ’l-Kalâ‘. The latter are descended from (Himyar and) Sabâ‘. They conquered the country upon the death of al-Hasan (Husayn) ibn Salâmah, governor of the highlands on behalf of the Banu Najâh (read Ziyâd).
The District of Yarbū‘ 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-Kadra on the Mikhlāf (read river) Sahām and that of al-Ma‘kīr on the river Dhu‘al. He died in A.H. 402.

The Country of the Banu Kindah is in the portion of the highlands of Yaman that borders upon Ḥadramaut 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 Madhhij adjoins the mountainous district of al-Janad, and it is inhabited by the Banu ‘Ans, Zubayd and Mu'rād, sub-tribes of the Banu Madhhij. A portion of the Banu ‘Ans are in North Africa, allied with the native wandering tribes. The Banu Ḥurab, 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 Nahd lies in the hollows of the Sarawāt and so also Tabālah. The Sarawāt (plural of Sarāt) are (the chain of mountains) between Tiḥāmah on the one side, and the highlands of Yaman and of Hijāz on the other. They bear a resemblance to the back (sarāt) of a horse. The Banu Nahd are derived from Ḫudā‘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

* See Hamdāni’s Geography, p. 85.
are a mixed race, partly descended from the Banu Khath'ām 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-Bayhākī says that it is a separate country with its own rulers, but the actual fact is that it is part of Hijāz, precisely as Najrān is part of Yaman. Such is also the opinion of Ibn Haukal. Yamāmah, as a kingdom, is inferior to Hijāz.* Its territory is called al-ʿArānūf, on account of its interposing between Hijāz and Bahrayn. On the east it is bounded by Bahrayn; on the west by the outlying extremities of Yaman and Hijāz; on the south by Najrān, and on the north by the Najd (highlands) of Hijāz. It is twenty days' journey in length, and it is four days distant from Mecca. Its capital is Hajr, written with fath. The city of Yamāmah was the seat of kings before the days of the Banu Ḥanīfah. The 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-Bakrī says its name was Jaww, and that it was named after Zarkā ‘l-Yamāmah, by the last Tubba' (read by Ḥassān ibn Tubba'). It is situated, as well as Mecca, in the Second Climate,

and the two cities are equally distant from the equator. Among the inhabited places of Yamāmah are Tūdīh and Ḫarkara.* According to at-Ṭabarī, Raml ‘Ālij is between Yamāmah and ash-Shihr. It is a country of nomads. Yamāmah and Ṭā‘if belonged formerly to the Banu Hizzān son of Ya‘fur son of Saksak. The tribes of Ṭasm and Jadīs conquered the country, but were eventually overcome by the Banu Hizzān, who thenceforward ruled over Yamāmah, with the Banu Ṭasm and Jadīs, as their dependants. The last king of the Banu Hizzān was Kurṭ son of Ja‘far. Upon his death, the Ṭasmites possessed themselves of supreme power. ‘Amlīk, whose history is well known, was one of the tribe. The supremacy of the Ṭasmites was followed by that of the Banu Jadīs. Al-Yamāmah, after whom the city of Jaww was named, belonged to that tribe. Her history is well known. Yamāmah was next conquered by the Banu Ḥanīfah. Of them was Haudhāh son of ‘Aly, King of Yamāmah. 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 Haudhāh, Thumāmah ibn Uṭḥal reigned over Yamāmah in the days of the Prophet. He was taken prisoner, adopted Islām, 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 Ḥanīfah. Ibn Sa‘īd reports having asked the Arabs of Bahrayn and certain members of the tribe of Madhīj, to what people Yamāmah belonged in his day. He was told in reply, that it was in the possession of Arab tribes descended from Kays ‘Aylān, and that the fame of the Banu Ḥanīfah had perished throughout the country.¹¹⁹

The Provinces of Ḥadramaut. They are situ-

* See Hamdānī, p. 164.
ated, says Ibn Ḥaukal, eastward of Aden on the borders of the sea.* The chief city of Ḥadramaut is small, but its provinces are of wide extent. It is 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 Ād, and it contains the tomb of Hūd, upon whom be peace. In its midst is the mountain of Shabām (Shibām). Ḥadramaut is situated in the First Climate and twelve degrees distant from the equator. It is reckoned as part of Yaman. It is a cultivated country and is planted with palms and other trees. Most of its inhabitants uphold the supremacy of the descendants of Āly and Fāṭimah, but they abhor Āly for having consented to submit his rights to human judgment. The largest city of Ḥadramaut in the present day is the fortress of Shibām, in which the horses of the king are kept. Along with ash-Shihr and ‘Oman, it originally belonged to Ād, from whose people it was conquered by the Banu Ya‘rub son of Kaḥṭān. It is said that (the Banu) Ād were led to the Arabian Peninsula (to Ḥadramaut?) by Rukaym son of Aram (Rukaym son of ‘Abi r son of Ād?), who had formerly visited the country in company with the Prophet Hūd. He returned to the people of Ād 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 Banu Ya‘rub son of Kaḥṭān. 120 Kaḥṭān ruled over the country, and it was governed by his son Ḥadramant, after whom it was named.

132 Ash-Shihr is, like Ḥijaz and Yaman, one of the kingdoms of the Arabian Peninsula. It is separate from Ḥadramaut and ‘Oman. Ash-Shihr is so named after its capital. There is no cultivation, neither are there palm trees in the country. The

* de Goeje’s ed. p. 32. See also Isākhri, p. 25.
wealth of the inhabitants consists in camels and goats. 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 Mahriyyah camels are reared in it.* Ash-Shihr is sometimes conjoined with 'Omān, but it is contiguous to Ḥadramaut 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 'Omān. The Indian Ocean extends along the south and on the north Ḥadramaut, 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 Ḥadramaut. It belonged in ancient times to the people of 'Ād, who were succeeded by the tribe of Mahrah, descended from Ḥadramaut, or according to other accounts, from Kuḍā‘ah. The people who inhabit these sandy deserts are like wild beasts, and their religion is that of the Khārijītes, according to the tenets of its branch sect, the Ibādites.†

The first of the Kahtānites who settled in Shihr was Mālik son of Himyar. He revolted against his brother Wā’il (or Wāthil), who was king at Kašr 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.

* See Mas‘udi (Barbier de Meynard), vol. i. p. 333-41, as also Istakhri and Ibn Ḥaukal.
† See Mas‘udi, vol. vi. p. 67.
Al-Bayhaki says that Mahrah son of Ḥaydan son of ‘Amru son of al-Ḥāf reigned over the countries of Kuṭā‘ah, and made war upon his paternal uncle Mālik son of al-Ḥāf, Prince of ‘Oman, and conquered that province. These people are now no longer borne in remembrance beyond the limits of their own country.

Miḥrābāt and Ṣafār, of the same measure as the word nazāl, are two cities of Shihr.* Ṣafār was the seat of empire of the Tubbas, and Miḥrābāt was situated on the sea-shore. Both cities are now in ruins. Ahmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥamīd al-Ḩimyari, who bore the surname al-Bākhūdah (al-Ḩamūd?) was a wealthy merchant. He obtained access to the prince of Miḥrābāt 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-Ḩamūd?) obtained possession of the throne. In the year 619 he destroyed the cities of Miḥrābāt and Ṣafār, and he built on the sea-coast the city of Ṣufār, written with the wāʿ moved by damm, which he surnamed al-They is sayyah after himself. He destroyed the old Arabian Penit possessed no anchorage.121 son of Aram (Ra. author of al-Kāma‘īm (?)) says who had formerly net district and separate from with the Prophet Ḥ at is a province thereof. Al-of ‘Ād and led them extending over a space of its invasion. They w. It lies to the north-east of inhabitants, but they w. Hijāz. It contains two conquered by the Banū‘ of nearly equal impor-Kaḥṭān ruled over the con. of the country consists by his son Ḥadramaut, after resemble the wander-132 Ash-Shihr is, like Hijāz, kingdoms of the Arabian Penit Najrān, which was from Ḥadramaut and ‘Omar, the Ka‘bah of named after its capital. The neither are there palm trees in

* de Goeje’s ed. p. 32. See also 1
Geography of Yaman.

Yaman. 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'īdah was in the habit of worshipping at the place. The Kahtānites who settled in the country were a section of the Banu Jurhum, but it was afterwards conquered by the Banu Ḥimyar. They governed the country under the authority of the Tubbas. The rulers bore successively the title of al-‘Af‘a (the Viper). One of the Af‘a of Najrān bore the name of al-Falammas (Kalammas ?) son of ‘Amru son of Hamdān son of Mālik son of Muntāb son of Zayd son of Wā‘il son of Ḥimyar. He was a diviner, and it was to him that the sons of Nizār resorted and referred their dispute, as is mentioned in this work. Al-Falammas was governor of Najrān 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. Al-Bayhaki says that the Banu Madhhij next invaded Najrān and conquered it. Of them were the Banu ‘l-Ḥārith 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-Ḥārith ibn Ka‘b ibn ‘Abd Allah ibn Mālik ibn Naṣr ibn al-Azd settled, under a peaceful agreement, in the neighbourhood of the Banu Madhhij. Afterwards they wrested the country from the Banu Madhhij and held sway over it. Christianity was introduced into Najrān through the means of Faymūn (Faymiyyūn), whose history is commonly found in biographical works. The rulership over Najrān by the Banu ‘l-Ḥārith the Madhhijites descended to
the Banu ’d-Dayyān (Rayyān?) and to the posterity of ‘Abd al-Madān (son of Dayyān). Yazīd (son of ‘Abd al-Madān), who lived in the days of the Prophet (whom God bless and hail with salutations of peace), made the profession of Islam to Khalīd ibn al-Walīd. 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 Allāh ibn ‘Abd al-Madān,* was maternal uncle of (the Khalīfah Abu ’l-‘Abbās) as-Saffāh, who appointed him governor of Najrān and Yamāmah. He left two sons, Muḥammad and Yaḥyā. The fourth century commenced with supreme authority exercised by the family of Abu ’l-Jūd ibn ‘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 Najrān. The last of the dynasty was ‘Abd al-Ḵays, who was deposed by ‘Aly ibn Mahdī. He is mentioned and eulogized by ‘Omarah.126

And unto God, be He extolled and magnified, belongeth perfect knowledge of the truth.

125 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 Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm, he whose father bore the surname of Ṭabāṭabā, the son of Isma‘īl son of Ibrāhīm

* Read Ziyād, descendant of Yazīd’s brother, was, etc.
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-Ḳūsim ar-Rassy, son of Ibrahim Ṭabāṭaba. He fled to Sind, where he remained until his death in a.H. 245. His son al-Ḥasan (read Husayn) 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

Ṣa'dah is a mountain east (sic) of Ṣan'ā, on which are many fortresses, the most celebrated of which are Ṣa'dah, the fortress of Tula (Thula), and the mountain of Ḳūṭābah. The whole of that country is named after the Banu Rassy. Yahya son of al-Husayn son of al-Ḳūsim ar-Rassy was the member of the family who first rose to eminence. He proclaimed himself at Ṣa'dah, adopted the surname of al-Hādy, 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 Ṣan'ā and at Kahlān (?), and who was a descendant of the Tubbas. Al-Hādy seized upon Ṣan'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 returned to Ṣa'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 unlawful. According to other statements, he was an assiduous investigator of religious law. He held doubtful opinions on questions of Jurisprudence, and
Ibn Khaldūn.

was the author of books that are well known among the dissentient sects.

As-Sūli 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 Ahmad, 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 ʿl-Ḵāsim ad-Ḍahlāk, the Hamdānī, in a.h. 344.

As-Sūli 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 ʿl-Ḵāsim (read al-Ḵāsim) ar-Rassy, says as follows:—“Among others of his posterity there were the princes who ruled at Ṣaʿdah in Yaman. The first was Yahya al-Ḥādy, 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) Ahmad an-Nāṣir had several sons, of whom the following ruled over Ṣaʿdah after him, namely, Jaʿfar ar-Rashīd, next after him his brother al-Ḵāsim al-Mukhtār, then al-Ḥasan al-Muntakhab and Muḥammad al-Mahdy.† The Yamanite

* For al-Mukhtār, see Note 8 (footnote). The other three names are not mentioned by the author of the Ḥadāʾik, although he enumerates the sons and daughters of an-Nāṣir. See next footnote.

† The names of an-Nāṣir's sons, as given by the author of the Ḥadāʾik, were al-Ḵāsim Abu Muḥammad (al-Mukhtār), Ismaʿil, Ḥasan, Jaʿfar, Yahya and ʿAly. The name al-Mahdy Muḥammad, 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-Ḵāsim son of Ḥasan, and not a member of the Rassite family. See the genealogical table, Note 107.
who was at Merida in 343 styled himself 'Abdallah son of Ahmad 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 Banū Rassāy continued until dissensions arose among them. The Suleymanūtēs came from Mecca, on being expelled by the Hāshimītēs. They conquered Sa'dah, and the dominion of the Banū Rassāy came to an end in the sixth century.*

Ibn Sa'id relates that among the members of the family of the Banū Suleyman, there was at the time of their removal from Mecca to Yaman, Ahmad son of Hamzah son of Suleyman.† The people of Zabīd besought his assistance against 'Aly ibn Mahdy the Khārijītē, who was besieging the city, then under the rule of Fātīk ibn Muḥammad, of the dynasty of Najāh. He consented on condition of their slaying Fātīk, which they accordingly did in a.h. 553. They raised Ahmad 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 'Īsā 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 Suleymanūtēs perished throughout the whole of Tihāmah, throughout the highlands, and throughout Yaman, at the hands of the Banū Mahdy. Next afterwards the Ayyūbītēs conquered these countries

* With reference to the above and to most of what follows, see Note 130.
† Read Ahmad son of Suleyman. See Notes 88 and 130.
‡ 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 'Īsā son of Hamzah.
and held the Suleymânites in subjection. The Suleymânite sovereignty was lastly held by al-Manšûr ‘Abd Allah son of Ahmad son of Hamzah.* Ibn al-‘Adîm,129 says that he inherited the throne at Sa‘dah from his father. He displayed a hostile demeanour towards the ‘Abbaside Khalîfah an-Nâṣir (A.H. 575—622), with whom he affected a tone of equality, and he sent his Dâ’îs to the Daylamites and to Jîlân, with the result that the Khutbah was recited among these people in his name, and that he appointed governors over them. An-Nâṣir endeavoured to raise the Arabs of Yaman against al-Manšûr by means of subventions, but could not prevail against him.

Ibn al-Âthîr says that al-Manšûr ‘Abd Allah, son of Ahmad son of Hamzah, Imam of the Zaydîtes at Sa‘dah, collected troops in A.H. 592 and marched upon Yaman. Al-Mu‘îzz son of Sayf al-Islâm Tughtâkin ibn Ayyûb was filled with alarm, but went forth to meet him, and put him to flight. Al-Manšûr again collected, in A.H. 612, an army composed of Hamdânites and Khaulânites. Great agitation was produced in Yaman, and (the Ayyûbîte Sultan al-Mas‘ûd (Salâh ad-dîn Yûsuf) son of al-Kâmîl, at that time sovereign of the country, was filled with apprehension. He had Kurdish and Turkish troops, and the commander-in-chief, ‘Omar ibn Rasûl, recommended promptitude of action, ere the enemy could gain possession of the fortresses. Disputes broke out among the followers of al-Manšûr, and on being attacked by al-Mas‘ûd his army was routed.

Al-Manšûr died in A.H. 630 at an advanced age.† He left a son named Ahmad, whom the Zaydîtes raised to the throne. They did not recognize him as Imam, but they waited for the increase of his

* Read ‘Abdallah son of Hamzah.
† Read, in 614, aged 53 years.
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 Almād ibn al-Husayn, a descendant of al-Hādy. When the Banu Rassy were driven from the seat of their Imāmate at Sa‘dah by the Suleymanites, they took refuge on the mountain of ʿUṭābah, east of Sa‘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 Almād al-Mūṭi.

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-din ʿOmar 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-din 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-Muẓaffar (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 Sa‘dah and wrested it from the hands of the Suleymanites.

They had proclaimed Ahmad, son of their Imām ʿAbd Allah al-Manṣūr, and upon al-Mūṭi being recognized as Imām at Thula, they gave Almād the surname of al-Mutawakkil. They had waited for his advance in years, but on al-Mūṭi receiving oaths of allegiance, they recognized Almād as Imām. When al-Mūṭi took Sa‘dah, Almād al-Mutawakkil went
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 Sā‘dah continued under the authority of the descendants of al-Mūṭi.\textsuperscript{130}

I was informed in Egypt that the Imam of Sā‘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 Şalāh, 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. Şalāh died at the end of a.h. 793 and was succeeded by his son Najāh. The Zaydites 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.
ACCOUNT

OF THE

KARMATHIANS IN YAMAN,

EXTRACTED FROM

THE KITĀB 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.131

I will now, therefore, briefly relate their history, as it has been told by Abu 'Abd Allah Muḥammad ibn Mālik ibn Abi 'l-Ḳabā'il, a Jurist of Yaman and a learned Sunnite. He was one of the persons who joined the Karmathian sect in the days of aş-Ṣulayhi, 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-Ahdūn (Ajdūn ?), who trace their descent from Dhu Ḥadān (Dhu Jadan ?).132 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 Ḥarāb, for the purpose of visiting the tomb of Ḥusayn (son of 'Aly). On reaching it he began uttering lamentations and cried
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. When they beheld the condition of Ibn Faḍl, they were filled with the desire to enlist him in their service. Maymūn spoke to him in private and made known unto Ibn Faḍl 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'ī's). "That may well be accomplished in Yaman," answered Ibn Faḍl, "for ingenuity in the conduct of affairs is general among its people." Maymūn ordered him to remain and to wait until he had considered the matter.

Maymūn was originally a Jew, who regarded Islam with envy. With the object of protecting his own religion, he made outward profession of Islam and devoted himself to the care of the tomb of Husayn 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 Mānṣūr son of (Husayn son of Zādān son of Ḥaushab son of al-Faraj son of al-Mubārak, a descendant of 'Akīl son of Abu Ṭalīb. His grandfather Zādān was a Dodekite Shi'ah, and one of the chief men of Kūfah, and he appointed his sons to dwell at the tomb of Husayn. When Maymūn came, he attached himself to Mānṣūr, and

* I translate this passage with considerable hesitation. Diacritical points here, as throughout the book, are generally absent.
perceiving] his eminent qualities and his fitness to command, he sought his friendship and his society. Maymûn 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 Mansûr was destined to rule, and that he was to be one of the propagators of his son's claims. When Ibn Faḍl came and attached himself to him, Maymûn perceived that what he sought was found, Ibn Faḍl being a native of Yaman, well acquainted with the country and with its people.

Maymûn, speaking to Mansûr said unto him: "O Abu'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. I am of opinion that thou and our friend 'Aly ibn Faḍl 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." Mansûr had learned much from Maymûn of the means whereby their ends could be gained. He agreed to what was proposed. Maymûn brought him and Ibn Faḍl into one another's presence, he made them enter into a mutual compact, and solemnly charged each one to deal justly by his companion. Mansûr's relation is as follows:—

"When Maymûn 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
free of uneasiness respecting him.' Then turning to Ibn Fadl, he said unto him: 'In the name of 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. His 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 We 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.

"The Shaykh Maymūn 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-Lā‘ah and was informed that it was in the neighbourhood of Ḥajjah. 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 bade me welcome, and when they departed I accompanied them. On the road I entertained them with the recital of traditions. I
The Karmathians in Yaman.

urged upon them the observance of the duty of prayer, and they followed the examples I set them. On arrival at Lā‘ab, 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 Muḥarram was accordingly built for the purpose.

The fortress belonged to a people known by the name of Banu ’l-‘Adʿa, 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-Mansur 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-Ḥawwālī (Ibn

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* Al-Khazraji says that ‘Ayn Muḥarram stood at the foot of Mount Maswar.
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-Mansūr. The latter, seeing that his authority was securely established, now wrote to Maymūn 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. Maymūn, 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.” He then sent Abu 'Abd Allah al-Ḥusayn son of Ahmad son of Muhammad son of Zakariyā, known under the name of ash-Shī'ya' (the Shi'a) and a native of Ṣan`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. 'Obayd (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
This man, 'Abd Allah ('Obayd Allah) sur-
named the Mahdy,* was ancestor of the sovereigns
of North Africa who afterwards held Egypt. Ibn
Khallikan says, touching the 'Obaydites' pedigree,
that they were descendants of 'Obayd Allah, and
that some persons term them Alides, thereby ac-
knowledging 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 Mansûr, a man of singularly sound judg-
ment, was concerned, and his objects. The history
of Ibn Faḍl 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 Mansûr at
Ghulāfikah, 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 Aṣbāḥ named
Muhammad ibn Abi 'l-'Ula. From Abyan he pro-
cceeded to the country of Yâfī. 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 in-
habited the summits of the mountains‡ and, filled

* On his coinage the name is written 'Abd Allah.
† See De Slane's Ibn Khallikân, vol. ii. p. 77. The account in
our text of the death of Abu 'Abd Allah is evidently borrowed
from Ibn Khallikân (De Slane, vol. i. p. 465).
‡ Khazraji states the contrary, namely, that Ibn Faḍl abode on
the summit of the mountains and that the people dwelt in the
valleys.
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 Abyan, 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 Ja'farite.† 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 Faḍl 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.
† Ja'far ibn Ahmad al-Manākhi, according to Khazraji; but the correct reading seems to be Ja'far ibn Ibrahim. See Note 6.
‡ A.H. 292 (Khazraji). Al-Hamdāni says (p. 75, l. 9) that Ja'far ibn Ibrahim al-Manākhi was killed at Khawālah, close to one of the sources of the Wadi Nakhlah.
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 Hashim 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 Šafā 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 Ibrahim 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 Ramadān of the year 299.138

At the time of his arrival exceedingly heavy rains

* See supra, p. 10.
† One of the ceremonies of the pilgrimage at Mecca.
‡ Medinah.
occurred. Ibn Faḍl alighted at the mosque and caused the channels, provided for carrying away the water, to be closed. He ordered the women, captured at Ṣanʿā and elsewhere, to be brought to him, and he ascended the minaret. The women were cast into the water with uncovered faces and 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 Kādi Surayy (ibn Ibrahim), whose life will be related hereafter (among other biographies of Jurists).

Ibn Faḍl now shaved the hair of his head, and one hundred thousand persons followed his example. He ordered the house of Ibn ʿAnbasah to be destroyed, expecting to find a large sum in gold, but only ten thousand dinārs were found, although Ibn ʿAnbasah was one of the leading men of Ṣanʿā, who fled from the city along with Asʿad. On hearing of the destruction of his house, he sickened and died.

When Manṣūr heard of Ibn Faḍl's capture of Ṣanʿā he was filled with gladness. He came unto him and they met and rejoiced with one another. Ibn Faḍl 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 Zabid, at that period under the rule of Abu ʿl-Jaysh Iṣḥāk son of Ibrahim, son of Muḥammad who came to Yaman from Baghdād. It is said that Abu ʿl-Jaysh fled from Zabid, and according to other accounts, that he fought and that he was

* Khi says, to Ḥarāz and Milḥān. The latter, also called Rayshan, is a mountain that overlooks Mahjam. See Yākūt and Hamdānī, p. 68, l. 25.
The Karmathians in Yaman.

slain by Ibn Faḍl.† Zabīd 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 Faḍl then started with his army for al-Mudhaykhirah, by way of al-Mīrād (?), a mountain east of Zabīd. On reaching a place named al-Madāḥiṣ, or al-Mashākhīṣ, he ordered his criers to proclaim a halt. The troops accordingly halted and were summoned to assemble. They obeyed and gathered around him, whereupon Ibn Faḍl 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-Ḥuṣayb, but I cannot trust them with you, lest they fascinate you by their allurements and divert you from the holy war." 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-Madāḥiṣ or al-Mashākhīṣ. On reaching al-Mudhaykhirah, Ibn Faḍl ordered the roads to be closed to traffic, especially the pilgrim roads. "Perform the pilgrimage," he said, "to al-Ḥarf, a place near al-Mudhaykhirah, and perform the minor ceremonies at ath-Thālithi (?)." The latter is a valley in the vicinity of al-Ḥarf.†

When Ibn Faḍl beheld that his power over Yaman was securely established, he cast off his allegiance to 'Obayd (Allah) ibn Maymūn, for

* See Note 13.
† Al-Hamdānī 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 Mikhlaf Ja'far. See also in Sprenger, p. 153, Hisn Thalāth, near Ṣan'ā.
whose cause he had hitherto professed to labour. He wrote informing his colleague Mansūr. The 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 canst 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?" Ibn Faḍl heeded him not, but again wrote, saying: "My case is that of Abu Sa‘īd al-Jannābī!" Is it 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 Mansūr read these words the conviction of Ibn Faḍl'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 Sa‘fā." Soon after sending his letter, Ibn Faḍl prepared to attack Mansūr. He collected for the purpose ten thousand men, the choice of his army. He marched from Mudhaykhirah and reached Shibāmī.* Repeated battles were fought between his troops and those of Mansūr. He then entered the district of Lā‘ah and he ascended Mount Jamīmah, a word of which the first letter is moved by the vowel a. It is the same as Mount Fa‘īsh, near Maswar, and belonged to a tribe known by the name of Banu Muntāb.†

* The place here referred to, I presume to be Shibām-Akyān. See Note 11.
† I do not find the name Jamīmah in Hamdānī’s Geography. For Jabal Fa‘īsh, see Note 11. Dr. Glaser has Dj. Djemime in lat. about 16° 6', but that can hardly be the same.
For eight months he besieged Mansūr without success. His long detention became grievous unto him, and Mansūr received information thereof. He sent proposals of peace, but Ibn Faḍl replied that he would not agree thereto, unless Mansūr 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 Mansūr of his good grace and not for lack of power. Mansūr complied with his demands. He came, accompanied by one of his sons, unto Ibn Faḍl, who placed upon his neck a golden collar.*

On his return to al-Mudhaykhirah, Ibn Faḍl 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. Ibn Malik 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

* According to Khazraji, it was Mansūr who placed a collar of gold round the neck of Ibn Faḍl.
she said to him: "Du badda min dhi hukmu 'l-Amīr." Ibn is the negative in certain dialects of Yaman, and dhi is used for the relative pronoun illadhī. The sentence therefore signifies: There is no escape from that which is an ordinance of the Amīr, that is to say, of Ibn Faḍl.

Such practices are most shameful and pernicious, and they are repudiated by all who follow the doctrines of Isma'ilism. They are things that cannot be proved against anyone but Ibn Faḍl. 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 Faḍl 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 Faḍl in consequence of his partiality for al-Mudhaykhirah made it his place of residence, he appointed Asʿad ibn Yaʿfur, of whom mention has been made, to be his deputy over Ṣanʿā. He was not convinced that Asʿad had really allied himself with him, and he was, on the contrary, apprehensive of treachery. He therefore made him his deputy at Ṣanʿā. Asʿad was, indeed, keenly desirous to avenge the Muslims, and he was also filled with mistrust and with resentment against Ibn Faḍl. He rarely abode at Ṣanʿā, through fear of a sudden attack. Ibn Jarīr says that the heading of Ibn Faḍl’s letters to Asʿad 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 Faḍl, unto his slave Asʿad." Naught besides these words is
required to convict him of atheism, from which God grant us to be preserved.

Whilst As‘ad was acting as deputy for Ibn Faḍl, there came unto him a stranger, said to be a Sharīf and native of Baghdād. He became an associate and companion to As‘ad. It is said that he was sent by the Sovereign of Baghdād for the purpose of contriving the death of Ibn Faḍl, 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 Faḍl, 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 Hamdān, in perpetual fear of Ibn Faḍl.*

The stranger travelled until he reached al-Mudhaykhirah. There he sought the society of the foremost and greatest officials of the State. He attended upon them, bled them, and administered healing draughts and boluses. They mentioned him to Ibn Faḍl, 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 Faḍl or his equals in rank.

On a certain day Ibn Faḍl desired to be bled. He inquired for the stranger, who was brought to

* 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 (Hamdānī, p. 81).
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 Faḍl, he was ordered to divest himself of his raiment and to put on other garments provided for the purpose. Ibn Faḍl 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 his fears upon the praise he rendered unto God, he travelled forth from al-Mudhaykhirah, hastening to rejoin As‘ad ibn Ya‘fur.

When Ibn Faḍl 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 Faḍl’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 minaret. It is much visited, and blessings attend those who resort to it. I visited it in the year 696.

* Al-Hamdānī mentions Kaynān as situated in the province of Saḥūl and in the northern portion of the country of Dhu ’l-Kalā’, pp. 68, 6, and 100, 15.
The death of the physician was soon followed by that of Ibn Fadl, on the night of Thursday the fifteenth of Rabī‘u 1-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 Karrnathians. He consented and collected a strong force from San‘ā and its neighbourhood. On his arrival in Mikhlaf Ja‘far, he was joined by its inhabitants, as also by the people of Janad and of al-Ma‘afir, and the army marched upon al-Mudhaykhirah.

Ibn Faḍl 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 Thau‘man, which I have hereinbefore mentioned, when speaking of al-Ja‘fari. It is now known by the name of Mountain of Khaulān, 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 ‘Āly ibn Faḍl 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 daughters, three in number, were captured. As‘ad selected one, named Mu‘ādhah, and gave her to his nephew Kaḥṭān, unto whom she bore ‘Abd Allah, of
whom 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 Mikhlâf Ja'far, and al-Mudhaykhirah has continued in ruins from that period unto the present.

As for Mansûr, he continued in the condition above described, but (in contrast with Ibn Faḍl) he was an able ruler who took pleasure in the performance of good works, the record whereof endureth. He did not leave the district of Lâ'ah, and he died before Ibn Faḍl, 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-ʿAbbâs ash-Shâwiry. Mansûr placed special confidence in this man, and had sent him on a mission with letters and presents to the Mahdy (ʿObayd Allah), to whom ash-Shâwiry became personally known, and whose esteem he also won. Mansûr, 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 ʿObayd (Allah) ibn Maymûn. 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 ye 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,

* See Note 8.
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 repeated before multitudes of people.

Upon the death of Mansūr, ash-Shāwiry, the executor of his will, wrote to the Mahdy, then residing 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 Da'y with loyalty and fidelity, apart from the sons of Mansūr. 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 unacquainted. The Mahdy knew ash-Shāwiry, who had aforesetime come unto him with missives from Mansūr. He knew him to be well qualified to fulfil the office of Da'y, and he feared lest the sons of Mansūr should prove unequal to the task. The Mahdy replied consenting to the appointment of ash-Shāwiry alone, and the son of Mansūr 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-Shāwiry, who on his side showed them honour and respect. He did not preclude them from free access unto him. They entered his presence whenever 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-Shāwiry 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 wu-
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 Kayrawân. 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 Mansūr 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 Maymūn at Kayrawân. The son of Mansūr then went forth from Maswar unto 'Ayn Muḥarram, which has been previously mentioned, and where there was a man of the family of al-'Arjā, sultāns of that country. The son of Mansūr (before starting) appointed a deputy over Maswar, a man named Ibrahim ibn 'Abd al-Majīd (al-Ḫamīd ?) ash-Shiya'y. He was ancestor of the Banu 'l-Muntāb, after whom Maswar has been named and is called al-Muntāb. When the son of Mansūr reached 'Ayn Muḥarram, Ibn al-'Arjā suddenly attacked him and killed him. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḫamīd, on hearing thereof [tarried at Maswar and proclaimed himself sovereign of the district]. The members and women of the family of Mansūr who were with him, fled to Mount al-Ḥashab (Bani A'shab), but they were attacked

* The tribe of A'shab son of Kudām dwelt, according to Hamdānī, in the mountains between the rivers Lā'ah and Surdud (p. 112, l. 19 sqq.).
The Karmathians in Yaman.

by the people, who robbed, plundered and murdered them.

Ibn al-‘Arjā and Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd arrived at an agreement, in accordance with which the country was divided between them. Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd abjured the doctrines of Mansūr. 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-Ṭufayl]. He was slain by Ibrahim. But after the latter’s death and during the reign of al-Muntāb son of Ibrahim, at-Ṭufayl was succeeded in the office of Dā’y by a person named] Ibn Rahim (Ibn Juftam ?), a man of resolute character. His dwelling-place was kept secret lest al-Muntāb or other Sunnites should lay hands upon him, but he was in correspondence with the family of the Mahdy whilst they were at Kayrawān and afterwards in Egypt. It was in his days that al-Mu‘izz son of (al-Mansūr billah son of) al-Ḵā’im son of the Mahdy ('Obayd Allah) came to Egypt and built Cairo, which became his place of residence.¹⁴² When Ibn Juftam felt the approach of death, he appointed over his sectaries a man named Yūṣuf ibn al-Asad (?). Ibn Juftam died when al-Ḥākim (grandson of al-Mu‘izz) was on the throne at Cairo (a.h. 386–411).¹⁴³ Ibn al-Asad secretly laboured to spread al-Ḥākim’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 ‘Āmir) ibn ‘Abd Allah ar-Rawāhy, a native of the district of Shibām. He was a man of great wealth, of which he made use in
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 seizure 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 Muḥammad the Sulayhite. The latter's family was originally from al-Ahrāj (al-Akhrūj), and he was a member of the community of Shiʿahs of Ḥarāz.
NOTES.

Note 1 to p. 1.—The Dā'ys, 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) Khalifahs, was at Cairo, was styled the Dā'ī of Dā'ys. The title was hardly inferior to that of Kādy of Kā 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 Viceroy 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 Kāḥṭānites, descendants of 'Arīb. A noteworthy member of the tribe was Abu ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAly al-Ashʿari, originator of the religious sect known as the Ashʿarites. The 'Akkites are likewise often described as Kāḥṭānites, descendants of Mālik and Kāḥṭān and of 'Udthān. But it is said that the last-mentioned name must be read 'Adhān, 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 Ashʿarites. 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
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 Hamdānī'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. Al-Hamdānī, speaking of certain Arabs bearing the name of Ja'dah (p. 89-90), who, he says, claimed to be descendants of the Ishmaelite tribe of Ja'dah derived from Қays 'Aylān, 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 (Ḥadramaut), 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
exception only of the few particulars preserved in the pages of the Kur'ān. It is universally held that these people were, like the Kahtānites, 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 Kahtān.

The posterity of Ishmael divide themselves into three great stems. That of al-Ya’s son of Muḍar son of Nizār, to which belonged, among others, the tribe of Kūraysh, whereof the Prophet was a member, that of Kays ‘Aylān, brother of al-Ya’s, and that of Rabī‘ah, brother of Muḍar and son of Nizār.

The Yamanite tribes are in like manner divided into three great stems, all descended from Sāba or ‘Abd ash-Shams (servant of the Sun) son of Yashjub, son of Ya‘rub son of Kahtān.

There are in the first place the Himyarites, composed of the descendants of al-‘Aranja, 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‘āb, the Banu Sha‘bān, and numerous tribes descended from Zayd al-Jamhūr, such as the tribes of Dhu Ru‘ayn or Yarim, Yāsh, Wuhāzah, Dhu ‘l-Kalī, Ḥarāz, Mayṭam,
Sahîl, Auzâ' and Dhu Asbah. It will be noticed that many places in Yaman were named after the tribes by which they were inhabited.

The other two great Kahtanite stems consist of the descendants of Mâlik and of 'Arib, sons of Zayd son of Kahlân son of 'Abd ash-Shams.

Among the tribes of Mâlik, the chief place may be assigned to that of Hamdân, descendant of al-Khiyâr son of Mâlik. The Banu Hamdân 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 Hamdânite sub-tribes, it may be sufficient here to mention the names of Hâshîl and Bakîl (seldom dissociated from one another) the Banu Yâm, Jusham and Shihâb. Next in importance to the Banu Hamdân may be reckoned the Azdites, a name borne by the most important section of the people who inhabited the country of Sâba and its capital Ma'rib, at the time of the rupture of the dyke of 'Arîm 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 Ghassân, situated between the rivers Zâbid and Rîma*. 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 Najrân, in the neighbourhood of the Madhîjites who had long occupied and ruled the country. Another section led by Hâririthah son of 'Amru, attacked and overcame the Jurhumites at Mecca and became known as the Khuzâ'î, 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 Medinâh). Their descendants were the first Arab community to embrace Islâm, and their recognition of the Prophet, at a time when his pro-

* This occurred, according to Caussin de Perceval's conjecture, in A.D. 118.
Notes.

Aspects seemed sunk into a depth of utter hopelessness, 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-Muhājīrūn, 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 Khalīṭam and Banu Bajilah, descended from al-Ghanth, father of al-Azd. But according to some authorities these two tribes were Ma‘addites.

The third great stem of the Kahtānite Arabs consists, as already mentioned, of the descendants of Ārib, brother of Mālik. It subdivides itself into four branches, three of which, the Banu Ṭayy, Banu Madhḥī and Banu Murrah, comprise a large number of sub-tribes. The fourth is the tribe of Ask‘ar, the associates of the Banu ‘Akk in the Tihāmah of Yaman.

The Banu Ṭayy 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 Irāk and into the Syrian desert. Among the sub-tribes of the Madhḥijites are the Banu Ṭawī, Zubayd, Ḥakem, and Sinḥān, derived from Sa‘d al-‘Ashirah son of Madhḥij, also the Banu ‘Ans, Banu Murād Banu Jald, Banu Hurāb, 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 Sinḥān and Ḥārith were included in the designation Janb.

From the Banu Murrah were descended the Banu Khaulān, who are described as sons of Āmru son of Mālik son of al-Ḥārith son of Murrah and their kinsmen the Banu Jurrāh sons of Rakla son of Āmru son of Mālik. Other authorities, however, pronounce the Banu Khaulān to be a sub-tribe of Kudā‘ah, sons, that is to say, of Āmru son of al-Ḥāf son of Kudā‘ah. Al-Hamḍānī, if the version given by Yaḥūt (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-‘Aliyah, and the other
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 Ma‘jīr (son of Ya‘fur—see Hamdānī, p. 67, 25, and Yākūt iv. 570),† that of Kuḍāh and its sub-tribes Sākān, Tu‘jīb and Saksāk, 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 Mi‘lib son of Himyar. Some, however, contend that Kuḍā’ah was son of Ma‘add and that his descendants are Ishmaelite 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 ‘I‘l-Jārīth ibn Ka‘b the Azdites, and it is said that they went to the Hijāz 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 Tanūkh, Banu Jarām, Banu Nehd, Banu ‘Udhrāh and Banu Fāhm. I have already stated that the Banu Khaulān, according to some accounts, were a sub-tribe of Kuḍā’ah.

Note 4 to p. 4.—Most of what precedes is reproduced, almost verbatim, by Yākūt in his article on Zabiūd. Ibn Khaldūn, in his account of the descendants of Abu Talib (vol. iv. p. 115), repeats what he tells us in his history of Yaman (supra, p. 141) touching the Khalifah 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.‡

* In Müller’s edition the passage referred to occurs at p. 107. See also pp. 109 and 113. It will be observed that Yākūt supplies us with a different reading.

† Ibn al-Athīr describes the Banu Ma‘āfīr as a Himyaritic tribe (vol. viii. p. 499).

‡ Another rebellion is stated to have occurred in Yaman in A.H. 207 (Tabari, iii. p. 1062), led by the Alide ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān.
Ibn Ziyād's descent seems to be traced through Ziyād'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 Suṣyān, brother therefore of Mu'āwiya as the first Khalifah of the Omayyad dynasty. 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 Abīhi, the son of his father. Mu'āwiya 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 subject. 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 Ḥufthah 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-'Aṣ. "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 Suṣyān, "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 Suṣyān, 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 a.h. 58.

Suleymān ibn Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik, from whom one

ibn Ahmad. 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'mān. 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 Tihamah of Yaman was far less rapid than is represented by 'Omārah. Al-Hamādānī, who died in a.h. 334, indeed tells us (p. 103) that, from the time of al-Muttaṣim (a.h. 218—227) to that of al-Mu'tamid (a.h. 256—279), a certain family of the Banu Shurāḥ (subdivision of the tribe of Din Kurayn the Himyarites) exercised sovereign rule over the Tihamah of Yaman. Elsewhere (p. 120, l. 7) he says that the Banu Shurāḥ held paramount sway, at Zabīd, over all the neighbouring Arab tribes. See also p. 119, l. 23.
of the Ziyādite’s companions claimed to be descended, was, as is indicated by his name, son of the Omāyyad Khalifah Hishām. He was slain in A.H. 132, one of the many victims of the first Abbasside Khalifah ‘Abd Allah as-Saffāh, the Blood-spiller. Ibn Ziyād’s companion, it will be observed, is also designated the Marvānīte, after his ancestor the Khalifah Marwān, father of ‘Abd al-Malik.

The Banū Taghlib were a Ma‘addite (Ishmaelite) tribe descended from Rabī‘ah son of Nizār. The Taghlibite companion of Muḥammad ibn Ziyād bore the same name as Muḥammad (al-Anīlū), son and successor of Harūn (ar-Rashīd). Al-ʿAmin was deposed from the Khalifate in favour of his brother ‘Abd Allah al-Maʿmūn, and in A.H. 198 he was captured and slain by Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn, the general in command of al-Maʿmūn’s troops. The new Khalifah, it is said, never ceased secretly to lament the slaughter of his brother. On one occasion, at the sight of Ṭāhir, 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 Ṭāhir, 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 Ṭāhirītes.

Note 5 to p. 4.—Al-Khazraji, at this point of his history (p. 78), enters into certain particulars touching the town of Zabīd. 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 Ḥusayn ibn Salāmāh, rebuilt by Mann Allāh al-Fātīki, in A.H. 520 and odd years, again by the Banū Mahdy, and again, in A.H. 589, by Sayf al-Islām Tughtakin the Ayyūbite. It has, he says, four gates. One on the east called Bāb ʿash-Shībārīk, leading to Shībārīk, a village situated on the river Zabīd, and thence to the fortress of Kawārīr. One on the west, which in his day was called Bāb an-Nakhl, but which at an earlier period

* Al-Janadi tells us that the city of Zabīd was named after the river (fol. 29 obv.).
bore the name of Bāb Ghulāfikah. The road leads to Ghulāfikah 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-Buk'āh. The third gate, on the north, bore the name of Bāb Sahām. It led to Wādi Rima' and Wādi Sahām. The fourth gate, Bāb 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-Mujawir, written about A.H. 630, a book freely used by Sprenger, in his valuable work upon Eastern Geography, under the title of Tārīkh al-Mustansīrī. It may be worth remarking that in the Leiden MS. of al-Khazraji, the word, excepting in one instance, is written al-Mustansīrī.

Note 6 to p. 4.—'Omarah's statements touching the foundation of al-Mudhaykhirah and on the derivation of the name Mikhlaż Jafar 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 Abī Ja'far al-Manākhi, who conquered Mount Thaumān in the days of al-Ma'mūn. Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Hamīd, 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 بُكْعَان, but adds that the form of the word is that of the dual of بُكْعَم.

Yākūt gives 'Omarah's description of Mudhaykhirah, as

* Johannsen gives most of these particulars (pp. 120, 253, 261) as they are borrowed from al-Khazraji by Dayba', but having misread احتل, a not inexcusable error in the absence of diacritical points, he has missed the sense of the writer's words regarding the name Buk'āh. Khazraji writes: احتل البدر إلى قرية الأهرام و البدر اليوم تسمى الفلجة. It will be observed that there is room for doubt whether the name Buk'āh is meant to apply to Ghulāfikah or to al-Ahwāb.
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. Yaḥyā begins by stating that Mudhaykhiraḥ 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 (ذو المثل; but cf. Hamdānī p. 100, l. 25 and 26), the Ḥimyarite, and from Dhu 'l-Manākhi. His posterity continued in existence down to the writer's days, and they were known as Sultāns of Kiyād (؟ فاض) Bayt 'Izz, Raym (Raymah?) and Karm 'Amīn. Ibrahim 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 Isma'ilite doctrines were established in Yaman. Mudhaykhiraḥ, it will be seen, was conquered by Ibn Faḍl. Its ruler at that time, says al-Khazraji (who derives his information from the same source as al-Janadi), was Ja'far ibn ʿAlī (Ibrahim?) al-Manākhi, after whom Mikhlāf Ja'far is named. Aly ibn Faḍl marched against him in a.h. 291, but was defeated and compelled to fall back upon the country of Yāū. Five months later, in a.h. 292, he again attacked the city and he succeeded in gaining possession, first of Mudhaykhiraḥ and next of the fortress of Ta'kar. Ja'far ibn Ibrahim (sic) fled to Tiḥāmah and reached al-Kurtub in the valley of the river Zabid. He was assisted with troops by the Prince of Zabid (Abu ʿl-Jaysh Ishāk?). With these he resumed the struggle. A celebrated battle was fought, says Khazraji, in Wādī Nakhlah, in which Ja'far ibn Ibrahim (sic) and his nephew Abu ʿl-Futūḥ were killed. Ja'far's rule, adds the same writer, endured from a.h. 249 to 292, forty-three years.*

* Hamdānī (p. 75, l. 9) says that "Ja'far ibn Ibrahim al-Manākhi" was killed at or near the fortress of Khawālah, situated close to one of the sources of the Wādī Nakhlah.

Dr. Glaser visited the town of Menakha near Shibām-Harāz, which I need hardly say is geographically quite distinct from Mikhlāf Ja'far, or the country of al-Manākhi, as it is sometimes called. I find no mention of Manakha in Hamdānī or other
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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 Diyar Kindah, Shihr and Mirbāt, see supra, pp. 177, 180 and 182. See also de Goeje's ed. of Ibn Haukal, 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 Amīr, 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 San'a, and who continued to be appointed by the Khalifah 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 San'a, 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-Hamdānī mentions another place, Manāhi, written, according to Müller's edition, with the letter ḫa not ḫa. 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'a. The other has its chief sources in the neighbourhood of Shībām-Akyān and Ḥadūr Bani Azd. Its upper course bears, according to Dr. Glaser's map, the name of Wādi Khuzāmīr and, lower down, that of Wādi Shiwa'bah (cf. Handānī, p. 82, l. 6, and p. 110, l. 6). Among its affluents is, as shown by Dr. Glaser, the small stream of Dhi Bin (or Dhū Bin), in Balad as-Sayad (Handānī, p. 82, l. 8, and 111, 25). The town of Dhū Bin, the burial-place of the Imām Ahmad ibn Husayn, is frequently mentioned in the histories of the Zaydite Imāms.
Tubbas or ancient Himyarite Kings, and Ibn KhaIdūn, in his chapter on the Rassite Sharifs of Sa'dah, likewise speaks of them as of the posterity of the Tuubbūs. Elsewhere, when describing the genealogies of the Yamanite princes and tribes (vol. ii. p. 243), he gives us the pedigree of the family of Ya'fur, 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 Ḥawwāl,* whence probably the surname the Hawwālītes, by which the family is frequently designated. Ya'fur ibn 'Abd ar-Raḥmān, founder of the dynasty, is first heard of, according to Janadi, under the Governorship of Ayākh, who was appointed over Yaman by the Khalīfah al-Mu'tāsīm, according to at-Ṭabarī, in a.h. 225 (vol. iii. p. 1302). Al-Wāṭhīk (a.h. 227—232), replaced Ayākh by Ja'far ibn Dīnār, who had formerly ruled over the country, but had been deposed in favour of Ayākh. The appointment of Ibn Dīnār took place in a.h. 231, according to Ibn al-Athīr, and he tells us that the new Governor proceeded to Ṣan'ā' accompanied by a force of 4000 horse and 1000 foot soldiers. Janadi says that Ibn Dīnār attacked Ya'fur ibn 'Abd ar-Raḥmān, but that peace was eventually concluded between them. Al-Mutawakkil, who succeeded to the Khalīfate in a.h. 232, appointed Ḥimyar ibn al-Ḥārīth. 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 Ṣan'ā' and of Janad, but not of Tiḥāmah, which since a.h. 204 was in the possession of the Banu Ziyād.

Ya'fur was succeeded by his son Muḥammad ibn Ya'fur. He recognized the supremacy of the Khalīfah al-Mu'tamīd (a.h. 256—279), who in a.h. 259, formally invested him with the Government of Ṣan'ā'. Ḥadramaut and Janad were included in the dominions of Muḥammad ibn Ya'fur, but he owned allegiance to the Ziyādītes and paid them tribute. He started on the pilgrimage in a.h. 262, after appointing his son Ibrāhīm to be his deputy. On his return he built,

* The name is pointed Ḥiwāl in Müller's edition of Hamdānī (see Note 11). Yaḳūṯ, s.f. حصيد writes Ḥawwāl.
in 265, the mosque of Ṣan'ā according to the design which, al-Janadi says, it still retained in his own day. Muḥammad was assassinated by his son Ibrāhīm, 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 cousin and his father's mother.† This occurred, he adds, six months before the death of al-Mu'tamid, in Muḥarram, therefore, of A.H. 279. Ibrāhīm 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 Isma'ilites 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-Fadl, which is included in this volume.

The statement that Muḥammad ibn Ya'fur was assassinated by his son Ibrāhīm 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:—

Ibrāhīm, he says, continued to administer the affairs of the kingdom after his father's return from Mecca. A rebellion broke out at Ṣan'ā some time after A.H. 270, and the insurgents offered supreme authority to Ja'far ibn Aḥmad (ibn Ibrāhīm?) al-Manakhi. Eventually the entire family of the Banū Ya'fur were driven out of the city, and Muḥammad ibn Ya'fur was shortly afterwards killed at Shibām. He was succeeded, not by Ibrāhīm, but by a nephew, 'Abd al-Kādir, son of Aḥmad ibn Ya'fur, a circumstance that may perhaps be accounted for by the charge made against Ibrāhīm of being the assassin of his father. 'Abd al-Kādir retained power for only a few days. A governor, 'Aly ibn Ḥusayn Juftam, arrived from Baghdād in Şafar 279, the next month after that in which, according to Janadi, Muḥammad lost his life. Juftam ruled until A.H. 282, when he returned to 'Irāk. Ibrāhīm ibn Ya'fur now attained absolute sovereignty, but his reign did

* The writer quoted by Janadi is perhaps the grandson of 'Abd ar-Rahmān ibn al-Jauzi, namely, Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Yaṣūf ibn Kizughli, generally known as Sibṭ ibn al-Jauzi. He was author of a history, Miḥār az-Za'mān, which the author of the Kasḥ az-Zunūn says consisted of forty volumes. A small portion of the work exists in the Library of the British Museum.

† Janadi, fol. 29 rev.
not long endure. He died and was succeeded by his son As'ad.

In A.H. 288, Ṣan‘ā was conquered by the Rassite Imām al-Hādy (see Ṣabari, iii. p. 2204 and Ibn al-Athir, vii. p. 352). He imprisoned the chief members of the family of Ya‘fur, but they were released and escaped to Shibām,* where As‘ad’s authority over his followers was maintained until he was able to compel the Imām to abandon Ṣan‘ā. 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-Ḥadī 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‘ūdī 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 Muḥammad, 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 Sa‘dah, al-Mukhtār, son of an-Nāṣir Ahmad son of al-Ḥadī, acquired possession of Ṣan‘ā, but before the end of the year, he was assassinated by a powerful Hamdānī chief, known by the name of Daḥḥāk.§ A freedman of the Banu Ya‘fur, ‘Aly ibn Wardān, supported by Daḥḥāk, was recognized as Prince of Ṣan‘ā. He was barely able to withstand the opposition of the Khualanites, led by al-Asmar Yūnīf ibn Abī ‘l-Futūḥ,

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* Shibam-Akyan? See Note 11.
† See Note 138. According to the Ḥadā‘īk, al-Ḥadī acquired possession of Ṣan‘ā in 297, and appointed his son over it as Governor. The Imām died, as will be seen (Note 127), in A.H. 298.
‡ Vol. ii. p. 55, of Barbier de Meynard’s printed text and translation.
§ Al-Kāsim, surnamed al-Mukhtār, is mentioned by the Zaydīte historians, but they do not reckon him among the Imāms, nor do they say that he was assassinated.
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and he died in A.H. 350. He was succeeded by his brother Sapür, with whom Daḫḥāk 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, Sapür was overtaken by al-Asmar and killed.

Daḫḥāk now tendered submission to the Prince of Zabīd, Abu 'l-Ḥasan (Abu 'l-Jaysh?) ibn Ziyād. Al-Asmar the Khaulanite, on the other hand, offered the throne to the Amīr 'Abd Allah ibn Kaḥṭān (grand-nephew of As'ād ibn Ya'fur), by whom the offer was accepted (A.H. 352). He entered Sanā', whence Daḥḥāk hurriedly fled. Next followed a series of struggles between the contending parties, in which a Rassite Imām, Yūṣūf son of Yaḥyā son of an-Nāṣir 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 A.H. 379 he was able to invade Tiḥāmah 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 Khufbah throughout his dominions, proclaimed the supremacy of the Egyptian Fatimites.‡ He died in A.H. 387 and was succeeded by his son As'ād. 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 Sanā' 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 Khazrajī's 'Ukūd (fol. 115 obv.) as well as in Ibn Ḥātim

* The name of the Imām Yūṣūf son of Yaḥyā is mentioned by the Zaydite writers, but I can find no account of his career. The author of the Jawahir gives him the title of Da'y, and simply says that he was contemporary with al-Manṣūr al-Ḵāsim. The latter was surnamed al-'Ayānī, after the name of the place in which he proclaimed himself in A.H. 389.
† Husayn ibn Ṣalāmah, we have been told, was regent from A.H. 372 to 402.
‡ The Fatimita Khalīfah al-'Azīz reigned from A.H. 365 to 386. It deserves perhaps to be here borne in mind that 'Abd Allah was, through his mother, grandson of Ibn Fāḍl the Karmathian. (Supra, p. 207.)
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(fol. 105 obv.), that the Rasulite Sultan of Yaman regained possession of the fortress of Kaukabān from the Banu Ḥlawwāl.

Ṣan'a, until its conquest by 'Aly the Sulayhite, became the scene of perpetual strife, not only between the rival tribes of Hamdān and Khanlān, but also between various pretenders to the dignity of Imām. In 389, the Imām al-Manṣūr al-Kāsim son of 'Aly appeared from the country of the Banu Khath'am. With the assistance of the Hamdānites, he drove the Imām Yūsuf son of Yahya from Ṣadāh and placed the city under the command of his son Ja'far. He next reached Raydah,* where he received the submission of Ja'far son of al-Dāḥák and of the people of al-Baun. He thence despatched to Ṣan'a a Zaydite Sharif, named al-Kāsim ibn Ḥusayn, 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 Kahlān, and he recognized the supremacy of the Imām al-Kāsim.‡ But ere long the Zaydite Sharīf renounced his allegiance to al-Manṣūr al-Kāsim ibn 'Aly, and declared himself in favour of the authority of the Imām Yūsuf son of Yahya. The Imām al-Kāsim died in A.H. 393. Ṣan'a became the scene of prolonged strife, a prey to contending factions of rival Imāms and Arab families, among which Hamdānites and Khanlānites played a prominent part, but none able to establish a settled or permanent government. In A.H. 401, Ḥusayn son of al-Kāsim declared himself; as has been done by so many pretenders, both before and since his time, to be the Mahdī, whose coming, according to an old tradition, was foretold by the Prophet. He obtained a large following among the Ḥimyarites and Hamdānites, who abandoned the cause of the Zaydite Sharīf. The latter was driven out of Ṣan'a.

* Raydah was a town of considerable importance, in the district of al-Baun.

† I find no mention elsewhere of this "Zaydite Sharīf."

‡ I have mentioned (supra, p. 171 footnote) that Dr. Glaser has Kohlān on his map, north-east of Ḥijjah, probably the old fortress of the Banu Ya'fur. Yākūt says that the Yamanites pronounce the name Kuhlān, but he calls the place a Miḥlāf. Hamdānī mentions it as the name of a totally different place, in the neighbourhood, it would appear, of Yarim or Dhu Raw'ayn. Kuhlān, according to the Kamūs, was the name of an Arab tribe.
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 Bin, in the course of an attack by the Hamdanites, from among whom a chief of the family of Dahhak had been called to the throne by the citizens. 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 Ja'far, 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 San'a. In 418, a new and unknown pretender appeared at Ma'rib, who proclaimed himself Imam, under the title of al-Maw'd li-din Illah (He who brings the people back to the religion of God). He succeeded in making himself master of San'a,* but was killed in 421, during which and the following year, severe famine prevailed throughout Yaman. In 422 the Imamate was claimed by Abu Hashim al-Hasan son of 'Abd ar-Rahman, who was accompanied by his son Hamzah, from whom the Hamzite Sharifs derive their distinctive appellation.† He possessed himself of San'a, from which Ibn Abi Hashid escaped, whilst Mansur ibn Abi 'l-Futuh tendered his submission. Abu Hashim'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-Mansur al-Kasim 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 'Jahshid 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'a.‡

*I can find no trace of this personage in the Zaydite historians.
† I do not find the date of Abu Hashim's death. His son Hamzah was killed in A.H. 459 fighting the troops of 'Ali the Sulayhite.
‡ An-Nasir Abu 'l-Fath the Daylamite was a descendant of Zayd son of Hasun (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 'Ali the Sulayhite shortly after 440.
Ja'far son of Mansur al-Kasim is likewise stated to have made war upon the troops of as-Sulayhi (see infra, Note 29).
His supremacy was for a time recognized by Ja'far son of the Imam al- Kasim, 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 Khawālīnite. Yaḥya ibn Abi Ḥāshid, to whom the writer gives the title of Sūltān, died at the commencement of A.H. 410. His son was invited by the people to succeed him and received oaths of allegiance from the Hamdānītes. Ṣan‘ā was conquered (about A.H. 453) by ‘Aly the Sulayhīte, whose first manifestation in Yaman, adds the writer, dates i‘l‘om the night of Monday, third of the month of Jamā‘ī ‘l-‘Akhir 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 Sulayhīte dominion to Dhu Jiblah in 480, he appointed over Ṣan‘ā ʿImrān ibn al-Fadl the Yāmite. Upon the death, in A.H. 492, of Saba ibn Ahmad, the city and adjoining country was formed into an independent Principality, under Sūltān Ḥātim ibn al-Ghashīm, also a member of the tribe of Hamdān (see Note 42). He died in A.H. 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 Hamdānīte family reigned until A.H. 533, when Ḥamīd ad-Daulah Ḥātim son of Ahmad son of ‘Imrān son of al-Fadl—grandson, therefore, of the governor appointed by al-Mukarram the Sulayhīte—was invited by the tribe to assume the crown.*

He was attacked in A.H. 545 by the Zaydite Imām al-Mutawakkil Ahmad son of Sulaymān, against whom, however, he succeeded eventually in defending himself. Ḥātim died in A.H. 556, and was succeeded by his son ‘Aly, surnamed al-Wahīd. ‘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 Ṣan‘ā when, six months after his

* It will be seen that, according to the above, Ibn Khaldūn’s statement (supra, p. 148), to the effect that ʿImrān ibn al-Fadl became independent at Ṣan‘ā and transmitted the crown to his descendants, is erroneous.

The historian Ibn Ḥātim was a descendant of Ḥamīd ad-Daulah.
campaign against the Malidytes, Yaman was invaded and conquered by Turān Shah the Ayyūbite and brother of Saladin.

Muḥammad son of Ahmad son of ʿImrān, mentioned at p. 60, must have been brother of Sulṭān Ḥamīd ad-Daulah Ḥātim.

Note 9 to p. 6.—Wādi Bayḥān is marked on Walker's map of Arabia, south-west of Māʿrib and north-east of Dhamār, at about the same distance from either.

Nashwān ibn Saʿīd, who according to Ibn Khaldūn (supra, p. 173), was ruler or chief of Bayḥān, wrote the Ḳaṣīdat 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 Ṣanʿā', 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 Ṣanʿā' 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 ʿOmārah had recourse. The statement that Ṣanʿā' stands on the equator is made by Ibn Ḥaukal, but is not to be found in al-Iṣṭakhri. Yākūt quotes the description of Ṣanʿā' as given by our author, but the latter's name is printed 'Ivrān ibn Abī ʾI-Ḥasan instead of ʿOmārah.

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 Iṣṭakhri and Ibn Ḥaukal. I do not know how it can be explained. Even if we read circuit for height, it would be a manifest exaggeration.

* de Goeje's ed. p. 31.
† Id. p. 24. Iṣṭakhri seems to have borrowed his account of the climate of Ṣanʿā' from al-Hamdānī. See Müller's edition, p. 195, l. 24.
Note 11 to p. 6.—It must be through a corruption of the text that ‘Omārah is made to speak of Ibn Faḍl as “Sheykh of Lā‘ah,” a designation which could only be properly given to his colleague and eventual rival Ibn Ḥanṣab or Mansūr al-Yaman. I have omitted in my translation, the conjunction that appears in the MS., 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-Mudhaykhirah. That this is incorrect is shown with sufficient clearness by ‘Omārah himself, when he tells us that Mudhaykhirah stood in the province of Ja‘far (see Note 6).

Yākūṭ has the following passage (vol. iii. p. 622) s.v. ‘Aden: قال عارة لعمة مدينة في جبل صر من أعمال صنعاء إلى جانبها قرية فلطفنا يقال لها عده لامعة proceeding as in our text down to the words العربية بالمعنى which, however, he adds بعد الممردين. Here we have probably the origin of the statement that al-Mudhaykhirah stood on Mount Sabir, and indeed other quotations to be found in Yākūṭ, as well as the above, lead to the suspicion that his MS. of ‘Omārah was by no means perfect.

Al-Mukaddasi mentions al-Mudhaykhirah in his enumeration of towns in Yaman (p. 53 and p. 70), along with Janad, Dhamār, Yahṣib (or Yahdīb), Khaulān, Sahūl, etc. Hamdān 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, Sahūl, Raymah, etc. At p. 100 (l. 10 sqq.) he tells us that al-Mudhaykhirah, Thaumān (see supra, p. 207), the mountain of Bā'dān, also Raymah, etc., were in the district of Sahūl.

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 Yākūṭ or by Ibn Sa‘īd, from whom, 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 Aden. They are in fact one and the same.*

The town of ‘Aden-Lā‘ah stood probably on or close to

* See, inter alia, al-Mukaddasi, p. 85.
the banks of the Wadi Lā'ah, an important affluent of the Wadi Maur, one that retains its name to the present day. A 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-Hamdānī tells us, p. 69, l. 1) that Lā'ah was situated in the Sarāt or mountain-range of al-Masānī'. At p. 112, he tells us that Lā'ah marked the beginning of the country of Ḥāshid, north-west of Ṣan'ā. 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 Ḥajjah and of Jabal Maswar, both which will be found on Dr. Glaser's map. Al-Janadī tells us (fol. 6 obv.) that 'Aden-Lā'ah, "one of the towns of Ḥajjah in which Mansūr al-Yaman proclaimed the 'Obaydite supremacy," had long been in ruins.

Al-Hamdānī mentions another important mountain in the Masānī' 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.

Thorough not attaining the elevation of the highest summits of the Masānī', it overlooks, he tells us, a wide extent of country. On the south, Bura', Ḥarāz and other mountains are distinctly visible. On the west, the view extends from the centre of the country of the Hakamites to Mah-jam, and the white stream of the Wadi Maur is seen glistening through the haze that rests upon the plains of Tīhāmah. 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 Masānī'.

Jabal 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

* 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 seaport. It is true that Niebuhr mentions an inland village named Sharjah, south of Ḥays.
map published by Dr. Glaser in the "Mittheilungen," but he mentions its name, and says that it stands due west of Jabal Maswar.

'Omarrah, still following Ibn Haukal and al-Iṣṭākhri, proceeds (supra, p. 7) with an account of Shibām. Besides one in Ḥadramaut, there were two places in Yaman of that name. One stood on the mountains of Ḥarāz, situated between Wādi Sahām and Wādi Sourdūd (Hamdānī, p. 105). The other, which Hamdānī calls Shibām-ʻAḳyān, stood close to Kaukabān, at the foot of the mountain of Dhukhār, whence the river Sourdūd has its source (ib. p. 106-7). Both these places are marked upon Dr. Glaser's map.

The province of ʻAḳyān, according to Hamdānī, belonged to the ʻHawvālis or ʻBanū Yaʻfur. He adds that the country was the scene of the contests, whereby Yaʻfur ibn ʻAbd ar-Rahmān, in the days of al-Muṭaṣāmīn, of al-Wāthik, and of al-Mutaṭakkil, raised himself to power.

ʻYākūt, in his Mushtarič, mentions still another place named Shibām, three parasangs north-east of Ṣanʻā, but this, I think, requires confirmation.

Shibām in Ḥadramaut was, says Hamdānī, 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, l. 25; 87, l. 25).

Note 12 to p. 8.—The "statement of revenue" and the particulars that follow are simply borrowed, with some slight exaggeration, from Ibn Ḥaukal (De Goeje's ed. p. 20), and the same remark applies to the information supplied (supra, pp. 5 and 7) respecting As'ād ibn Yaʻfur and Ibn ʻṬarf. In Ibn Ḥaukal, the distance from Sharjah to Aden is stated at twelve, instead of at twenty days' journey.

The 'Aththariyah dinār, according to al-Muḳaddasi (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-Muḳaddasi, p. 296.

Ibn Ḥaukal calls the Prince of Ḥali al-Khazāmī, but Müller's edition of al-Hamdānī (p. 120, l. 12, and 14) gives the reading al-Ḥirāmī.

Note 13 to p. 9.—According to Khazraji (p. 78), Muḥammad ibn Ziyād died in a.h. 245. His son ʻĪbrahīm, he con-
tunes, died in A.H. 289, after a reign of thirty-eight years (sic). Next to Ibrahim followed Ziyād son of Ibrahim, who did not long reign and the date of whose death the writer is unable to give. Abu 'l-Jaysh Ishāk succeeded his brother Ziyād, 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 Faḍl (supra, p. 200); but as the capture of Zabid must have occurred after A.H. 292, when Ibn Faḍl conquered Mudhaykhirah, it may with at least equal plausibility be conjectured that it was really Abu ‘l-Jaysh 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’ūdi says (vol. iii. p. 35) that in his day (A.H. 332 or shortly after) the Prince of Zabid was Ibrahim ibn Ziyād, which adds to our difficulties. The Prince, he further tells us, bore the surname Saḥib al-Harmali, which I have nowhere else met with.

A valuable date is supplied by a dinār, 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 Ishāk, at Zabīd, in A.H. 346, and it bears the name of the ‘Abbasside Khalīfah al-Muti’ (A.H. 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 Abu ‘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 Ibrahim. After the death, in A.H. 402, of Ḥusayn 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 Ibrahim at p. 15. He was assassinated in A.H. 409.

Al-Janadi (fol. 184 rev.) says it may clearly be shown, that the Banū Ziyād 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
continues, as titular sovereigns, for thirty-eight years. Next followed a struggle between Najäh and Anis, which endured for three years, until 412, when Najäh became supreme ruler. He and his descendants and their wazirs, adds al-Janadi, ruled for 145 years, including the three years of war between Najäh and Anis, 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 Daybah 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 ‘Omarah tells us Zabīd was founded in a.h. 204, the year in which the Imam ash-Shafi'i died. Al-Janadi (fol. 29 obv.) gives the same date for the conquest of Tiḥāmah 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 ibn Salāmah, is also so styled by al-Janadi and by Ibn Khallikān. Al-Khazraji and Ibn Khaldūn give him the name of Rashīd.

The assassin of the last Prince of the Ziyādite dynasty is called in our text Nafis, نفيس, and so also in Khazraji. Ibn Khallikān and Ibn Khaldūn give him the name of Ānis, آنس. 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.h. 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

* All Arabic students are aware how easily the words signifying seven and nine may be mistaken for one another, and how frequently the mistake occurs.
R. A. S. vol. xiv. p. 240), that the word al-Kayi/F/m, in the Ayat al-Kursy, ought in accordance with the definition of the commentators, to be rendered the Watchful, or the Vigilant.

When Mu‘āḍh 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 hres 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 Buṭṭutah 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-Hamdānī, in describing the coast of Yaman, proceeding from south to north (p. 52), next after Kamārān men-

* The New Haven, Marsa ‘l-Hādith, is doubtless either Luhayy or Hudaylah. 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 Sultan al-Ghūrī. The army, composed of Circassians, Kurds and other Asiatics, landed in the Island of Kamārān in Dhu l-Ka‘dah A.H. 921 (December, 1515). Their first operations were directed against the seaport town of Jadidah (Hudaylah?), which was looted and destroyed. The Governor of Luhayy tendered his submission and actively assisted the invading army in its advance into the interior. Zabid was taken in Jamād Awwal, 922. The conquest of the country was completed in Rabi ‘Awwal
tions 'Uṭaynah. At p. 120, l. 1, we read 'Itnah instead of the diminutive form 'Uṭaynah, and the author says that it and al-Hirdah are the ports of al-Mahjam. Al-Muḳaddasi (p. 53) writes 'Itnah.

Next to 'Uṭaynah, Hamdāni mentions Hirdah, then Munfarḥik Jābir, a dangerous headland, where (violent) winds are frequent. Its limits extend to Sharjah, the seaport of the country of the Banu Ḥakam. Next Bāḥat Jazān and on to ʿAṭthar. At the headland of ʿAṭthar the sea, he says, is remarkable for its heavy waves. See also p. 188, where, as well as at p. 120, the author mentions Wādī Ḥaraḏ among other places in the country of the Ḥakamites.

Al-Aḥdāl (fol. 5 obv.) says that Sharjah is the port of Ḥaraḏ, Sāḥil Ḥaraḏ, and Ḥaḏrājī gives it the name of Sharjat Ḥaraḏ, which practically conveys the same meaning.

Ibn Ḥātim tells us (fol. 2 obv., see Note 101), that Ḥaraḏ was also called Mahall Abī Turūb. I find “Ḥarād” 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 Luḥayy, 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 Zābīd, 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 Sulṭān of Yaman, defeated and flying before the invader, was killed near Ṣanʿā.

It is a somewhat remarkable circumstance that whilst an Egyptian army was occupied in subjugating Yaman, the Turks under Sulṭān Selim were engaged in the conquest of Egypt, and Tūman-Bay, the last Mamlīk Sulṭān, was hanged by order of Selim at Cairo, a few days before the Sulṭān 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-Ghūrī by Sulṭān 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.
As to 'Athtar, according to Haradani as quoted above, it stood north of Bayš Jāzān, which may be presumed to be the same as Gizan of the Admiralty chart. At p. 54 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 lions. (See also p. 127, 1. 16.)

Etwid is mentioned on the Admiralty chart. Al-Ahdal (fol. 5 obv.) says that 'Athr (sic) was a village situated between Ḥali and Ḥarad, 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-Suhārī, al-Khauhah and Maushij (travelling from north to south). Al-Hamānī mentions the town, but is not clear as to its precise position. Al-Jadūn is written in Khazraji al-Hadūn. Ad-Dijā is somewhat vaguely described by Yākūt as a town near Zabīd. Both al-Jahthah and 'Irsk an-Nashum are omitted by Khazraji, but al-Jaththah is mentioned in the Marāṣid as a village in Yaman. Al-Wadiyānī 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 'Omārah invariably speaks of it as north of Mahjan and Maur. Jīzān might be taken to be the same as Gizan or Bāḥūl Jāzān mentioned in the preceding note, but it is
not given as a seaport, which the latter is. In Khazraji the name is written Ḥayrān, and Jīzān may perhaps be better identified with Ḥayrān, which is mentioned by Hamdāni (p. 120) along with Wādi Taʿshar, as a town in the country of the Bann Ḥakam. Al-Musāʿid is called by Khazraji as-Sāʿid, and the name is so written in al-Hamdāni (p. 119, l. 26). Al-Muḥarr and Riʿyāh (?) are given by Khazraji, but I have nowhere else met with any mention of them. Instead of al-Līth, Khazraji has al-Ḥabī (Khaḥṭ?), but al-Līth is mentioned by Ibn Khurdadbeh (p. 118) and by Hamdāni (p. 120, l. 16). Al-Baydā and Wādi Rukhmah (?) by the same writer in the next line. Khazraji writes Bīr al-Bayḍā instead of al-Bayḍā, but Ibn al-Mujāwir, according to Sprenger, gives it the same name as in our MS. Khazraji has Bīr ʿAdam instead of Bīrūd. We may perhaps read Aydām, the name given by Ibn al-Mujāwir (Sprenger, p. 131.). The names of the first stations travelling southward from Mecca, as given by him, are as follows:

From Mecca to al-Kārīm, then to al-Bayḍā, then to Aydām. Next to Wādi Ṭuḥrām (Yalamlam ?) where the Yamanite pilgrims assume the Ṭhrām.

Sabkhat al-Gharāb is so given by Khazraji. Ibn al-Mujāwir (Sprenger, p. 150) mentions a place al-Bayḍā in the desert or Kū of Sabkhat al-Gharāb, near Aden, which I do not know how to account for. Al-Kārīm is mentioned by al-Muḳaddasi, as standing between Mecca and Juddah, ʿNaʿmān, or ʿNaʿmān al-ʿArāk, is described by Yāḵūt 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 Mikūt of the people of Yaman (the place where the Yamanite pilgrims assume the garb and commence the ceremonies attendant upon the performance of pilgrimage). Yalamlam has a well, constructed by Ibn Salāmah. Next is Bīr (the well of) ʿAdām, 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 Bīr al-Bayḍā, a well constructed by Ibn Salāmah, next al-Kārīm and then Mecca.

Of the places on the maritime road, al-Mukhnaḳ is mentioned by Hamdāni (p. 188, l. 14). ʿAthr (?) , on the southern coast, I was once inclined to think might be the same as ʿAbrah of Hamdāni (p. 188, l. 15); but although omitted in
the MS. of Khazraji, it is given by Dayba', and it is more-
over mentioned by Ibn al-Mujawir (Sprenger, p. 150), as
distant three parasangs from 'Arar. Next to Bāb al-
Mandab our MS. has as-Suḥāri. Hamdāni writes Suḥāri,
Ibn al-Majawir (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-Mahjām. For al-Mufajjar we
may perhaps read Hajjar (Hamdāni, p. 188, Sprenger, 133).
Duwaymah and Hamdah are referred to by al-Mukaddasi
(p. 69 and footnote), and the last-mentioned by Hamdāni
(p. 52, l. 14 and 120, l. 16).

Hamdāni says (p. 51, 13) that Hamidah stood near a
mountain which he calls Kudummu. 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.—Makrizi, in his Khīṭāṭ (vol. i. p. 448)
gives the following description of the Imperial umbrella,
which was borne on state occasions over the head of the
Khalifah:

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 pro-
vided 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

* Makrizi has previously mentioned that the umbrella, as well as
the Khalifah’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.
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. They 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 Dabikite 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. Sa'dah and the country on the north were in the possession of the Zaydite Imāms. Janad as well as the city and province of San'a 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 Sulayhīte, 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 al-Tubba'y appears to have been the chief of the family at the time of its restoration. The part he took in the

* Dabik was a small Egyptian town near Tinnis, on an island in Lake Menzalah.
scheme to which Sa‘id son of Najäh fell a victim, is related further on, and it may be noticed that he is there styled Prince of Sha‘ir.

Al-Hamdâni says (p. 54, l. 21) that the family of Kurandi belonged to the Banu Thumâmah, descendants of Himyar al-Asghar (ancestor of the Banu Ya‘fur and Banu Auzâ‘).

The following is al-Khazraji’s enumeration of the petty dynasties that sprang up in Yaman upon the death of Ibn Salâmah in A.H. 402, and of the territories and fortresses which they appropriated (fol. 88):—

The governors of the mountain districts and fortresses took possession of that with which they were entrusted. Among others, the Hamdanites seized upon Ṣân‘â‘, as already mentioned.

The Banu Ma‘n took possession of Aden, of Laḥj, of Abyan, of Shihhr and of Ḥâdramaut. They are not descendents of Ma‘n ibn ‘Azîdah the Shaybânîte. The Banu Kurandi, a family descended from Himyar, possessed themselves of Ṣamarân, an exceedingly important fortress, of the strongholds of Sawâ‘, of Dumîwah, of Ṣâbir, of Dhakhîr and of Ta‘kar, a fortress which commands Janad.* They made themselves masters of (large portions of) the provinces of Ja‘far, of ‘Umân and of al-Ma‘âsîr. ‘Omarah 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 Azzân, of Khadid, of Bayt ‘Izz, of the fortresses of Sha‘îr, of Abwar (Anwar), of Naqîl, of Sahûl and of Shawâ‘î.

The Banu Wa‘îl ibn ‘Isa seized upon Wuhâzah and upon its strongholds, Yarîs, Zahrân, al-Khaḍîr, Sa‘ab and Ya‘fûz. The Banu Wa‘îl are descended from Dhu ‘l-Kalâ‘. 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 Wa‘îl, 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 Kurân readers and of worshippers, he held in high honour the practice of frequenting the

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* The name of this fortress, and of that of the same name at Aden, is thus given in the Kamûs, Ta‘kar, and it would appear to have been generally so pronounced. But in Müller’s Hamdâni, it is for the most part written Ta‘kur, which, or its alternative Ta‘kîr, is perhaps the more correct orthography.

Al-Janadi tells us (fol. 191 rev.) that the castle of Ta‘kar above Dhu Jibläh was demolished in A.H. 594 by the Ayyubite Sulân al-Mu‘izz Isma‘îl.
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-Jaʿāmi (al-Jufy ?).

I omit the words that follow, evidently an imperfect rendering of the passage in ʿOmarah, wherein he speaks of the fortresses and territories taken by a family of the tribe of Bakil and by that of ʿAbd al-Wāhid.

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.

\* J. 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.

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Notes 20-22.

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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 Khalifah al-Mansūr ‘Abd Allah. His life is given by Ibn Khallikān (de Slane, vol. iii. p. 398), 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 Za‘idah is mentioned by Ibn Khaldūn and distinctly contradicted by al-Khazraji (see the preceding note), as well as by ‘Umarah.

Note 21 to p. 17.—The Imam Malik ibn Anas al-Asbahi was the founder of one of the four great schools into which the Sunnite Muhammadans are divided. He was born, lived and died at Medinah, for which reason he is styled Imam 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. Dumlūkah is mentioned by Niebuhr in his Description of Arabia (p. 212) and is marked upon his map, a short distance east of Ta‘izz. Hamdān’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-Hamdānī, are separated by an opening, in which stands the town and fortress of Jabā, the residence of the Banu Kurandā (p. 99, l. 6). Mount Sabir, he adds (l. 21), separates Jabā from Janad. The valley of ‘Ummah, so named after a sub-tribe of Himyar, was watered by a stream which flowed into the Wādī Zābīd (Hamdānī, p. 71, l. 16; 100, l. 5). I find no mention of Sawā (supra, p. 131) in al-Hamdānī, nor of Samadān, which is stated to have been one of the most important fortresses in Yaman. According to Yā‘ūt, the former stood upon Mount Sabir.

The Mountain of Ḥabb was, according to Hamdānī, 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 Hamdānī, and although it and Ḥabb are mentioned as separate
places by 'Omārah (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 Hamdānī. In the British Museum MS. of Ibn Khaldūn, it is pointed Khudad. Yākūt has Khadad, and he merely says that it was a fortress situated in Mikhlāf Ja'far. Hamdānī tells us (p. 78, l. 17), that it stood at a distance of an hour's journey from the castle of the Wuhāzītes, and that it contained a magnificent palace.

It is reached by two roads leading to the gates of the castle, 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 Ibb.

'Izzān, 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 Sabīr near Ta'izz, and 'Azzān-Dhakhir, which he says stood on Mount Sabīr likewise. Bayt 'Izz, as we have seen (Note 6), stood in the country of al-Manākhi; and ash-Sha'īr, so written by al-Janādī, the place where Sa'dīd son of Najāh met his death, must likewise have been in that neighbourhood, or near the banks of the Wādī Sahūl. Janādī, instead of Nur has Anwar (supra, Note 19). This place is mentioned by Yākūt, who says it stood in Mikhlāf Kayzān. Hamdānī makes mention of Kaynān, 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-Nakūl (the mountain pass) is doubtless Nakūl Sayd, near Yahdib al-'Uln, or the ruined city of Zafar. Sahūl stood in the district of Dhu 'l-Kalā', and it is likewise the name of a stream that flowed into Wādī Zabīd. (Hamdānī, p. 68, l. 4; 71, 15.) Instead of Shawāfī we must read, as in al-Janādī, Shawāfī, which according to Hamdānī was one of the inhabited
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places in the province of Sahāl (p. 100, l. 16). It is mentioned by the author of the Marāṣid.

Wuṣāb is described by al-Hamḍānī as part of the low-lying lands of the district of Dhu ’l-Kalāt 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 Khazrajī write Yarī: (ءرس). The same writers have Zahrān and Sa'b (Sha'b ?) instead of Dahwān and Sha'r. Yākūt says that al-Khādūn and al-Yābis are a fortress (sic) on Mount Wuṣāb. Al-Janadi says of Shākīt 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 Ḫumārān. 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-Hamḍānī explains (p. 84, l. 12) that the word al-Ghā'it is used in Yaman to signify the desert.

Jabjah, mentioned a few lines farther on, is marked on Manzoni's map (Gebgeb), and is referred to by Ḫamḍānī, (p. 68, l. 5, 12; 104, 17). Wuṣāb al-'Aly and Wuṣāb al-Āṣfāl are identified by Glaser with Ḫublān al-'Arkabah, which Ḫamḍānī tells us (p. 103, 12) stood between Wādī Zabīd and Wādī Rima', adding elsewhere (p. 71, 22) that Wādī Rima' flows between Ḫublān al-'Arkabah and Ḫublān Raymah.

Note 23 to p. 18.—The Ḫamḍānīte sister tribes of Ḫāṣīd and Bakīl were, as is mentioned by Ibn Ḫahlūn on the authority of al-Bayhaki and of Ibn Ḫazm (supra, p. 175), the progenitors of most of the subdivisions of the Banu Ḫamḍān. The Banu Bakīl and Banu Ḫāṣīd 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 Yam, to which the Sulayḥites and the family of Ṣu-ray' belonged, were a subdivision of the Banu Ḫāṣīd.

According to Ḫamḍānī (p. 109), the country of his tribesmen extended from Ṣa'īdā to Sa'dah.* The Banu Bakīl, he

* Sa'dah belonged to the Banu Khālūn and in pre-Islamic times it bore the name of Jumā (Hamḍānī, p. 67.)
adds, possessed, as a general rule, the country on the east of a line drawn from Ṣanʿā to Ṣaʿdah and the Banu Ḥāshid that on the west. The latter owned also the district of al-Wāḥsh, the western portion of the province of Sahūl, lying next to the country of Dhu 'l-Kalāʿ and enclosed by the streams that combine to form the River Zabid. (Hamdānī, p. 100, 20)

Note 24 to p. 18.—Jabal Burāʿ is described by Hamdānī as a north-westerly extension of Jublān Raymān, standing between Wādī Rīmaʿ and Wādī Sahām, precisely as is shown in Dr. Glaser’s map. The name al-ʿĀmād (?). I have not met with elsewhere. Liʿsān, according to Dr. Glaser’s map and as described by Hamdānī, extends to the western slopes of Ḥarāz. Musār is one of the important group of mountains known by the name of Ḥarāz.

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 Sulayhītes. Among other places there mentioned are Makr, az-Zarf and Dhu Rassah, touching which I have met with no information. Kawwārīr is referred to by Khazraji (supra, Note 5). For Zafār we may perhaps read Zafārān, mentioned by Yākūt as a fortress situated on the Mountain of Wuṣāb. The mountain of Raymān stood in the neighbourhood of Thāmnān, and is consequently a different place from Jublān Raymān above referred to. ‘Omarah speaks elsewhere (pp. 4 and 132) of Raymat al-ʿAshār, and al-Janādī of Raymat al-Manākhi (supra, Note 6). See also Raymān in Hamdānī, p. 68, 4. The fortress of Raymat al-Kalāʿ of the last mentioned (p. 125, 22), is referred to as separate and distinct from Raymān, and he speaks also of Mount Raymān in the same locality, that is to say, next to the mountain of Baʿdān (p. 71, 16; 100, 21; 125, 6). Baʿdān 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. Jublān was likewise (p. 103, 17) the name borne by the ancestor of certain Himyarite tribes.

The word Raymān must probably in certain cases be understood in its natural sense, a hill.

Note 25 to p. 19.—Al-Janādī (fol. 183 obv.) and also al-Aḥdāl and al-Yāḥī write ar-Rawāḥī. Yākūt repeats the statement in our text that az-Zawāḥī
was a village in the district of Ḥarāz, to which he adds, "also in the district of an-Najm, situated where the country of Yaman commences." Hamdānī tells us (p. 120, 6) that the tribe or family of an-Najm inhabited al-Mahjām. He also mentions a place named az-Zawāḥih (p. 100, 16), but it is distinctly described as situated in the district of Saḥul and in the country of Dhu 'l-Kalā, in other words therefore, in Mikhlaf 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-Janādī and Khazrajī, Kitāb as-Ṣawār. It is mentioned in the Bibliographical Dictionary, the Kashf az-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 ‘Amīr 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 as-Sādik (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 as-Sādik was said to have communicated its contents to a certain chief of the sect of the Zaydītes, 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 (Mausūr 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

* See also Kashī az-Zunūn, s.v. al-Jafr.
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, Makrizi, i. 350.)

In a curious extract from the *Dustūr al-Manajjimīn* 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-Tahīnāh*. 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-Ḵā’īm, 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 anecdote, 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:

من علم الأسود الخصيّ مكرمة اقومُه البيض إم ابوتُه العيّدُ

**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 *Asmā* 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 *samā* to be lofty, *samāʾu* the sky, and with *ism* a name. Queen Bilkīs 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 ʾās-Ṣulayḥī’s envoys were Aḥmad ibn Mūḥammad, 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 further mentions that ʾās-Ṣulayḥī sent the Fatimitc Khalīfah valuable presents, comprising seventy swords with cornelian handles. Al-Khazraji, after mention-
ing that as-Sulayhi proclaimed the supreme authority of the Fatimite Khalifah al-Mustansir, 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 Sinhan, 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 Ja’far ibn al-‘Abbas, who was a Shaf’ite and greatly respected in the western districts of Upper Yaman. He marched along with Ja’far son of al-Kasim 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 Yanâ.i† Ibn Abi Ḥashid collected an army, and an engagement took place between them at Sauf, a village between Hadur and Bir Bani Shihab. Ibn Abi Ḥashid 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’a and captured it. The whole of Yaman submitted to him, its hills and its plains (etc. as in ‘Omarah).

At p. 48, l. 16, al-Khazraji says that as-Sulayhi subdued the whole country, from Mecca to Ḥadramaut, but that Sa’dah held out against him for a time, under the descendants of au-Nâṣir (Aḥmad). He however succeeded in slaying their chief and capturing the city.

* See supra, Note 8.
† Al-Hamdâni mentions Yanâ (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. Ḥadur is one of the mountains of the Sarât of Allân, which extends from Nakîl as-Sa‘ud to Harîz, and it must not be confounded with Ḥadur Bani Azd (Hamdâni, p. 68), farther north, one of the mountains of al-Masâni. (See Glaser, p. 42-43.)
Note 30 to p. 29.—All these places, az-Zara'ib, Jabalā 'Akūd (the two mountains of 'Akūd) and al-'Ukwatānī (the two 'Ukwas) are mentioned by Yākūt, who quotes the lines given in our text, but again adds nothing to what we are told by 'Omarah, excepting a statement that the mountains overlook Zābu'd, which is manifestly wrong. 'Omarah tells us that they stood in the country of Ibn Ţarf, or in other words in that of the Banu Ḥilākan, the tribe to which 'Omarah belonged. Yākūt, instead of 'Akūd as in the Kamūs and Tāj al-'Arūs, writes 'Ukkad.

Note 31 to p. 30.—A.H. 459 is the year given by Khazraji (p. 83) and also by Ibn al-Atthir (vol. x. p. 38). A comparison of dates shows that the death of ash-Šulayhi must have occurred in A.H. 473, as stated by 'Omarah elsewhere (supra, p. 82), as well as in this passage, and also by Ibn 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 Ḥashimite 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 Ḥāshim Muḥammad son of Ja'far, who had renounced the Fatimite supremacy, and proclaimed that of the Abbāsides.

Ibn al-Atthir mentions in his Chronicles (vol. x. pp. 19 and 38) that ash-Šulayhi made himself master of Mecca in A.H. 455, and won praise by establishing order in the city, by adopting measures for the importation of food, and by extending protection to the pilgrims. He draped the
Ka'bah 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 as-Sulayhi. See Dr. Snouck Hurgronje's Mekka, pp. 62 and 63-4. It will be noticed that Abu Hāshim Muhāmmad was raised to the rulership of Mecca by as-Sulayhi.

Note 32 to p. 32.—The word al-Ahwal 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.—Khazrajī supplies us here with specimens of 'Aly the Sulayḥite's talents as a poet. They will be found in Baron de Slane's translation of Ibn Khallikān, vol. ii, p. 348.

Note 34 to p. 37.—See the description of a dinār of 'Imrān ibn Muhāmmad, 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 Sa'īd together with 'Imrān ibn al-Faḍl. We learn from al-Janādi (fol. 184 obv.) that As'ad, upon the death of Sa'īd (in 482), was transferred from Sa'īd to Zabid. His expulsion by Jāyyāsh 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.—Yāḵūt, 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:

* See Note 18, footnote.
The words *Dār 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 *'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 Šabir, 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 Ashiyah, in a.h. 484 or in 480 or in 479. The context here and elsewhere (supra, p. 88) shows that al-Mukarram was living in 481. The same writer mentions that although Saba succeeded to the office of Dā'ī (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.

'Omārah relates that Ibu 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 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 عارة لما قام ابن القيم بعين يدي سا ينشد هذه القصيدة الذي منها هذه الآيات منعم من النيل و رضى له محلة و امرها بالقودع عليها أكرامًا له و رفعًا عن الخالصين ثم لما فرغ من الانتشاد قال له يابا عبد الله انت عندنا كما قال المشنِّي.

و فواذى من الملك و إن كا نن ساني وري من الشعراء

*See Dieterici’s Mutanabbi, p. 633.*
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 lacunae I have left in the translation. In the first, we may infer it to have been related that Khalif's plot was discovered and that he was imprisoned. In the second, that Saba made certain demands, which Jayyash, by the advice of his wazir, met with counter offers; and in the third, that the Arabs refused the proffered terms and proceeded to attack Zabid.*

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 Wazir of King Jayyash, namely (Abu Sa'id) Khalif son of Abu 'T-Ṭahir 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. Jayyash promised the wazir, that in the event of their success in the recovery of his kingdom, Khalif should share with him the royal dignity and authority. But when Jayyash won the throne, he simply appointed Khalif Wazir and gave him the title of Kasim al-Mulk, Participant in the royal authority. Khalif's reward was confined to the receipt of that barren title, although but for his assistance, Jayyash 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. Khalif 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.

* The statement that the Arabs, after their defeat on that occasion, did not again invade Tihamah is in contradiction, it will be observed, with what we read elsewhere. Supra, pp. 96 and 97.
Notes.

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 Jahsh 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 Muḥammad.

Note 41 to p. 47.—Kur'ān xxvii. 29, 30 and 32. These words are those of Bilkis Queen of Sheba (Saba), on receiving a letter from Solomon, commanding her and her people to recognise his authority. Bilkis sought the advice of her counsellors, an example which Queen Sayyidah declares she will not follow. The King had heard of Bilkis 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

* Khi, حين
† Khi, لِنْفِسِي
‡ Khi, الاسم وَلَوْلَاهُ
§ Khi, اِجْبِهَا
¶ Khi, اِنْخَطَتُ
** لِأَعْيُوِيٍّ ؟ أَعْيُوِيٍّ
be observed, turns to account in the subsequent sentence. The words *Resist me not, etc.*, are omitted by 'Omarah, but are inserted by Khazraji, as in the text of the Kur'an. 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'an, 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). San'ā was conquered by Suljan Hātim ibn al-Ghashim, 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 Khal-dūn writes 486 (*supra*, p. 151). Al-Janadi adds the correct orthography of the name *Ashyakh*. In the British Museum MS. of 'Omarah it is written *Ashyakakh*, which I have rectified in the printed text.

**Note 43 to p. 49.**—Al-Afdal Shahinsbah was wazir, and virtually absolute ruler of the Fatimite Empire, under the Khalifahs al-Musta'sla and al-Amir. 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 as-Sulayhi. 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
him and placed him in command of Raymah. He appointed Abu 'l-Barakāt son of al-Walid over at-Ta'kar and its dependencies, and Abu 'l-Barakāt's brother Abu 'l-Futūḥ son of al-Walid over the fortress of Ta'izz. Al-Mufaḍḍal, 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 Abu 'l-Barakāt, which occurred after that of al-Mukarram, the Queen confided the Governorship of at-Ta'kar to his son Khalīd. 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-Muṣā. This Ibn al-Muṣā was a learned Jurist and a man of an earnestly religious disposition. He professed attachment to the Amīr Khālid ibn Abī '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 Isma'ilite 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 castle 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 Amīr Khalīd, 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-Mufaḍḍal 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-Mufaḍḍal 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

* Dhu 's-Sufāl is marked on Niebuhr's and Manzoni's maps southwest of Dhu Jiblah. Yāḳūt writes Sufāl and Sījāl.
NOTE 44.  

Notes.  

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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 Ahmad) hereinbefore mentioned. Al-Mufaddal 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 Jadid 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 Walīd, 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

* See Note 74.
† Al-Ahdal (fol. 280 rev.), when mentioning the foundation of the city of Mansūrah 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 Sultān revived the prosperity of its valley, known by the name of Khanwah خنشة, which had become the abode of wild beasts, and that in the village of Hinwah (?) حنشة, he built a hospital for the entertainment of strangers. The village in question must have stood near the Castle of Dumlūwah.
the mosque of Janad. The portions he built are the front and the
two aisles. The rear was built by a Kādi, 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 re-
mained a ruin until the Ghazz (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 here-
after, when the history of the Ayyūbite conquest is related.

The Kādi Abu Bakr al-Yāfī mentions the story of the water-
channels, in the verses he composed in praise of Mansūr 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 Kādi's poem. I have already, when
giving an account of al-Yāfī's life, said enough to render it un-
necessary 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-Mufaḍḍal, as follows:—

I say, rendering honour unto him and of his noble work—in leading
the waters along their rocky bed,
He cleat the lofty mountains and their streams became—as heaven's
rains, flowing over a level plain.

The words He cleat 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 sup-
poses, and whether al-Mufaḍḍal'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.

فُجُلَ السَّيِدَةُ المَفْضَلُ مِكَانَهُ فَمَنْ وَقَتْ طَلَعَهُ تَعَنُّدَ بِلَفْقَهَا وَأَظَهَرَ عَدَوَتِهِمْ وَقَبِضَ
ارضى القاتل و قومه و هي الآمال القديمة في ذي السفال و هرب غالب اللفقان
عن هجارة التفكير خوفا من سطوته و قد ذكرت ما فعل مع أصحاب الفقيه زيد
عدَهُ ذَكْرٌ و صار المفضل رجل البيت و مدَّرِ الملُكَ الذاتِ (2) عنه ولم تكن
تقطع السيدة امرأة دونه فذاك عظم شانه وعلت كلته ولم يبق في اعيان الدولة من يسامح و لا يُ Luậtه و غذاء تهامة مرارة له و علمه و كانت له مكازر ومفاخر
لأنها دون مكازر سبا المقدم ذكر و كان المفضل جراءً مدحه يفسح الشعراء من
الإعجاب و يمدحونه فيهم على ذلك توابا متفانيا و يلهج قدم مواهب* بن هدو
المعري و امتدحه يعزؤ قصائد من بعضها قوله

"يا مالك الدين و الدنيا و اهلها و من عزيزك الإسلام ممستك
قد قبل جائز لحظة الجبر و ملكاً و فعلاً وانت البص و الملك
و من اثاره المبين للذكر جزاء القليل من حذيفة إلى مدينة البلد و لاق مرّ به في
مواقع احتفظ بها طريقة في اصغية حيث لا يكاد يستنذذ بذلك على السماح لأن
نقرفي الصفا حفزاً مضارباً و اجري الماء فيها ثم لما جاء بين جبلين اجتاز الضلوع
في ذلك فانت قير عظرا طلبه من الجبر لذاعن خيراً من مالت ذراع و ارتفاع في
الأرض نخوً من خمسين ذراع و عرض نحوه عن عشرة أثراع بالجنيد و هذا التقدير
مفي على طريق المزر و التقرب و لقد إذا رأى شخص يقول ما اقتدر على هذا
المقر الأجل او لا يبوت ذلك و ادعو في موضع مطع لم يُدعوه و من ذلك انتماوس السعد
لبلد وجدت بنائه المقدم و المباحين و لما المؤخر فيهم بعض القضا عن قتاق السعد
و حددت المفضل من المسجد الإجبار و سقفت عليها** حتى جاء المهدي بن علي
بن مهدي فاخبره و احترقه على ما ساتني أن شاء الله و لم يزل مهدوياً حتى قدم
النحو هو على ذلك اذ لم تطل مدة المهادية بعد ذلك و لقبه لما قدم سيف
الإسلام ابتسما ذلك و زاد في سمك المسجد ما هو مبين الآن بالذر و سيات
بيان ذلك عند ذكرهم و قد ذكر القاضي ابراهيم حارس الراج عن تخلف في الغليل و
منصروا مدحه وجعل من جمله مدح مده إمام و بره عليه فعله و في الغليل و قد
انشكيل فين جراً الغليل حتى وجدته في شعر القاضي المذكر و قد تقدم من ذلك
مع ذكره ما يعتني على اعادته لكن احب ذكر ما قاله فكان في الغليل و ذلك أنه لما
ذكر المفضل قال

* Khi, مواهب † Khi, المغربي، § Khi، بعروة ‡ Khi، حاور لغتفي، †† Khi، فيلم تزل كذلك، ‡‡ Khi، وانت يا ابن الوالي الجبر و الملك، ††† Khi، أجري

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Note 45 to p. 52.—Khazraji has قطان and Yākūt Kayzān قطان in the neighbourhood, he says, of Dhu Jiblah. The tribe of Janb, also called Munabbīh (Hamdānī, p. 115), and those of Sinhān, ‘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-Mufāqḍal’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 cousin 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-Mufāqḍal, and by that of ‘Omārah’s cousin. He mentions also that al-Mufāqḍal was buried at ‘Azzān at-Ta’kar (the slopes of Ta’kar?)

Note 47 to p. 54.—Hamdānī speaks of the Banu Bahr 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 (Hamdānī, p. 93, l. 9, 13). Bahr was, moreover, according to Hamdānī, a subdivision of the Ṣadif, a sub-tribe of the Banu Kindah, inhabitants of Ḥadramaut and descendants of Murrah and of ‘Arib. And, at p. 112, l. 23, he mentions a tribe or family of the name of Bahr, descendants of Himyar.

The Banu Ḏinnah he mentions as a sub-tribe of the Banu ‘Udhrah, derived from Ḫudā‘ah, and elsewhere as descendants of the Banu Numayr, an Ishmaelite tribe (p. 116, l. 17, and p. 165, l. 1).

The Banu Marran are described as a subdivision of Hamdān (p. 107, l. 9), but also (p. 113, l. 15) as Himyarites. The Banu Zarr, we are told, belonged to the tribe of Jabar (descendants of Yāfī) and consequently Himyarites like-

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

The Banu Razih and Banu Jumā'ah are stated by Hamdāni to have been Khulanites (p. 73, l. 18, and p. 114, l. 18, 20).

The tribes of Sha'b and Sha'b-Hay, he tells us, dwelt in the Sarat of Khulan (p. 69, l. 24), and the Banu Hay he describes as Khulanites (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 Abu 'l-Futūh, as administrator and guardian of her kingdom. He was the son of Abu 'l-Futūh, son of al-'Alā son of al-Walid. He resided at the fortresses of Ṣabir 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 Najib ad-Daulah.

Note 49 to p. 56.—Al-Khazraji, speaking elsewhere of the Banu Jaub (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-Hinjir, the Chambers, situated between the great palace at Cairo and Bāb an-Naṣr. They were originally a body of skilled craftsmen, first selected by the Khalifah 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 Amir who received the title of al-Muwalliḥ. 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

* Khazraji mentions the same date, 514; but As'ad, according to 'Omarah, must have lived to a later period. See pp. 60 and 97.
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. (Maqrizi's Khitat, vol. i. p. 443.) Maqrizi'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 Jundi, 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 Tulunesites 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 Najib 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 Maqrizi's Khitat, vol. i. p. 392, and de Sacy's Exposé de la religion des Druzes.

Note 52 to p. 58.—Maytam was, according to Hamdāni,
the name of a mountain and of a *mikhâf* or district. The river was probably one of the affluents of the Wâdi Raghadah. If I rightly understand Hamdânî’s explanations (pp. 75, 1, 22; 92, 16; 101, 19, 21), Maytam was south or south-east of Dhamâr and probably at no great distance from Jabal Khubbân.

The Banû Ḥimâs, spoken of a few lines farther on, are mentioned by Ibn ʿUṯaybah as a sub-tribe of Madhîhij. (Eichhorn, p. 143.)

**Note 53 to p. 60.**—The allusion is to a verse in the Kurʾān: *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 *hadhâ*, 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 ʿAbd Allah al-Husayn, the same who has figured before as one of ʿOmarah’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-Maʾmûn al-Bâṭāʾihy was arrested by the Khalifah al-Amîr on the fourth of Ramadân 519, and was put to death in 522. Al-Makrûzî says (Khiṭâṭ, vol. i. p. 463), that al-Maʾmûn was accused of having sent (Ibn) Najîb ad-Dânâlî Abu ʾl-ʿIhsân to Yaman, with orders to strike coins bearing the name of the Imâm al-Mukhtâr Muhammad son of Nîzâr.

Nîzâr was son of the Khalifah al-Mustansîr. Upon the latter’s death in A.H. 487, Ahmad, a younger brother, was raised to the throne by the Wazîr al-Afdâl Shahinshah, under the title of al-Muṣṭâfâ ʿli-dîn Illâh. Nîzâr fled to Alexandria, where he caused himself to be proclaimed Khalifah and assumed the title of al-Muṣṭâfâ li-dîn Illâh. He was soon compelled to surrender himself to al-Afdâl, by whom he was conveyed to Cairo and put to death. The Eastern Ismailites embraced the cause of Nîzâr, who, as they probably with truth asserted, had been appointed by his father
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 Nizārites. They were also styled
by their enemies al-Mulākidah, the Impious, and in the
popular traditions still current in Egypt, they are remem-
bered under the name of al-Fidawiyah, because in the
perilous adventures they were in the habit of undertaking,
they devoted their lives as a ransom (jīda) for the liber-
tion and propagation of their Faith. By western historians
they are best known under the designation of the Assassins.
Their Chiefs, now represented by an Imam 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 Shi'ahs,
which practically involved the right of existence of the Bom-
bay 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 re-
representatives of the heretwhile 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 Khaldūn (supra,
p. 169), Ibn Najib ad-Daulah was drowned at sea, a state-
ment which is probably correct, but for which no authority
is given. Al-Khazrajī's account of the end of Ibn Najib 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 Najib ad-Daulah, but she
sent along with him one of her secretaries. On reaching Aden,
the envoy departed with Ibn Najib 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 Bāb al-Mandab. I am in ignorance of the fate of Ibn
Najib ad-Daulah, seeing that ‘Omārah does not mention it. The Queen repented of having surrendered Ibn Najib 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 حصنات من خليفة (الخرائب)) of the Mikhāf (Ja’far) and dependencies to the Dayy 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 Ta‘izz until he died. He was the first to adopt Thabat † 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 Sabir and Ta‘izz. 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.

* 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 Daybaı 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.

† Niebuhr marks upon his map Thobad close to Ta‘izz, presumably the place here mentioned. On Mauzoni’s map the name is written Thabad.
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 'Omarrah. The only actual addition to the information given by the latter, is Khazraji's statement that Zuray' gained possession of Dumluwah in a.h. 480.


tال علي بن لمس للذرجي وفقه الله للعمل بما يرضيه كان السبب في تملك آل زريع عدن وما ناهيه من البلاد ان الداعي علي بن محمد الصليبي لما استولى على الين وافتتح مدينة عدن كان فيها يومًا بنو معن قد تغلبوا عليها وعلي ابني والشكر وحضرموت اتفقوا تحت ايدهم وجعلهم نوابا من قبله فلما تزوّج المكرم بالسيدة جعل الصليبي صداقتها عدن وما ناهيه فكان بنو معن يرفعون خراجها الى السيدة في أيام الصليبي فلما قتل الداعي علي بن محمد الصليبي في التاريخ المذكور او لا تغلب بنو معن على ما اتفقوا ايدهم من البلاد فقضدهم المكرم الى عدن واجبرهم منها وواها الياس ومسعدا ابنه المكرم الهمداني وكانت لهما سابقة مهودة ودلا حسن في قيام الدولة المستنصرية مع الداعي علي بن محمد الصليبي ثم مع ولده المكرم يبرم نزوة الى زبيد واحذ امه اسمه بنت شهاب من اسرةDDevice سعيد بن ناحج فجعل للعباس حصن التكر عدن وابن اليبر وما يدخل منه وجعل لمسعود حصن للفجر وباب البكر وما يدخل منه وابن امر المدينة ونستحكها للسيدة فلم ينزل ارتفاع عدن يدخل الى السيدة في كل سنة مائة الف دينار وقد يزيد وقد ينقص الى أن توقف العباس بن المكرم خلفه ابنه زريع بن العباس على التكر وباب لبر وابن مسعود على ما يتح بده وكل واحد منهم يحمل ما عليه وملك زريع الدملوة يوم الاثنين لست عشرة ليلة خلت من رمضان سنين ثمانيين واربعمائة فلما بعثت السيدة الفضل ابن ايبر في الراكب الى زبيد كتبت الى زريع بن العباس وابن اي مسعود بن المكرم ان يلقياه الى زبيد فألتها وقاتل معه فقلا معًا على باب زبيد فانتقل امر عدن الى ولديهما ابن السعد بن زريع
It will be observed that the name borne by the ancestor of the Hamdanite Princes of Aden, stands in our text "الكرم". In the Leiden MS. of Khazraji and in the Paris MS. of Janadi the name is for the most part written "الكرم". 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 "الأعز". 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 "العز" al-‘A‘azz. So also in al-Ahdal. In the British Museum text of Ibn Khaldūn the two names are invariably written "العز" and "الكرم".

* Written here and elsewhere
Note 58 to p. 65.—The author of the Taj al-'Arūs says that Ta'kar is one of the mountains of Aden, on the left-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 Hosh, near the "Main Pass Gate." Colonel Hunter mentions the fort of Ta'kar (Statistical Account, p. 184) and also the Castle (Hīs) al-Akhḍār (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 Muḥammad son of Saba is followed in the text by the words, "and he was the last of the Bana Zara'y." 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 Ramadān 569, more than two months before the capture of Aden by the Ayyubites, on the 20th Dhū 'l- Ka'dah according to Ibn Ḥātim.

Note 60 to p. 68.—Al-Janadi adds that 'Aly ibn Abi 'l-Gharāt possessed in Lahj the city of Za'āzi'. لَجَّ غُرُّذ مَدِينة الزَّعَارِ. In enumerating the possessions of Saba ibn Abi 's-Su'ūd, al-Janadi, like Khazraji, omits the name الرمَّا. He writes as follows: وَلَهُ مَعْقِل الدَّمْلَةَ وَسَامِعَ وَمَطَرَانَ وَمَبْرِرٌ وَدِبَّانٌ وَبعضَ المَعافِرِ وَبعضِ الْجَنَّ.

The name of the place that follows after مَطْرَان 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 المَبْرِر or مَبْرِر. But both Janadi, as quoted above, and Ibn Ḥātim (see Note 101) have مَبْرِر 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'
the name in Müller's edition of Hamdānī and also in Sprenger's Reise-routen is written Ra'ārī.

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-'Ulya. He supplies the vocalization of the word, and tells us that it was vulgarly pronounced Manyabhah. See also Hamdānī, p. 98, 1.

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 Banu Jusham, a sub-tribe of the Banu Yam, 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.—As-Suhayb, according to Hamdānī
(p. 54, 24), was inhabited by a people descended from Saba, and they were known by the designation of Saba-Ṣuhayb. Elsewhere (p. 189) he mentions Ṣuhayb 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." Yākūt mentions Munīf as the name of a fortress situated on Mount Ṣabar, which, it seems to me, requires confirmation.

The following are the corresponding passages in al-Janadī (fol. 186 obv.). The words of al-Khazraji (p. 70), who indeed cites al-Janadī 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, Munīf and al-Jabalal (?). 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-Khaḍrā) 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'ī 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'ī, but God is all-knowing.†

* Khazraji (p. 70) quotes Janadī to the effect that Saba died in 533, the same year as stated in 'Omārah; but the event occurred, he adds, in 532, "the year in which Queen Sayyidah also died."

† The practice of burying the dead enclosed in coffins is, so far as I am aware, altogether unknown in Muhammadan countries at
"The Dā'īy 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] eunuch named Anis [al-A'azzi], the same name, Anis, as that of the man who slew the last Prince of the Banu Ziyād."

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-Maṇṣūr 'Omar ibn Rasūl (a.h. 626—647), in a graveyard at Maṇṣūrah, that upon its being opened it was found to contain remains, believed to be those of the Dā'īy Muhammad 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 Amir and Sharīf of Mecca being opened in a.h. 620, the coffin it contained was found to be empty.

* At Dumlūwah in a.h. 531, according to Khazraji. He goes on to say that 'Aly's sons were Jabīr, 'Abbās and Maṇṣūr. The name of the fourth he did not remember. He adds, immediately after, that al-A'azz bequeathed the kingdom to his son Ḥāṭīm.

† Khi, ناحية Ḥāṭīm
§ Khi, جانب في أصل أكمة ? Khi, للناس
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 Khalifah resorted to the Musalla in state, on the occasion of the two great festivals of the year. Maqrizi says that the Musalla of Cairo was enclosed by Janhar outside the walls in a.h. 358, and he describes the ceremonies that took place on the occasion of the Khalifah’s visits. (Khitat, vol. i. p. 451. See also de Sacy’s Chrestomathie, note to the Life of al-Hâkim.)

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

Note 68 to p. 78.—‘Omarah’s verses in praise of the Da’y Muhammad 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 Da’y ‘Imrân 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 Zurayq and by the love he bore them—nay, it is said, by his partiality to their religion, that is to say, to Shi’ism and Isma’ilism. Be this known unto you.

The following is a passage in which ‘Omarah speaks of ‘Imrân in more legitimate terms:

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

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

* Khi.
The following words of 'Omārah, when relating the history of 'Imrān, 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.\(^1\) 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, Muḥammad, Abu 's-Su'ūd and Manṣūr, all in their early youth and under the care of the Chamberlain Abu Durr Janhār al-Mu'azzāmī, 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-İslām (read to Turān Shah—see Note 101), shortly after the year 570.

\(^*\) I translate the foregoing sentence with much hesitation. It is omitted by Khazraji.

\(^\dagger\) I cannot attempt to translate the words that follow. The sentence has no doubt been corrupted and Khazraji omits it.
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. Sultān Muhammad son of Saba appointed Mudāfi‘ to succeed his father, and then the brother of Mudāfi‘, Abu ’l-Faraj Yāsir son of Bilāl. Yāsir held his office under Sultān Muhammad and under Muḥammad’s son (‘Imrān). He exercised great power and enjoyed a wide celebrity. He was greatly praised and liberally rewarded his eulogists, nor did he disappoint any one that came to his court. ‘Omārah has given a brief account of Yāsir’s life in his memoirs of the Poets (?) He built the mosque at Aden, known as the mosque of Ibn al-Baṣrī, 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 Miftāh who was surnamed as-Sudāsī. 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 (Miftāh) 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 wazirs.

‘Omārah says that the descendants of al-Karam, father of al-‘Abbas and Mas‘ūd, whom al-Mukarram appointed (over Aden), are known under the designation family of adh-Dhi‘lī, 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).

* Khi, ٜมองب لابدى
فان اكابر الملك يعودوا الدفن بهما وان يبذلان في مقابلة ذلك اموالًا فلا يصل لهم هذا ابناً دليل آخر على تفوقه ومن أسرة البادية في عدن المنبر المنصب في جامهها وأسه مكتب عليه وهو منبر له حلاوة في النفس وطلاءة في العين وتوثيق عمان عن تسعة أولادهم محمد وأبو سعود ومنصورية صفرا في سقافتها الاستاذ ابنا الذكر جوهر المعتقل بصم الدملوة والخالق بعدن ومدبري لأمور البلاد الشيخ ياسين بن بلال الذي تقدم ذكره نظرًا كلهًا حتى قدم السلطان شمس الدولة توران شاه ابن ايرب ناويلي على عدن ومهر ياسر إلى حصن الدملوة وجوهر يومنذ فيه وقد قدمت ما كان منه وكان انقسام دولة آل الزريع عن عدن وعدها بحري لم يبق ألا الدملوة بيد ابن الذكر حتى باها من سيف الإسلام كما قدمنا للفت وسبعين وخمسائين ثم لم يبق إلا اعيان دولتهم أولم الشيخ السعيد بلاد المقدم ذكره وان وفاته كانت سنة ست أوسع وأربعين وخمسائين وهو الذي اسا الاديب العبدي كما قدمت ذلك مع ذكره ثم استخلف السلطان محمد بن باء بعد ابنه مدافع ثم اخوه ابن الفرح ياسر بن بلاد فائق مع وله ودون رجل صغير القدر شهير الذكر أيضًا معدمًا بثب المادحين واليخيب القاصدين وقد ذكر عرفة في أخبار الشعراء نبذه من اخباره وله السجود المعروف بعدن بسحيد ابن البصري اذ كان يتعالى القيم به ثم اتى خرج من الدملوة ودخل ذا عدنة متكارًا ومعه مملوكه ماقتة الالتماسي السلدي فحصل من هم عليه أهل الدولة فقبض واعبد به شمس الدولة فامر بشيفة وشق معه عدة وقيل بل امر بتوسيعها فعل ذلك بهما وذكروا بتراب سنة 512 وكان هذا اخر وزرائهم قال عرفة والزكرم يعنى والد العباس ومنصور اللذين ولأهما الذكرم يعفرن بأل الذئب وهم بعد بنين الصليبي بقية العرب بالنجوم وقد ذكرت مع ذلك جوهر اتصاله عن الدملوة ولم يبق ألا ذكره لحارة.

* اتي عليه or اشتهى؟
† اعتر؟ Khi, ِنَمُّ عَلَيْهِ أَنْسَانٌ
‡ ذكر رأً
Janadi's statement that the children of 'Imrān were placed under the guardianship of Abu Durr Jauhar is confirmed by Khazraji, who reproduces the preceding passages almost verbatim, and the statement is indirectly confirmed by Ibn Ḥātim. 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 raṭl 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 ǧāntārs.

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

و أَنَّكَ لَمْ تَأْخُذْ عَلَيْكَ صَفَاحًا ضَعِيفًا وَلَمْ تُقَلِّبَ مِنْ مَعَالِبِ

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

Note 74 to p. 90.—The word Bahr, 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, Khazrajī, 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 Zabid. Khazrajī 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-’Idil Abu 't-Tāmi. 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 clemency 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.

\[ \text{الجبر} \]  
\[ + \text{Khi, أولى} \]  
\[ : \text{Khi, قليل} \]
A mound of the fairest sand, the graceful stem of the bân-tree.—
Over all, the beauteous moon. And its gift a night of watchfulness.

‘Omârah’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 bân-tree, and her face resplendent with beauty as the full moon.

Khrazraji relates the circumstances that led to the death of Ibn Abi 'Akâmah. Jayyâsh sought the hand of a woman, of whose extreme beauty he had been informed. She was daughter of an Arab tribe, descended from Rabî'ah son of Nizar, 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 Kâdi, who as a Taghlibite was akin to the tribe, advised them not to consent unless all were agreed. Jayyâsh, 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 Kâdi in the matter.

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

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

* "رو" Khi, "فو"?

† Hamdânì says that the country in the neighbourhood of Mauza', Mukha and Bâbal-Mandab, which was occupied by the Banu Musîh (a tribe derived from the Banu Majid, themselves a subdivision of the Banu Haydân), was inhabited also by the Banu Farasan, descendants of the Banu Taghlib. The Himyarite genealogists, he adds, claimed them as descendants of Himyar.

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 Hamdânî, p. 53, l. 20 sqq. and p. 98, l. 22 sqq.)
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 Hamdānī (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 (tābi‘) of the Prophet’s Companions, mentioned in Ibn al-Āthīr’s Usd al-Ḡābah. (Bul. ed. v. p. 60.) Khazraji writes al-Ḥārith instead of Jurayb. The town of Jurayb is described by Hamdānī (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-Janadī, like Ṭūmārah, does not mention the date at which Manṣūr son of Fāṭik died, and Khazraji remarks that he had not been able to ascertain it. But Ṭūmārah’s words may be held to imply that the death of Manṣūr followed immediately after the accession of Mān 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 Ḥurrah (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 ʿbnt ʿbnt as in Khazraji, instead of ʿbnt, but ʿbnt ʿbnt as in our text in the next line, instead of ʿbnt, repeated in Khazraji. The passage, however, remains very doubtful.
The surname Abu ‘l-Jayṣh is best known through its
having been borne by one of the Princes of the Egyptian dynasty of Tulin, 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 Jayyāš, 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 Zabid, 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 'I-Ihasan Ibn al-Labbān al-Faraqi, an eminent Jurist and authority on the laws of inheritance, died at Baghdād in A. H. 402.

Note 81 to p. 102.—Abu 'Amra 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 Kurān.

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 الإعائَل*, 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):

فاططِهم ذَوال و هو واد شمالي رمع و رمع واد شمالي زبيد فلم ينزل الغَر

يشتغلون خراج الوادي الغ. 

Yākūt mentions a village named *Wasā‘* in the district of 'Aththar, a place which, if it is correctly described, is far too distant to be here in question.
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 سعة انا نامهم وكتبت الساقى فاسكرت

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

فلا اسم الصحاب عدت الى عثمان فاعدت الى الالف دينار الذي كان دفعه

Khazraji proceeds with the words فوقع الى بها. Reading the verb in the passive, the general sense agrees with 'Omárah.

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 الوصيف وتعلق بعض غلدان الوزير ملغ فكتاب ابو المعالي بسبب غلادم بعين وهماء.

Note 87 to p. 113.—It will be observed that further on, 'Omárah gives this place the alternative name of الكرش. Al-Hamdání has the same, but for a totally different place, namely between Mount Șabir and Aden (p. 77, 6-9). Khazraji vocalizes the name al-Kurish. Yákút 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 'Omárah. Al-Janadi writes:

وسكن حصنا من جبل يرع يقال له الكرش (fol. 187 rev.), intimating in plain words, that the castle stood upon Mount Bura'.

The name of the castle of Dabsàn, mentioned in our text
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 Ghānim ibn Yaḥya was a descendant of the Suleymanite Sharifs of Mecca, who, he tells us, not only here, but also in his chapter on the history of the Suleymānites of Mecca, sought refuge in Yaman upon their expulsion by the Banu Hashim. But Ibn Khaldūn's statements, in certain portions of his general history require to be received with some caution. Thus he tells us, on the authority of Ibn Saʿīd, that the Suleymānites refugees conquered Saʿdah from the Rassites, that they and their descendants were the recognized Imāms of Yaman throughout a period of at least a century and a half, that the Imām Ahmad (al-Mutawakkil) who brought about the assassination of Fātīk ibn Muḥammad in A.H. 553, and even the celebrated Imām al-Manṣūr 'Abd Allah, were members of the Suleymānīte 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 ʿOmārah, but also every writer on the history of Yaman, including the authors of the Ḥadāʾik and of the Yawākit (Brit. Mus. Or. 3786 and 3771) invariably speak of the Ḥasanite family, to which Ghānim ibn Yaḥya belonged, under the designation of the Suleymānītes. 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 Ṭarf. 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 Saʿdah, 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 Sharif than any I have found elsewhere, and calls him Ghānim son of Yaḥya son of Ḥamzah.

* See Note 130.
son of Wahhās (infra, Note 101). It seems not improbable that Ghanim's grandfather Ḥamzah ibn Wahhās was the identical Suleymānite Prince, who unsuccessfully disputed the sovereignty over Mecca with the Banu Ḥāshim, as may be read in the history of Mecca by Dr. Snouck-Hurgronje.*

I may add that I find mention in the Ḥadāʾīk of two other members of the Suleymānite family, namely, at fol. 128 obv., 'Aly son of ʿĪsā son of Ḥamzah son of Wahhās, 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 Suleymān ibn Ṭarf in a.H. 594-5, in the days, that is to say, of the Ayyūbithe dynasty.

I have made no attempt to trace the subsequent history of the Suleymānites, but I find them mentioned in the life of the Imām al-Mutawakkil Yahya (Brit. Mus. Or. 3731). The author says (fol. 59 obv.) that in a.H. 963 (a.D. 1556), the Imām received letters from the Sulaymānite 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 Dāʿy, died in a.H. 965.

Note 89 to p. 115.—The death of Fāṭik son of Mānsūr occurred, according to both al-Janadi and Khazraji in the month of Shaʿbān 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-Fāṭik ibn Mūhammad, the successor of al-Fāṭik ibn Mānsūr, 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 Mashʿal, Ziʿl and Ṭarrān are to be assigned. But it is probable that like the Hakamites they were subdivisions of the Banu Madhhij. The Banu

* 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.
Hārām are mentioned by Hamdānī (p. 116) as the principal subdivision of the Banu Nahd.

Note 91 to p. 121.—It has been sufficiently shown in the course of 'Omarah’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-Janādī’s version, which, throughout the description of Surūr's character and habits is, as is likewise that of al-Khazrajī, an almost verbatim copy of 'Omarah. The following is the passage as it stands in the Paris MS. (p. 188. obv.).

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

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

* Khi, يصل
† Khi, يصل
؛ Khi, فيدخل
؛ Khi, مراجع

|| Khi,Undefined
|| Khi,Undefined
|| Khi,Undefined
|| Khi,Undefined

للزيارة والعبادة كما ذكرنا
في أول زوال الظل
وبدينه زبيد ولا

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His mosque is known to the present day under the name of Mosque of Surūr. It is situated in the city of Zabid, on the western side of Martāʿ al-ʿAjūz (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 Wazir. 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-Mufīd. 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.
Notes.  

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) Muhammad, son of 'Aliy son of Du-ūd, son of Muhammad son of 'Abd Allah, son of Muhammad son of Al-Imad, 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 Ḥimyar 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-'Irk, 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-Muṭafi (?) 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-Kuḍayb.

I have nowhere else met with the name al-'Irk. Al-'Irk has been mentioned at p. 15 as close to Zabīd. See also Janadi, p. 183, and Yākūt. Ibn al-Mujāwir (Sprenger, p. 149) says that Wādi 'l-'Irk is another name for Kuwayd, a quarter a parasang from Wādi Rima and four from Zabīd. Al-Fārah or al-'Arah, it will be noticed, is omitted by both Janadi and Khazraji; but al-'Arah is described by Ibn al-Mujāwir, who says that its inhabitants are fishermen and that close to it are the ruins of a city, among which the remains of two mosques could still be distinguished. (Sprenger, p. 149-50.)

To 'Omarah's description of Ibn Mahdy, al-Janadi adds that he was of a tender heart, quick in shedding abundant

* و ذكرت  
† ينيه  

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tears, an account of him which need not perhaps be regarded as wholly inconsistent with the savage cruelty he displayed. The author's meaning, however, is that Ibn 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'ân (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-'Abidin, grandson of 'Aly the Prophet's son-in-law, and 'Aly son of 'Abd Allah son of 'Abbâs, ancestor of the Abbasides, were surnamed Dhu 'th-thafînât, 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 Kashshaf, we must pray God to deliver us.

The word ittazala, which occurs in Ibn Khaldûn as well as in 'Omârah, and which I have translated he led a life of retirement, might also be taken to signify that Ibn Mahdy joined the sect of the Mu'tazilites. But Ibn Khaldûn styles him the Kharijite, and is supported therein by 'Omârah's statement that Ibn Mahdy held the doctrine which treats sin as infidelity (supra, p. 132). It deserves, perhaps, to be remarked that 'Omârah speaks of Ibn Mahdy as al-Kharejî (supra, p. 95), which, however, simply signifies the rebel.

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

فکَّتَنَا تُغْدِيِّهَا قِيَامًا تَتْمِيهم وَكَانُونَ وُلِّدًا عَلَى صَوْرَانِهَا

Al-Janadi says that it was in the year 536 that the Queen 'Alam relieved Ibn Mahdy and his followers from payment
of the Kharāj (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 Thamūd. 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 safety."

* The tribe of 'Ad, for its disregard of the prophet Ḥūd, was destroyed by a suffocating wind. That of Thamūd, for its defiance of the prophet Sāliḥ, perished at the sound of an appalling cry that issued from the heavens. (Kur'ān, s. vii.)
† Kur'ān, liii. 32.  
‡ Kur'ān, xxiv. 54.
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 Ku'dayb. 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 Dāshir 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 Yākūt's Geographical Dictionary, the name appears as Dāsir, and the author says it stood at the distance of a night's journey from Zabid. (See supra, p. 128.) Ash-Sharaf was one of the fortresses situated on Mount Wusāb.

Instead of Ḥaywān, the name of the tribe to which ash-Sharaf is said to have belonged, we may perhaps read Ḥayṭān. Hamdāni mentions the Banu Ḥayṭān as sons of ‘Amrū son of al-Ḥāf (p. 53, l. 20). They were, therefore, descendants of Kuṭā'ah, but it has been seen (see supra, Note 3, pp. 217 and 218), that certain Khaulānites in Yaman were regarded as Kuṭā'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 ‘Omārah in his history of the dynasty (supra, p. 5), and after him by al-Janadī and subsequent writers. 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 ‘Omārah'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 Išḥāk is here stated to have been grandson, instead of son of Ibrahim—Išḥāk, son of Muḥammad son of Ibrahim. The latter, in like manner, is represented as grandson of Muḥammad ibn Ziyād—Ibrahim son of ‘Abd Allāh son of (Muḥammad ibn) Ziyād. Ibrahim, we have been told, died in A.H. 289, eighty-six years there-
fore after the arrival of Muhammad ibn Ziyād in Yaman, and Abu 'l-Jaysh Ishāk in a.h. 371, eighty-two years after the death of Ibrahim, who it is said was Ishāk'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 'Omarah's account of the Ziyādite succession. He mentions and quotes (fol. 182 rev.) certain marginal notes he found on a copy of 'Omarah's Muḍīd. As to their subject matter, it is sufficient to say that the writer omits the reign of Ziyād son of Ibrahim, that he represents Husayn ibn Salāmah as having, in a.h. 371, succeeded Ishāk, 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 Ziyād 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 Muḍīd 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:—

فَعَلَ ما ذَكَرَ هـذَا المِتَلِّقُ كَانَ بِنُو زِيَادٍ إِيَامَ كُلِّ مِنْهُ مَسْتَطِيلًا وَهُمْ قَلِيلٌ وَعَلَى
ما ذَكَرَ عَابِرَةٌ هُمْ كَثِيرٌ وَمَدَدُمُهُمُ طَوْلٌ وَقَصَرُ قَالَهُ اعْمَلُ بَاحْطَّ وَذَكَرَ المِتَلِّق
أَنَّ لِلْمِسْنَ تَوْقِفَ سَنَةَ 403 بِزيَادَةَ سَنَةً عَلَى مَا ذَكَرَ عَابِرَةٌ وَعَلَمَ أَن هَذِه
اِخْبَارُ تَدْخَلَا الْمَدِّقُ وَالْكَذِّبُ وَالْبِزِيَادَةَ وَالْتَقَمَانَ وَسِبْبُ ذَلِكَ اِخْتِلَافُ
الْقَلِّ ثُمَّ اِخْتِلَافُ كَتَبُ التَّأْرِيحُ قَدْ يَكُونُ المَصْنُوفُ وَاحِدًا وَالْتَصَنُّيفٌ وَاحِدًا.
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 ثلاثان, thirty, in our text, might be an error for ثمانين, eighty. But if, as seems probable, Mansūr 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-Shamāḥ (sic) is mentioned by Khazraji (fol. 103 and 108) as also the fortress of Majmā‘ah,
Notes.

NOTE 101

Sharyāk and Thālithah, and he allows it to be inferred that these three were situated in Mīkhāf Ja‘far. Yākūt says that Majma‘ah stood on Wādi Nakhlah. Janadi has ath-Thālithi (supra, p. 201), and Sharyāk is mentioned in the passages borrowed from Ibn Hātim in Note 101 (p. 297). Damt is included in the list of places given by Khazraji. It is mentioned by Hamdānī (p. 100, l. 18) as situated in the district of Sahūl, also by the author of the Marāšid, on the authority of al-Janadi, from whom he adds a not very intelligible extract. Taḥlah 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, Ṭaly 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-Mayliūn (or al-Maylīn). 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 Rasūlīte Sultān al-Āshraf 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 Sultān’s camels, and continued to be so used down to the writer’s days.

Mahdy, son and successor of Ṭaly ibn Mahdy, attacked and massacred the inhabitants of Lahij 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 Zabīd 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. Such was his condition that he had to be carried down from Ta‘īzz 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 Ḥīd ath-Thamīn. 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. Mahdy is stated by the writer to have returned from his expedition to the Highlands in Muḥarram.
559, and to have died at Zabid 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 Sharifs. A party of the enemy, commanded by the Amir Wahhās ibn Ghānim ibn Yahya ibn Ḥamza ibn Wahhās, was utterly destroyed, the Amir 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-Thamīn, 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 Ḥātim son of 'Aly son of the Dā'ī Saba son of Abu Su'ūd proceeded to San'a and prevailed upon the Hamdānīte Sulṭān 'Aly ibn Ḥātim, ancestor of the historian, to assist the Zuray'ītes against the common enemy. 'Aly ibn Ḥātim, a member, like the Zuray'ītes, of the sub-tribe of Yām, consented, on condition of his being supported by the tribes of Janb and Madīhij. Ḥātim the Zuray'īte proceeded to Dhamār and obtained promises from Sulṭān 'Abd Allah ibn Yahya and from Sheykh Zayd ibn 'Amru, chiefs of the two tribes, to join in the alliance. 'Aly ibn Ḥātim thereupon marched from San'a, in the month of Safar 569, at the head of the Hamdānītes, accompanied by tribesmen of Sinḥān, Shīhāb, Nahd, and others.* The Arabs combined their forces in the district of Sahūl. The army of 'Abd an-Naby was attacked and utterly routed near Ibb, by the allies, who advanced successively to Dhu Jiblāh 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 Taʾizz. Intelligence came from Aden that

* The Banu Shīhāb are mentioned by Hamdānī (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, 1. 18, Hamdānī calls the Nahdītes sub-tribe of the Banu 'Ans.
its siege was raised, and that the camp formed by 'Abd an-
Naby at Za'āzi had been abandoned. The Hamdānīte Sul-
tān 'Aly ibn Ḥātim would have pursued the enemy into
Ṭihāmah, but his allies of the tribes of Ṣanb and Madḥihij
refused, and he returned to Ṣan'ā. His brilliant but brief
campaign thus came to an end. He started from Janad on
Saturday 19th Rabī’ Awwal, reached Dhu Ashrāk in the
evening, and Dhu Jiblāh on the following day. Here he
halted for six days and ordered the dismantling of the great
palace, then occupied by a Sulayhīte Princess, Arwa,
dughter of 'Aly son of 'Abdallah son of Muḥammad.

'Abd an-Naby returned to Zabīd, where he soon after-
wards received intelligence that Tūrān Shah the Ayyūbīte
was at Māḥall Abī Turāb, and that the Sharīf Kāsim son of
Ghānim son of Yaḥya son of Ḥamzah son of Wāḥhās, 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-Khāzraji from the
Ikl ath-Thāmin of Ibn Ḥātim, 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 Ḥarad,
also called Māḥall Abī Turāb, by the Sulaymaniite Amīr
Kāsim ibn Ghānim, within whose dominions Ḥarad was
situated. The allies marched thence at the end of Rama-
dān A.H. 569. On the 7th Shawwāl they reached Zabīd, of
which they gained possession at sunrise on the 9th. The
town was looted, 'Abd an-Naby and his two brothers were
taken prisoners, and the Sharīf Kāsim started on his return
to his country on the 3rd (read 13th?) of the month.
Tūrān Shah remained at Zabīd until the beginning of
the following month of Dhu 'l-Ḵa'ādah. He then marched upon
Ṭa'izz, which surrendered. Next he took possession of
Janad, and thence he marched upon Aden, which was cap-
tured on the 20th and looted.* The Sulṭān returned to
the Mikhlāf Ja'far, possessed himself of 'Ta'kar, and then
marched against the northern provinces. He started from

* The author here says that the children of the Dā'ī 'Ṭurān were
made prisoners at Aden, together with Ṭūsīr son of Bilāl, clearly
an error. See next page and supra, Note 69.
Dhu Jiblah and ascended Nakil Sayd on the 28th Dhu 'l-Hijjah. At Darwân (?), Sultan 'Abd Allah ibn Yahya the Janbite tendered his submission. Al-Muṣannafah (Masna’ah?) * was captured from Shaykh Muhammad ibn Zayd al-Bâyâri al-Janbi. Thence the Sultan proceeded to Dhamâr, near which he was attacked by the Janbites and other Arabs. The advance of the Ayyûbites was severely contested, but the Arabs were eventually defeated, and driven with heavy loss into the fortress of Hirrân. Turân Shah reached the outskirts of San'a on the 7th (17th?) Muḥarram 570. ‘Aly ibn Hâtim escaped to the fortress of Birâsh and Turân Shah, without stopping to secure the city, set out on his return to Zabid. Marching by way of Nakîl as-Saud, he was harassed with attacks by the Bann Sinhan and Shîhâb, and next by the people of Bura', but he reached his destination in safety. In Jamâdi 'l-Awwal he returned to Janad, and thenceforward occupied himself in gaining possession of the mountain fortresses. He successively captured Sabîr, Bâdiyâh (? وَبَاي) Sharyâk, ‘Azzan-Dhakbir, Numâyir which belonged to the Amir Mansûr (son of ‘Imrân?) son of Muḥammad son of Saba, then Munif, then Samâdân. He did not attack Sawâ, which was held by Ibn as-Sâbâ’î. Next he besieged Dumlûwah, where the children of the Dâ’î ‘Imrân 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’bân, Tûrân Shah was at Dhu Jiblah, where he received intelligence of disturbances in Tibâmah and ordered ‘Abd an-Nâby 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 Yasîr ibn Bilâl, Tûrân 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-Muẓaffâr, who, we have been dis-

* Yâkût mentions Masna’ah, the name of a fortress that overlooks Dhamâr. Hirrân he describes as one of the strongholds of Dhamâr. See also Hamdâni, p. 80, l. 20-21.
† See a description of the fortress of Dumlûwah in Note 111.
distinctly told, succeeded to the office of Dā'ī, on the death of al-Mukarram (supra, p. 42 and Note 37). Saba ibn Ahmād, as has been seen, died in a.h. 492. Ibn Najib ad-Daulah arrived in Yaman, bearing the title of Dā'ī, in a.h. 513. We have, therefore, an interval of twenty-one years during which, if our MS. can be trusted, the Dā'īship was successively held by two men. The name of one is left in blank, and as to the designation of Sulīmān, according 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-Āmīr 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 Dā'ī after Ibn Najib ad-Daulah; nor any explanation of the title of Dā'ī given to a certain Muḥamnad ibn Abī ʾl-ʿArāb, who is stated (supra, p. 57), to have met Ibn Najib ad-Daulah on his arrival at Dahlak. The sentence (p. 137) beginning with the words, She next transferred—or, the office of Dā'ī was next transferred to the family of Zūray, is probably an interpolation, borrowed, it may be, from al-Janādi, but anyhow misplaced. Al-Janādi writes as follows (fol. 184 rev.):—

When Ibn Najib ad-Daulah departed, as will hereafter be related, the queen appointed in his place the Dā'ī Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥāmidī. When she received tidings of the death of the reigning Khalifah (al-Āmīr) and of the accession of his successor al-Ḥāfīz to the Egyptian Khalifate, she transferred the office of Dā'ī to the family of Zūray, as will hereafter be clearly explained. "Sufficient," she said, "for the family of as-Sulayhī, is what they have done in the cause of our Lords (the Fātimite Khalifahs), upon whom be the blessings of God." This occurred after the death of the Dā'ī Ibrāhīm, and the first of the family of Zūray to be invested with the dignity was Saba son of Abu Suʿūd.

* Read الآمر
Further on (fol. 185 rev.), after relating the end of Ibn Najib ad-Daulah's career in Yaman, al-Janadi repeats the above in almost the same words, but adds that Ibrahim al-Hāmīdi 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 Daʿy to the Zurayʿītes.

Al-Āmīr was assassinated at Cairo by the Nīzārites, in Dhuʾ-‘Kaʿdah (the eleventh month) of the year 524. Our MS. of ʿOmarah tells us that Ibrahim ibn al-Husayn al-Hāmīdi 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 Daʿy ʿAbd Allah ibn ʿAbd Allah held the office from the date of the disappearance of Ibn Najib ad-Daulah in 520, for six years.

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

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

There is, however, another point which requires to be taken into consideration. Ḥātim son of Ibrahim son of Husayn al-Hāmīdi is known to have been a powerful Ḥamdānite chief, who for three years disputed the throne of Ṣanʿā with the reigning Sultan ʿAly 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 Ibrahim received the office of Daʿy when little more than a child. But that may pos-

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

**Note 103 to p. 136.**—The Khalifah 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 Khalifah, one of the ladies of his harīm was found to be enceinte. Al-Ḥāfīz 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-Ḥāfīz assumed only the title of heir-apparent to the Khalifate.

**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 ‘Ansīte, Fayruz assumed the government of Ṣan‘ā, in which he was confirmed by the Prophet's successor Abu Bakr, who appointed Dadhwayh and Kāys ibn Makshūḥ to be his colleagues and assistants. But tidings of the Prophet's death having spread in Yaman, a rebellion again broke out. Kāys 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 Khulān 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 ‘Oḵayl, he marched upon Ṣan‘ā, attacked and defeated Kāys and put him to flight. Kāys eventually fell into the hands of Muḥājir ibn Abī Umayyah. He was sent to Abu Bakr, by whom he was pardoned.

The word Abna was used to designate a mixed race, the naturalized descendants of the Persian troops sent to Yaman.
by Anūshirwān, 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 Abu '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 Sa'dah, known under the designation of Rassites, will be found at p. 184.

In his chapter on the Shi'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 Shi'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 Isma'ilites, 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, * So named—Ithna 'ashariyyah—because they recognize twelve Imāms, the last of whom was the Mahdy, whose re-appearance is awaited by his followers.
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 Wāsīl ibn 'Aṭā.

The Zaydites, as was to be expected, have separated themselves from the Dodekites and Ismailites, on the question of the rightful holders of the Imāmate. All agree in the recognition of 'Aly, of his two sons Ḥasan and Ḥusayn and, according to Ibn Khaldūn, of his grandson 'Aly Zayn al-'Abidin.* But whilst their opponents assign the succession, next after Zayn al-'Abidin to his son Muhammad al-Bakir, 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 Yahya 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 Imāamate from the family of Ḥusayn to that of Ḥasan. Muḥammad, they further hold, was succeeded by his brother Ibrāhim, who was killed towards the latter end of a.h. 145, and survived his brother only two months. According to others, Muḥammad's successor was Muḥammad son of al-Kāsim 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

* The author of the Yawākit omits the name of 'Aly Zayn al-'Abidin, and substitutes that of Ḥasan son of Ḥasan.
record of the succession of their Imāms. 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 Imām 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 Imāms given by different writers.

Among the books I have had the opportunity of consulting, the Yawākīt 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 Tabaristan, are printed in italics. Hasan 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 Jaʿfar as-Ṣādik. His son Ismāʿīl 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 ʿObayd Allah “the Mahdy,” founder of the Fatimite Khalifate and Imām of the Ismailites, claimed to be descended.
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 Kāqī Muḥammad and grandfather of the Dā’y ‘Aly.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{‘Aly the Sulayhite.} & \\
\text{Al-Muzaffar.} & \quad \text{The Kāqī Muḥammad.} \\
\text{Ahmad.} & \quad \text{‘Abd Allah.} & \quad \text{The Dā’y ‘Aly. (Builder of Dhu Jiblah.)} \\
\text{Al-Manṣūr Abu Ḥimyar Saba.} & \quad \text{Al-Mukarram Ahmad.} \\
\text{‘Aly.} &
\end{align*}
\]

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 Saʿīd son of Najāh.

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-Ṣulayhī 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 Saʿīd's death also requires correction. The introduction of the name of Yaʿfur, 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 ṣughrī, which occurs in the text, and the name Yaʿfur. The statement that Saʿīd's head was carried to Zabid is likewise an error.

It will, moreover, be remarked that Ibn Khaldūn's account of the proceedings of Jayyāsh and of his wazir Khalf, on
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 Nayṣāpūr, after which several persons of note have been named.

One, Abu Bakr Ahmad ibn al-Husayn ibn 'Aly al-Bayhakī, 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 Khallīkān (de Slane, i. 57). His son Isma'īl ibn Ahmad al-Bayhakī, 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 Ahmad ibn Husayn, who arose in a.h. 616. See supra, p. 175, and cf. the passage in Ibn Khaldūn's enumeration of the tribes of Kahlan. He died in a.h. 630.

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

Note 111 to p. 160.—A description of the fortress of Dumūwah is given by al-Hamdānî in his Geography of Arabia (ed. D. H. Muller, 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-Kulhumāh.* The hill was an offshoot of Mount Sīlu, from which it was, however, completely isolated, and which rose at a distance of one

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* 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.
hundred cubits on the south. On its eastern side, Khadir 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 Sīlan, at the distance of a bow-shot. The gate of the fortress of Dumluwah 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 guard 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. Varasun 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.

Hamdānī'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 (Māwi-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-con nue sur la grande route des montagnes."

Hamdānī (p. 190, l. 8,) mentions the castle of Juwwah, which seems to be one and the same with Dumluwah.

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

*In the "district of Khadir" there existed in Hamdānī's days the vestiges of a large and ancient town; Salūk, "now known," he says, "under the name of Hābil ar-Raybah, حبيل الرية."

(In Yākūt, who copies Hamdānī, the name is written حبيل الزينة.) Among its remains, adds Hamdānī, iron scoria, fragments of gold and silver and coins are found. Salūkīyah 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.
Note 113 to p. 161.—Ibn Khaldûn, it will be observed, derives most of his information touching the Zurayite dynasty from Ibn Sa‘îd, who himself is without doubt indebted, directly or indirectly, to ‘Omârah. But Ibn Khaldûn seems to be misled by the ambiguity of language, be it his own or be it borrowed from Ibn Sa‘îd, which he uses when speaking of the rivalry between the two brothers ‘Aly and Muḥammad, sons of Saba. In a genealogical table he appends to the chapter, he evidently confuses ‘Aly al-‘A’azz with ‘Aly son of Abî ’l-Ghârât, 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 Jusham the Yâmites.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>i. Mas‘ûd, a.h. 476.</th>
<th>i. ‘Abbâs, a.h. 476.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ii. Abu ’l-Gharât, his son.</td>
<td>ii. Zuray', his son.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii. Muḥammad, his son.</td>
<td>iii. Abu Su‘ûd, his son.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv. ‘Aly, his brother, deposed a.h. 533 (died 545).</td>
<td>iv. Saba, his son, died 533.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v. ‘Aly al-‘A’azz al-Murtada, his son, 533-534.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vi. Muḥammad, his brother, 534-548.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vii. ‘Imrân, his son 548-560.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>viii. The wazir Yâsir son of Bilâl, under the nominal supremacy of the sons of ‘Imrân, until the Ayyubite conquest in a.h. 569.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of their predecessors, the Banu Ma‘în, we have only a x 2
very meagre account. They established their power over Aden, in the days of al-Ma'mūn according to Ibn Khaldūn, or, according to 'Omārah, on the downfall of the Ziyādite dynasty, previous to which time, we are told, Aden was subject to the Banu Ziyād. In about a. 451, the Banu Ma'n submitted to 'Aly the Sulayhite, who imposed a tribute upon them which, in a. 461, he settled upon his niece and daughter-in-law Sayyidah. Upon 'Aly's death, in a. 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 'Abbās and Mas'ūd 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 'Abbās and Mas'ūd as having survived al-Mukarram the Sulayhite, who died in a. 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'ūd and Zuray'. Khazraji says that Dumlūwah was conquered by Zuray' in a. 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. 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 Dā'ī was probably in a. 525, or a. 526. (See Note 102.)

From and after the capture of Aden by Saba in 533, the Banu 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 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 Ṣaḥāb was ʿUwāl (or ʿUwwāl). Two of the MSS. used by Juynboll for his edition of the ʿArāṣīd 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 ʿAzāl, which is identified with the bibilical ʿUzāl.


Note 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 Ḥajjah, consequently almost directly south of Ṣaʿdah, and at a considerable distance from it. Manzoni has Ḍabba on the road from Aden to Ṣarīm, 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 Hamdān may possibly have borne the name of Ḥarāz, but it seems more likely that Ibn Khaldūn is here in error. Al-Hamdāni 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 Saʿd son of ʿAuf son of ʿAdy (son of Mālik son of Zayd al-Jamḥūr). See also ʿOmārah, p. 18.

Note 119 to p. 179.—Both the Banu Ṭjl and the Banu Yarbū' were Modārīte tribes. The former, stated by Ibn Khaldūn to have become extinct, were a sister tribe of the Banu Ḥanīfah and descendents, through the Banu Bakr ibn Wāʾil, of Rabīʿah son of Nizār. The Banu Yarbū' were, as stated in the text, derived from the Banu Tamīm, descen-

dants of Tābikhah son of al-Ya’s son of Moḍar. But another tribe, of the same name, claimed to be descendants, through the Banu Ḥanifah, of the Bann Bakr ibn Wā’il, and were therefore closely connected with the Banu ‘Ijl. The latter, as well as the Banu Ḥanifah and other sub-tribes of the Banu Bakr, are mentioned by Hamdānī among the inhabitants of Yamāmah.

Ṭasm and Jadis, 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 Hamdānī, p. 162, and Yāḵūt, vol. iv. p. 417), the Banu Hizzān of Yamāmah were derived from the Bann ‘Anazah, descendants of Rabī‘ah son of Nizār, and were consequently of the same stem as the Banu Ḥanifah, 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 Liwadh son of Shem. (Ṭabari, vol. i. p. 213; Ibn Khaldūn, vol. ii. p. 7.)

The story of ‘Amlīk, or ‘Amlūk, and Yamāmah will be found in Mas‘ūdī (Barbier de Meynard, vol. iii. p. 276, sqq.). It tells how Ḥassān ibn Tubba‘, King of the Ḥimyarites, marched at the head of an army against the Jadīsites. 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 Jadīsites, 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.†

* The name Hamdān, which occurs in the passage above mentioned, is clearly a misprint for Hizzān.
† Yamāmah’s words describing what she first saw, are somewhat more intelligible as given by Yāḵūt (iv. 1033) than according to to Ṭabari’s and Mas‘ūdī’s versions.
NOTES 120-122.

The story is to be found not only in Mas'ūdī, 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 Ishāk, 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 'Adites were, like Ṭasim, Jadis, 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 'Adites, descendants of those members of the tribe who escaped destruction in the days of the prophet Hūd.

Both Ḥadramaut and Ya'rub are usually described as sons of  Kaepernick.

Note 121 to p. 182.—Zafār was conquered in A.H. 678 by Sultān al-Muẓaffar, 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 Ahmad ibn Muḥammad, the person mentioned in the text, and the founder of a short-lived dynasty. A full account of al-Muẓaffar'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 'Ukūd (fol. 115 obv.), follows Ibn Ḥātim.

Khazraji calls the city Zafār al-Ḥamūdī (الحمدي). In Ibn Baṭṭūṭah's travels the name is written Zhafer aux plantes salines et amères. Zafār al-Ḥamūdī 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-Ḥabūdī (sic) and in al-Aḥdal (fol. 260 rev.), who, in his account of the place, simply copies al-Janadi, the word appears as al-Ḥabuti (ابطی). Sprenger (p. 144, 146) has al-Ḥabuti (ابطی).

In saying that the seaport 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 San'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
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'īdah, 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-'Arus mentions, on the authority of the Lisān al-ʻArab, that Kuss ibn Sā'īdah was styled Bishop of Najrān.

Note 123 to p. 183.—A translation of the story of the sons of Nizar and of the Jurhumite Af'a of Najrān will be found in Mas'ūdi (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 Nizar and ancestor of the Ishmaelite or insitutional 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 Afā, 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 Najrān appear to have worshipped the idol Yaghlūh. See Professor Robertson-Smith's "Kinship," p. 192.

* Ṣabari, 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 Madhḥijites of Najrān appear to have worshipped the idol Yaghlūh. See Professor Robertson-Smith's "Kinship," p. 192.
Najrān became victims to the hostility of Dhu Nuwās, the last of the long line of the Tubbas or Himyarite Kings of Yaman. He sought to force them into the acceptance of Judaism, the religion he had himself adopted, and the savage cruelty with which he pursued his design is denounced in the Kur'ān (S. lxxxv.), where he is proclaimed as doomed to the torments of hell. These persecutions of the Christians of Najrān 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 Najrān in the practice of supernatural arts, may serve to show that long before the rise of Islām, the Christian inhabitants of that province had made considerable 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. Ṭabarī mentions that when Baruch fulfilled his mission to Bukht Naṣṣar (supra, Note 3), he came from Najrān.

Note 125 to p. 184.—Abū ‘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 Slano, iv. p. 398).

It may be remarked that (in vol. ii. p. 256), Ibn Khaldūn himself omits the name of Yazīd and substitutes that of his brother ‘Abd al-Ḥajr son of ‘Abd al-Madān. In his biography of the Prophet (p. 53) he, however, follows the narrative of Ṭabarī.

Note 126 to p. 184.—Ibn Khaldūn repeats in vol. ii. p. 255, that a portion of the Azdites remained in Najrān and shared the authority of the Madhhijites over the country; but he makes there no mention of the Banu ‘l-Ḥārith ibn Ka‘b of the tribe of Azd. Al-Mas‘ūdī 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 Ḥazm. The chieftainship seems to have remained permanently in the hands of the Banu Hārith the Madhhijites. It passed on to a family of that tribe, known as the Banu Dayyān (or Rayyān ?), descendants of Yazīd surnamed Dayyān. His son was ‘Abd al-Madān, mentioned in the text and in Note 122, father (ancestor ?) of Yazīd son of ‘Abd al-Madān, who
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 Abu 'l-Jud descendant of 'Abd al-Madân. 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 'Omârah, nor is Najrân mentioned as one of the places over which Ibn 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 Muhammandan times.

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

The Zaydite MSS. recently acquired by the library of the British Museum, give a fairly consistent account of the life of al-Kasim, the ancestor of the long line of Imams of Yemen. According to the Hadâ'ik al-Wardiyah (Or. 3786 and 3813), when Muhammad son of Ibrahim Tabitatâa died in A.H. 199, his brother al-Kasim was in Egypt. He 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 Medina, from Kufah, from Rayy and from Kazwin.

When 'Abd Allah ibn Tahir 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-Kasim.* 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'mûn and of his immediate successors. The lapse of years brought about a relaxation of the enmity

with which he had been so long pursued, and towards the end of his life al-Kāsīm purchased a property, named ar-Rass, situated near Dhu Ḥulayfah "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-Kāsīm to the Imāmate was, according to the author of the Yawā先后, Muḥammad son of al-Kāsīm, descendant of ‘Aly Zayn al-‘Abīdīn and of Ḥusayn brother of Hasan. 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 Ḥusayn and Muḥammad, the two sons of al-Kāsīm the Rassite, no record seems to have been preserved.† Yahya son of Ḥusayn, who afterwards assumed the title al-Hādy ila ’l-Hakk, the Leader unto Truth, was born a year before the death of his grandfather. Al-Hādy asserted his claim to the Imāmate 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 Muḥammad. He conquered Najrān, and was next engaged in warfare with the Karmathians. The Zaydite author of the Hādatik is silent over most of the particulars given by al-Khāzraji (supra, Note 8) as well as by the author of the History of the Karmathians in Yaman, but he mentions that al-Hādy sent his son Muḥammad al-Murtada to assist the people of Ṣan‘ā against the Ismailites, to which he adds that the Imām became master of Yaman. Al-Hādy died at Sa’dah in Dhu ’l-Hijjah 298, of poison it is said. He left three sons, Abu ’l-Kāsīm Muḥammad al-Murtada, Ḥuṣayn surnamed an-Nāṣir and Ḥasan.

* Dhu Ḥulayfah is described by Yāكūt as a village situated six or seven miles from Medīnah and as the Miḥāt (see Note 16) of the people of that city.
† The names of other sons are mentioned by genealogists, and there seems little doubt that certain descendants of al-Kāsīm settled in Egypt. See the Taj al-‘Araus, s.v. Rass, and cf. Ibn Khallikān (de Slane), vols. i. 115 and ii. 46.
The next Imam of the Zaydites, it is stated, was Ḥasan ibn 'Aly surnamed an-Nāṣir lil-Ḥaḳḳ, but better known in history as al-Ūṭrūsh. He arose in Persia in A.H. 301, and died at Āmul in Tabaristan in 304. But we are also told that next in succession to al-Ḥāḍy was his son Muḥammad al-Murtada. He succeeded upon the death of his father, and abdicated in 301 in favour of his brother Aḥmad an-Nāṣir. This leaves no room for al-Ūtrūsh. The author of the Yawāḳīl, on the other hand, tells us that the Imamate of both the sons of al-Ḥāḍy is disputed. Al-Murtada died at Ṣa'dah in A.H. 310.

Aḥmad an-Nāṣir li-din Ilah was chiefly engaged in wars with the Karmathians of Maswar, whose ruler, it is stated, was 'Abd al-Ḥamīd son of Muḥammad son of al-Ḥajjāj.* A battle is said to have been fought in Shāfān 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 Imāms 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-Mujāhab, mentioned by Ibn Khaldūn.

Note 128 to p. 186.—Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Yahya aṣ-Ṣūli died in A.H. 335. His life is given by Ibn Khalīkān (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-'Adīm, was author of an important work in ten volumes on the history of Aleppo, entitled Buḥyat al-Talāb 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

* This 'Abd al Ḥamīd, it must be presumed, was father of Ibrahim ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, mentioned in Janadi's history of the Karmathians (supra, p. 210).
abridgment of the work, to which he gave the name Zubdat al-Halab, a portion of which has been published by Freytag. Ibn al-'Adim was born in A.H. 580 and died in 660.

Note 130 to p. 190.—Ibn Khaldun’s chapter on the Rassite Imams 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 Sharifs of Yaman, it will be sufficient to refer to what I have said in Note 88. I have there pointed out Ibn Khaldun’s error in respect to the Imam Ahmad (al-Mutawakkil) son of Suleyman, whom he erroneously calls son of Hamzah, and of whom he still more inaccurately says, that he was nearly related to the Suleymanite Ghânim ibn Yahya. The Imam in question was in point of fact a direct descendant of an-Nâṣir Ahmad son of al-Hâdy Yahya. ‘Omârah is therefore right in styling him the Rassite. (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 Najrân as well as at Sa’dah. With the assistance of the neighbouring Arab tribes, he attacked and defeated the Hamdânite King of San‘á, Hâtim ibn Ahmad, in A.H. 545. In 549, he marched against the Karmathian tribe of Yâm, who, if the Zaydite historians are to be believed, still persisted in the practices described in Janadî’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 Najrân. His expedition to Zabid took place in A.H. 552. The account of it given by the Zaydite writers differs materially from ‘Omârah’s. The Prince of Zabîd, Fâtîk son of Mu‘âmmad, 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 Zabîd. 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
years. Towards the latter end of his life he became blind, and he died in A.H. 566.

Al-Manṣūr billah ‘Abd Allah was likewise a member of the Rassite family, descendant of Ḥimzah (son of the Imam Abu Hāshim al-Ḥasan) and of ‘Abd Allah grandson of al-Kāsim 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. He took up his residence for a time at Saḍah, then moved southwards, and in 594 or beginning of 595, he entered San'a, where the citizens submitted to his rule. In 595 he made himself master of Dhamār 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 Imam 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'a and Dhamār and occupied himself in subjecting the Muṭarrifiyyah, whom, according to his own historians, he treated with great cruelty.†

At the instigation of the Abbaside Khalifah an-Nāṣir, a strong force was sent, in A.H. 612, against al-Manṣūr by al-Mas'ūd, the last Ayyubite Sultan of Yaman. The Imam 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 Imam removed to Kaukabān and then to Zafar. His health now gave way, and he died at the former place in the first month of A.H. 614.

The death of al-Manṣūr billah was followed by a division in the ranks of the Zaydites. The people of Saḍah and

* Ibn al-Athīr mentions in his Chronicles (vol. xii. 113) the defeat of al-Manṣūr 'Abd Allah by the Ayyubite Sultan al-Mu'izz Isma'īl, and the date he gives is A.H. 597, not 592 as in our text of Ibn Khaldūn.
† The word شاكية 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 مطرية, the vile.
its neighbourhood recognized as Imam the Sharif Majd (or Najm) ad-dīn Yahya ibn al-Muḥsin (read Muḥammad),* who adopted the surname of al-Hādy ila l-Ḥaḳḳ, the same as that of his namesake and ancestor, the originator of the dynasty. In the southern districts, ‘Izz ad-dīn Muḥammad, surnamed an-Naṣīr li-dīn Illah, son of al-Manṣūr ‘Abd Allah, was proclaimed. He was defeated in A.H. 623, in an engagement near San‘ā with the troops of the Ayyubite King al-Maṣūd. 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 Ahmad, al-Muṭawakkil ‘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 Ḥusayn (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-Aḥdal makes Ahmad ibn Husayn great grandson of Kāsim (Abu l-Kāsim al-Ḥusayn ?) son of al-Mu‘ayyad Ahmad (one of the Persian Imāns), descendant of Zayd son of Ḥasan and consequently not a member of the Rassite family.† The author of the Yawākit identifies his great-grandfather with al-Manṣūr al-Kāsim, who died in A.H. 393, and among whose children no son of the name of Ahmad has been mentioned. The author of the Bughṭyat al-Murūd says that he was descendant, as well as Malīkah the mother of the Imam Ahmad ibn Suleyman, of Ahmad son of Isma’il Abu l-Barakāt, descendant of Muḥammad son of al-Kāsim the Rassite. This agrees with what is said by the author of the Jawāhir, who, however, confines himself to the statement that the Imām’s great-grandfather al-Kāsim was descended from Muḥammad 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-Mūṭi I find nowhere but in Ibn

* Compare the Kāshifat al-Ghummah, fol. 22 rev., with the Ḥadā‘īk, fol. 206 rev. 1. 14.
† See the Genealogical Table to Note 107.
Khalidin, who, it would appear, has borrowed it from al-Bayhaqi.* The word signifies *one appointed to subjugate.*

Ahmad ibn al-'Ihsayn was raised to the Imamate with the full consent and approval of the family of al-Mansur 'Abd Allah. Ere long he was able to treat on terms of equality with the Rasulite Sultan, at that time al-Muzaaffar Yusuf. Such a state of things was necessarily most distasteful, not only to the Sultan, but to all orthodox Muslims. Khraji tells us, in his 'Ukb, that the Abbaside Khalifah 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 (Yawaikt, fol. 171 rev.), al-Muzaaffar asked assistance of al-Musta'sim against the Imam. The Khalifah, it is related, sent the Sultan certain Hashishiyin, otherwise called, he continues, Fidawiin. 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 Hashishiyin (or 1Hashishiyin) is the same as that found by Mr. Lane ("Thousand and One Nights," Note 46 to ch. ii.) in Idrisi's Geography, applied to the people we call the Assassins. The word, as Mr. Lane remarks, is precisely synonymous with Hashhashin. 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-Muzaaffar 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

* See supra, p. 175, and compare with the passage in vol. ii. p. 252 of Ibn Khalidin's General History (Bul. ed.).
† See supra, Note 55.
‡ We are told by the same writer (fol. 166 obv.) that the Persian Imam Abu 1-Hasan 'Aly al-Hadi al-Hakayni, who pursued the Ismailites with his enmity, was murdered in A.H. 440 by a Hashish, sent for the purpose from the castle of Almut.
their part, but also on that of other powerful chiefs. Denunciations were launched against the Imām, 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 Sharīf Ḥasan ibn Wahhās. Certain acts of extortion committed by order of the Imām Aḥmad ibn Ḥusayn filled up the measure of his unpopularity. The malcontents called upon Shams ad-dīn Aḥmad (al-Mutawakkil), chief of the Ḥamzites and son of the Imām al-Mansūr ‘Abd Allah, to place himself at their head. They received support and assistance from the Rasulite king of Yaman. The rival forces met at Shuwābah in A.H. 656.* The Imām’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-dīn. The event is said to have occurred on the identical day upon which the last Abbaside Khalifah of Baghdad was put to death by Hulaku. The Sharīf Abu Muḥammad al-Ḥasan 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-Mansūr ‘Abd Allah, Najm ad-dīn Musa and Ḥasan. The chieftainship over the Ḥamzites consequently devolved upon their brother, Sarīm ad-dīn Daʿūd, son of the Imām al-Mansūr ‘Abd Allah.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Imāmate of Yaman was held by a family descended from al-Mansūr al-Kāsim son of Muḥammad son of ‘Alī al-Amlahi, a descendant of Yūsuf ad-Dāʾy great-grandson of

* For Shuwābah see supra, Note 6 (footnote). The author of the Jawāhir says that it stood east of Zafār; Yāḵūt, that it was at a distance of four miles from Ṣanʿā (elsewhere he says four parasangs) on the banks of the river Darawān, which he tells us, flowed between Shuwābah and a town named after the river. The distance from Ṣanʿā, as will be seen, must have been considerably more than even four parasangs. Yāḵūt 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.
al-Hādy Yahya, the founder, as has been seen, of the Rassite dynasty.

Manṣūr al-Ḵāsim 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 "Khaṣem ibn Mohāmed," spoken of by Niebuhr as ancestor of al-Mahdi ʿAbbās, the reigning Imam of Yaman at the time of the traveller's visit to Ṣanʿā in A.D. 1763. Niebuhr prints in his Description de l'Arabie a genealogical table giving the names and tracing the descent, from al-Ḵāsim, of the Imams who successively occupied the throne down to the accession of al-Mahdi ʿAbbās. The Bughyat al-Murīd contains a minute account of the numerous descendants of al-Ḵāsim, the effect of which is to show that Niebuhr's table requires correction. Thus, al-Ḵāsim was succeeded, according to the Bughyat, not by his son Ismāʿīl, but by his eldest son, al-Muʿayyad Muḥammad, 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 Ismāʿīl al-Mutawakkil, who died in a.H. 1087 (A.D. 1676), aged sixty-six years.* The life of the Imam al-Mansūr al-Ḵāsim forms the subject of a MS. in the British Museum library, Or. 3329.

The biography of an earlier Imam, al-Mutawakkil ʿal Allāh 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 Dāʾy, but the line of descent is separate and distinct from that of al-Ḵāsim.

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 Karīmāshians, or Ismaʿilites, in Yaman. Ibn Fāḍil is called Muḥammad by Ibn Khaldūn, so also by Ibn al-Aṭhir, and probably therefore by other writers whose works I have not within reach. On the other hand, he is called ʿAly not only by ʿOraarah, but also by Janāḍi, Khazrajī, etc., by Maṣʿūdí and by the author of the Dastūr

* The year of al-Ḵāsim's birth is recorded in a chronogram \( 967 \); also the date of al-Mutawakkil Ismaʿīl's accession \( 1054 \).
id-Mimajiimhi, whom I have already had occasion to mention (supra, Note 26). See also the footnote to the 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 Mansur, 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 Mansur 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 Mansur son of Husayn.


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 Makrizi, it may be remarked, the word kharraha, 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 Malik, the writer mentioned in the text.

In Khazraji there is no mention of Dhu Jadan. Ibn al-Athir, 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 Safi (Ṣayfī ?) son of Zur‘ah (Hinnyar the younger) son of Saba the younger."

The tribe or family of Khanfar is mentioned by al-Hamdâni (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.
Note 133 to p. 192.—It is of course altogether out of the question to suppose that Ibn Haushab and Ibn Faql were sent to Yaman by Maymun, or that 'Obayd Allah the Mahdy was his son. 'Abd Allah son of Maymun, 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 Ahmad who organized the mission to Yaman. 'Obayd Allah must at that time have been in his childhood. He died in a.h. 322, at the age, according to Ibn al-Athir, 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-Razi at the British Museum.

Note 135 to p. 194.—Al-Khazraji here adds that Ibn Haushab and Ibn Faql 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 Makrizi and with the author of the Dastür. 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 Faql's final conquest of San'a (see Note 138) must have occurred thirty-one years and Ibn Haushab'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 Maymun, or as it may be understood, by the ruling chief of the Ismailites at that period, and not by Ibn Haushab as is stated by other writers. But it is probably true that
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. Makrizi says (vol. i. p. 350) that Abu 'Abd Allah arrived in the country of Katamah in A.H. 288. In Ibn al-Athir we read 280, the date adopted by de Sacy, on the authority of Baybars al-Manṣūry 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 Dastūr 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 A.H. 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 A.H. 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-Fadl, 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:—
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 Faḍl first obtained possession of Ṣan‘a in 293, a statement which is indeed confirmed by Ṭabarī (vol. iii. pp. 2256 and 2267), and by Ibn al-Athīr (vii. p. 378). Al-Khazraji’s narrative (pp. 34, 35) is to the effect that Dhamār having been seized by the Karmathians, As‘ad ibn Ya‘fur tendered his submission, but that he fled upon Ibn Faḍl making his entry into Ṣan‘a. The citizens applied for aid to the Zaydite Imām of Ṣa‘dah, al-Hādi Yahya, who despatched against their enemies an army under the command of his son Abū l-Kāsim Muḥammad al-Murtada. They gained possession of Dhamār and compelled the Karmathians to abandon Ṣan‘a. But the latter recaptured Dhamār from the hands of al-Murtada in a.h. 294, and drove him to seek refuge at Ṣan‘a, where he joined his father. Al-Hādi was now attacked by the troops of As‘ad ibn Ya‘fur and, the citizens of Ṣan‘a refusing to support the Imām 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 Faḍl, in Ramadān 299, made his entry into Ṣan‘a, 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 daḥasa, 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-Mashāḥšit, from shahāta, to welter in blood. Müller’s Hamdānī 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:
Huṣayb, 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 Huṣayb put your beasts to the trot"—meaning, hasten your pace lest you fall a victim to the women's fascinations.

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

Note 141 to p. 202.—Abu Saʿīd al-Jannābī was chief of the Carmathian Principality of Bahrayn. He died in A.H. 301, and throughout his life remained faithful in his allegiance to ʿObayd 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-Muʿizz arrived in Egypt and established the seat of the Fatimite Empire at Cairo in A.H. 362.

Note 143 to p. 211.—Daybaʾ adds here that Ibn al-Asad exercised the office of Dūʿy under the reigns of the Fatimite Khalifahs al-Hākim 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-Akhrūj, which, Hamdānī tells us (p. 106), adjoins the lower country of Ḥadūr and was in his day the dwelling-place of the Banu Ṣulayḥī, the Hamdānites. See Dr. Glaser, pp. 38 and 10. He identifies the district with the modern Ḥujrah, shown upon his map, east of Ḥarāz. The place is mentioned, I may add, by al-Mukaddasy, who, according to Professor de Goeje’s edition, writes Akhrūj.
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CORRIGENDA.

P. 1 footnote 1, for نزار تزار read عن طاعة عن طاعة

" " 10, for Jây read Jây

line 7, for جمتة جمتة read جمتة جمتة

1 f.-note 2, for Molânaa Molânaa read Molânaa Molânaa

1. 14, for I have read I have read

" " 0. 1. 1, for ليست ليست read لبيعة

" " 0. 1. 19, for مما منهم مما منهم read ما هم

" " 0. 1. 14, for أس أس read أس

88 footnote 4, for بلاء read بلاء

" " 88 5, for أسر أسر read اسراه

" " 88 1, for إلى إلى read إلى

" " 88 5, for ثم ولد اللع ثم ولد اللع read لبها

" " 88 1. 14, for لبها لبها read لبها

" " 89 f.-note 6, for عنس عنس read عنس

" " 90 1. 20, for طبيب طبيب read طبيب

P. 1. 9, for the استادون read the استادون

1. 2, for واسعت واسعت read واسعت واسعت

1 f.-note, for al-مراجع read المراجع

1. 16, for نايا نايا read نايا نايا

1. 17, for بل و Molânaa بل و Molânaa read بل و Molânaa بل و Molânaa

1. 18, for فيديح فيديح read فيديح فيديح

1. 12, for I have read I have read

1 f.-note 5, for النصوص لنصوص read النصوص لنصوص

1. 19, for بدعوة بدعوة read بدعوة

ll. 5, 6, for I have read I have read (see p. 30)

1. 10, for و هو و هو read و هو و هو as in vol. ii., p. 252 of Ibn Khaldûn's General History.

1. 20, for أحوال أحوال. So in L. In B, أحوال أحوال.

1. 3, for طالما طالما read طالما طالما

1 f.-note 2, for and و كيذان read و كيذان

1. 10. The MS. has دى حدن

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

Ah. 'Ahdal.
D. Dayba' (Kurrat al-'Uyun).
J. Janadi.
Kdn. (or Kn.). Ibn Khaldûn.

B. Ibn Khaldûn, Bulâk Ed.
L. British Museum, Add. 23,272.
P. Ibn Khaldûn, Bibl. Nat., Suppl. Ar. 742 M.
Yak. Yaḳût's Mutjam.
أخبار القراءة بالياض للبحار الجندی

عليهم ينهبون و يسببون و يقتلون ثم حصل بين ابن العرجاء و ابن عبد الجمّید اتفاق و إقسموا البلاد و رجع ابن عبد الجمّید إلى مذهب منصور و ابتني جامعا و عمل منبرًا و بايع الخطبة لبني العبّاس و جعل يتبع القراءة حيث سمع بهم حتى افتدوا و لم يبق منهم غير شیء ندمة قليلة بنائية مسورة كثيمين أخرهم مقيمین داموسهم برجل يقال له ابن رحمة ۱ حارما لا يكاد يعرف ابن قرارة خوفا أن ينال المنتسب أو خيرة من أجل السنة وهو من ذلك يکتسب أولاد المهى إلى القيروان و إلى مصر و في ابیاه ساقم المعرّن بن الجام بن المهى من القيروان إلى مصر و ابتني القاهرة و جعلها دار إقامتها ثم لم يلغْ دنت و قناعت استخففت على أهل مذهب رجل منهم يقال له يوسف ابن السح ۲ ثم توفي و ولي الأمر بومت أحمد الحاكم فكان ابن السح يدعو القيروان و يدايع له سرا حتى دنت و قناعت استخففت رجل يقال له سليمان بن عبد الله الراحی بن طل شیام و كان ذا مال جزیر يداری به و يدفغ به عن أهل مذهب و كلامهم احمد من الناس بقائمه يقل له ألآ رجل من المسلمين اقوى لا الله إلا الله كيف يجلل لكم سَي و أخذ ماله يجمعون عنه و لما دنت و قناعت استخففت على بن مهد الصلاحي أبعله من الأحراز ۳ شیب من اشبع حرار ۴

۱ برجل منهم يقال له ابن الطويل فقال له ن почем فانقلت الدعوة إلى رجل منهم.
۲ يقال له ابن جفنم في أيام المنتسب بعد موت إيه إبرهم بن عبد اللطيف الشيمي.
۳ ۴ الأخروج
اللهاء الجندى

وأنه يكمل للدعوة وخشى غيظ أولاد منصر عنها وله من ابن منصور علم بما في كتاب الشارى فأجابه المهدى بالاستقلال وعاد.

ولد منصر خاينًا فعاد البلاد وهو مضمور السر فأصل جواب المهدى إلى الشارى وصار هو وآخوه يواصلونه وهو يركهم ويجلهم ولا يجيب مجدداً فدخل عليه إحداً منهم بل يدخلون عليه حتى شاؤوا من غير حاجب ثم ان الذى وصل إلى المهدى دخل عليه في بعض الغفلات ففتقه واستولي على البلاد وحصين مسلطون جمع الأعداء من أنحاء بلده واصبحوا

أين قد خرج إلى مذهب السنة وترك مذهب أبيه فاعجب الناس ذلك وأحببوا ودانوا له فدخل عليه أاسمه جعفر فهنا للما فعل وقبحه عليه فلم يلتزم إليه فخرج عنه مغضاً وقصد المهدى إلى القيروان فوجد فد توفي وقام ابنه، بعد أربعاء، وذكر سنة

العثنين وعشرين وثامنة وأعن السيرة وقلم القائم فبلت ابن منصور عندها وان اخاه قتل ذل الهمينه أبيه وشردهم حتى لا يعرف بوله إلا أن يعثر بل بقى في البلاد جمعة قليلة يكتبون

بني عبد بن سيمون إلى القيروان ثم ان ابن منصور خرج من

مسكور إلى عين الحرم المذكور أولاً وكان به رجل من بني العرجاء

سلطنت تلك الناحية واستخف على مسار رجاء يقال له ابنهم بن عبد المجيد الشيعي 1 وهو جد بني المنتاب الذي اليه ينسب

مسكور فيقال المنتاب فلم يصار بعين سحرم وثب عليه ابن العرجاء

فتقه وحين سمع ابن عبد الجليل ذلك خرج من بقى مله

بمسكور من أهل منصور وحريه إلى جبل الحبس 3 فتقب الناس

1 D. فلماذا القيم؟ التبعية 2 قلزم مسوراً وادي الامرفه و. 

2 D. جلب بن الحطب.
أخبار القراءة بال양ية

وسمت بالى وكم ثلاثة أصفحته أسعد منهن واحدة اسمها معاذة
وجها لابن اخينه قطبند فرقت له عبد الله الذي ذكرته والانتقل
صبارا إلى رعيين فكانت مدة حصار المسلمين وأسعد للمذبحة سنة
كاملة قبل أنه لم يدنع أسعد فيها دريه ولم ينزل مستقلة لسيدة
وانقطعت دولة القراءة من مختلف جعفر ولم تزل المذبحة خرابا
منذ ذلك الى عصرنا واما منصور فهو على الجيل المتقدم لنحنا كان
رئيسا لديما يحب المباقية ولم يبرج في جهة لعة حتى توفي قبل
ابن فضل سنة انتفخان وثلاثين بل اول رجل حسب الاسم عبد الله بن
العباس الشاعر كان حضنا
وكان قد ارسله إلى المهدى برثابة و هدية و حتر عند المهدى
منه صفرة و معرفة وذلك أن منصورا لما احش بالموت جمع بينهما
وقال اوصيكم بهذا الأمر فاحفظوا و لا تقطعوا دوحة بني عبد بن
مامور فنحى غرس في غورهم و لولا ما دعنا إليه من طاعتهم لم
تقم لنا أمر و علوا بمكانية أمامنا المهدى فلا تقطعوا أمر دون مشاهدة
فإن هذا الأمر لم أخذه بكره حال ولا رجال ولم آت هذا البلد إلا
بغضيار و بلغت ما لم يخف بركة المهدى الذي بشر به النبي صلى
و كثيرا ما كان يقول ذلك في ملاء الناس ثم لما توفي منصور
كتب وصيته الشاعر إلى المهدى و هو مقيم بالمهندية يخبر بوفاة
منصور و ترك أمر الدعوة مرخي حتى يرق أمره و ألم المهدى بأنه
يقوم بأمر الدعوة فخيا سافيي 1 وأفياً دون أول منصور و بعث بالكتاب مع
بعض أول منصور فسار به حتى قدم المهدية و دفع الكتاب إلى المهدى
فلم فراة و كان قد عرف الشاعر من وقت قدم عليه برثابة منصور

1 ظلًا
للذين يقيموا الصلاة ويسألوا اللَّه تعالى عن الشَّياطين، فَأَكِدَّ اللَّهُ لَهُمَا وَأَنَّهَا قَادَرَةُ عَلَى مَا يَقْرَأُونَ لَهُمَا، وَكَانَتِ الصَّالِحَةُ لَهُمَا مَعَهَا بِمَاتِئِ الْخَيْرَاتِ， وَلَاتَعْرَضْنَا مَعَاهُمَا إِلَّا ۗ وَلَاتِمْنَا عَلَيْهِمَا مِنْ حِكْمَةِ اللَّهِ.
أخبار القراطسة بالبيروني

ابن جربير وكان عنوان كتب ابن فضلى الى أسعد بن يعفر بن بسط
الرض وداحيبا وصريل الجبال ومرسيبا على ابن الفضل الى عبده
أسعد وكفي بهذا الكلام دليلاً على كفر فنسئل الله العصمة في اثناء
نيابة أسعد له قدم رجل غريب يزعم أنه شريف ببغداد فغضب
أسعد وأنسه به فقيل أن قدوته كان بارسل من صاحب بغداد لها
بلغه من تقدم ابن فضل لم يعمل الجليلة في قتله فلبث عنده أسعد منذ
وكان جراحهما ماهراً بصناعة الأدوية بصيراً بنع العروق ومعالجة الارتجال
و سقي الارشبة الدافعة و لما شدَّ خوف أسعد لابن فضل قال انني
عذرت أن احب نفسى لله وتصدى لله المسلمين لا يرحمهم من
هذا الطاغية فعادني انا عدت اليك على تقاليعي ما يصير
اليك من الملك فاجبته أسعد الى ما سأل فتفاجىعر الغريب وخرج
من عند أسعد وهو اذاك مقيم بالجوف ببلد همدان على تخريطة
من ابن فضل فسار الغريب حتى قدم المذبحة ففعلت وجهوبة الدولة
و كبرها وقطع لهم العروق و سقاهم الأدوية الدافعة و اعتقادهم المعجزات
وفرعوا ذكرة الى ابن فضل و انشروا عليه عندة و وصفوا بها فيه من
الصنعة و قيل له انه لا يصلى إلا لمثلك فلما كان ذات يوم احب
الاقتصاد فبتكت عنه وطلبه فجيه له به و حين و حمله الطالب عماد
الي سمّ فعمله بشعرة في مقدم راسه وكان ذى شعر كثير ثم لما دخل
عليه أمانة ان يبتكر من ثيابه و وجبيه و بابسه غيرها في ثياب كانت عند
ابن فضل ثم أمره بالدنو منه لينصفه ففعل و فقد بين يده ثم أخرج
العنصر و انتصبه ثرةً له من السم ثم سميته برأسه في موقع السم
فعله منه بعض شريرة ثم فسدت بالكتيب و ربطه و خرج عن فورة
للبهاء البندر

ابن فضل طوقة بياوري س نذيب ودينيك في المعذرة على تحليل

في حالات الشريعة وباحة حفظاتها وعمل بها دارا واسعة يجمع فيها
غالب أهل مذهب نساء ورجال منزليين متقنين ويقود بهم
الله ساءته ويعتادون فيها بطيء الحديث واظرية ثم يتفق
الله و يضع كل منهم يده على امرأة فلا يترك الواقوع عليها وان
كان ك س ذوات حمارية وقد يقع مع أحدهم ما لا يعجبه اما لاعجر
او لفكرة فيفيدة القنال منها فلا يكان تعذر وقد حكي ابن مالك أن
رجل من القوم وقع بعده على عينور كبرى مذاعية أ فحيل حتقق
حاليا ارد التقلت منها فقالت له دو بد من ن حكم الأمير ودو
بالدال المهمة في لعقة بعض اليهوديين بمعنى لا فكائها قالت لا بد
من الذي حكم 2 الأمير يعني ابن فضل و هذه مذكرية عظيمة شاغبة
عن عمة 3 جميع من انتسب إلى التشمع و هو شيء لم تحق من
أحد غيره و لقد سألت جمعا من الذين يتحققق منهم المذهب
فانكروا ذلك و رأيتهم جميعين على أن ابن فضل زنيدي و ان
منصور اليهدين س أغفضل مذهبيم واخيارهم وذلك هو الذي يقر في
ذهني و كان ابن فضل لما طالت له المذاعرة و جعلها دار اقملته
استذاب على صنعاء أسعد بن يعفر المقدم ذكره استذابة مكانة لأن
يبحث أن أسعد اجتمع به بل كان حذرا من غدرة فقام أسعد بصنعاء
نانا له وهو يقول أن يؤخذ بثار المسلمون منه وهو أيضا حذر منعنص
و كان لا يكاد يستقر بصنعاء خشية غارة من ابن فضل أو هجمة قال

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قال حجّوا الجربم دوّعلا بالقرب عن المذكّرة و اعمره الذهلي و هو
واد بالقرب عن الجربم لما علم أن قد استحكم له امر اليمين خلّع
عبد بن سهيوس الذي كان يظهر أنه داع اليه ثم كتب صحبه منصور
بذلك فأعاد جوابه اليه يعابده و يقول له كيف تخلّع من لم تقل خيرا
الله و تترى الدعا اليه بما أذكرهما بينك و بينه من العبود وما
أُحْدَ علّينا جميعا من الوصية على الاتفاق و عدم الاقتراع فلم يلتقت
اليه بل كتب كتابا يخبره و يقول أن لا يأبي سعيد الجهني اسوه الذ
قد دعا إلى نفسه و أنت لا تنزل إلى الباب و تدخل بالحائق 1 نابذتك
الجبه فلما ورد كتابه إلى المنصور بذلك غلب على ظنة صحته
وعطّل جبل مسورة و اخذ به تجاهه و قال انها حصن هذّا الجبال من
هذا الطاعة و امتثال و لقد عرفت الشروك بوجهة حين اجتمعنا بصنعاء
ثم ان اين فضل بعد مدينة من تصدية الكتاب تجذّر إلى غزو منصور
و انتدب لذلك عشرة آلاف رجل من المعدودين في عسكره و سار
من المذكّرة حتى دخل شام فصل بينه و بين عسكر منصور حرب
و تكرر ذلك ثم دخل ابن فضل بلد لاذة و صعد جبل الشامية بالجيم
متوهجة و هو جبل فاتح على قرب من مسورة وهو لقوم يقال لهم
بفو المختار فاقل به ثمانية أشهر يحمي عن منصور فلم يدركه منه طابلا
و شق به الوقف و علم منصور بذلك فرسله بالصلح فقال ابن فضل
لا فعل اللّا ان يرسل الى ولده يقف معي على الطاعة و الا فلا يسمع
مني أنهن رحّت بغير قضا حاجة و يشيّع ذلك عند العالم انّي تركته
تغضّلا لا عجزا فعل منصور ذلك و تقدم معا بعض اولاد منصور ثم ان
للبهاء البندی

اعجبته أحد بها إلى المنارة و اقتضها حتى قيل إنه افتضح عدة من
الماء فابن فاتح على السقف حتى يوجد أطر ذات
اليوم ذكره الثاني سرى الآخر ذكره ثم أنه حلق رأسه فجعل معه
موافقة رأفة الف نفسه وأمر بخراج دار ابن عنبسة فإن ابن
بها ذهب عميد غير عشرة آلاف دينار و إن كان ابن عنبسة من
اعيان صنعاء خرج مع اسمد حين خرج فلما بلغه اخبار بيته
أخذه بطلة و سماه بلغ ملصق دخل ابن فضل صنعاء سرده
ذلك و تجهز حتى جاه و اجتمعا و فرح كل منهما باصحابه ثم خرج
ابن فضل إلى حراز ثم نزل المعتمد فأخذهما و سار إلى الكابرة فأخذهما
أيضاً فامرأة زبيد فيجب صاحبها و هي بنت زيد ابن أبي حيش اسحق
ابن إبراهيم بن محمد الوالي من بغداد فتيل هرب و قال قائل
فقلته ابن فضل و استباح زبيد و سما السحر فذكر نقلة الأخبار أن ابن
منها نحو أربعة آلاف بكرسوعي البنجر ثم خرج منها يريد المذيدرة
على طريق الميرار جبل شمال زبيد فلما صار بالعسكر بوضع يسمى
المداحيص أو المشايخ المحرсты فأصبحت بالعسكر بالفرول فلما نزلوا
ناداه نداد الاجتماع فاجتمعوا إليه و حضروا لديه قال لهم قد علمتم
انما خرجتم للجهاد في سبيل الله و قد غنمنا من نسا الجميب ما
لا يخفى و ليست امتنى عليك أن يسفككم و يشغلكم عن الجهاد
فليذبح كل رجل منكم بما صار معه منشأ ففعلوا ذلك فصار الدم في
ذلك أثر سنين كثيرة و لذلك سمي بالمداحيص أو المشايخ ثم
توجه إلى المذيدرة فلما صار بها أمر بقطع الطرق لا سيما طريق النجف

1 فقال  
2 المنزلة  
3 أي  

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خبرى القرامطة باليعام

شرب الحمرو نكاح النباتات والانخوات ثم دخل البند في موسمها أول
خميس من رجب وصد المبكر وقال الخيات المشهورة وهي

خدى الدفّ يا هذة والعبي وغنى هزازيت ثم اطرب
تولى نبي بنى هاشم و هذا نبي بنى يرب
لكلّ نبي من شرعة و هذى شريعة هذا النبي
فقد حطّ عنّا فرض الصلاة و حطّ الصيام و لم تتعقب
اذا الناس صلوا فلا تنفيس و ان صوموا فكلى و اشرب
ولا تطلب النسي عن الصفا ولا زورة القبرين بثرب
ولا تمنع نفسك المعبسيين من القرابين مع الاجنبي
فبذا حللت ليذا الخير والصراح و صرت محبة لللب
اليس الفرسان لدّب رّبى و سقاة في الزعم الجهاب
وما يعبر الا كمآ السما الإسعن قنبل فقنتست من مذهب

ثم استقام امّة و غلب على خلاف فجغر والجند عزم على غزو صنعاء
و بها يومئذ اسعد بن ابراهيم بعفر نمرّ بذمار وأخذ حصن هزان
ودخل والية و غالب من معه فيه بالذهب و لحق بقيتهم باسعد
بن يعفر ولما سمع اسعد بن يعفر بكثرة جيوشه خرج من صنعاء
هاريا و دخلها ابن فضل يوم الخميس لثلاث مغيين من رضوان سنة
تسع و تسعين ومائتين فنزل الجامع و حصل بقديمة مطر عظيم
فأرسل الميازيت التي للجامع و اطلع النسا التي سببين من صنعاء
و غيرها و طلع المناذرة ثم جعلوا يلقوه الى الماء منكشفات عرايا فنص
للبيهاء الجندى

و تسعين و سبعين و هذا عبد الله الملقب بالمهدى هو جد
الملك المغرب ثم بعصر فابن خلكان يقول في نسبهم العبدة
نسبة إلى هذا عبد وناس يسمونهم العلويين على صحة دعواهم
قال الله عالم بالصواب فهذا نبذة بيّنت فيها حال القراءة في اليمين
والحال منصور و الذي دعا اليه و كان منصور ملكاً مسكداً و اما ابن
فضل فساني تمن ذكرا ما تبّين حاله فقد مضى نسبه و أصل بلده
ذكره من نقل سيرته انه لما فارق منصوراً عن غافقة كما قديماً ذكر
طاع الجبل و دخل الجند ثم خرج منها إلى أبين و هي اذالك بيد
رجل من الأصباغ يقال له محمد بن أبي العلی ثم خرج عنها إلى بلد
يافع فلقيتهم ١ رعايا فجعل يتعدب في بطن البلدية و يتباقوا بالطعام فلا
يأكل منها إلا اليسير لم يبتقح حالي فاعتبروا به و هم يسكنون بروس
الجبال فسألون ان يسكن معهم فعل يجدنهم الابن بعد عدت حتي السوا
عليه فذكر لهم انما يمنعهم عن مساكنهم الابن عدم امتثالهم امر المعرف
والنهي عن المنكر و شرب الخمر و النظائر بالجبور فتحذروا له على
الطاعة و ان لا يحلفوا بما أمر فوعدهم خيرا و صاروا يجمعون له زكواتهم
حتى اجتمع له شيء جيد ثم انه قصد أبين فانقل صاحبيه و استباحها
و أخذ أموالا جليلة ثم قصد المذخرة بلد الجعفرى و كانت مدينة
عظيمة جبل ربة فجرة مزارة كانت الدابر لها فتقال و استباح بلده
و سبا العبر و قد ذكر ابن مالك ذلك يسنن على اکمل وجه
و ليس هو من ملازم الكثاب فيلاً ٢ به و لما سار بالمذخرة أعنيته
فاظير بها مذهبه و جعلها دار ملكه ثم أدى الفتوأة وأحل الاستجابة

١ Khi، ووجدhem. ٢ فارق منصوراً عن غافقة.
أخبار القرامطة باليمن

حصى كان يقوم يعرفون ببني العداء ونقلت إليه ما كان قد حصل عندي من طعام ودرائهم فهجين سرت إليه بما معى وقد عاهدني خمسمائة رجل على النصر صعدوا معه الحصين بما معهم من مال وأولاد فاطير حينئذ الدعوة إلى عبيد الله المهدي ابن الشيخ ميمون.

و بال إلى موقف قلقت دائرة لما أخذ جبل مسور واستعمل الطبول والرايات بحث كأنه نثقون طالما إذا أقبل إلى مكان سمعت إلى مسافة بعيدة وكان للحوالي حص جبل مسور له به والانتزاعة منه ثم حين علم استقامة أمير كتب إلى ميمون يخبره بقيام أمير وظهور على ما عانده وبعث له بيداياه وتخف جليلة وذل ذلك سنة تسعين وستينين فجيء بلغة الأمر ووصلت البيداياه قال لولدة عبيد هذه دولاته قد قام للن لا أحب ظهورها إلا من المغرب ثم بعث ابا عبد الله الحسين بن أحمد بن أحمد بن زكريا المعروف بالشياعي الصناعي إلى المغرب وامرأة بدخول افريقيا وسياسة أهلبا واستلمهم إلى رحلة ولدا عبيد فقدم المغرب حيث أمرة وكان من رجال العالم الذين يضرب لهم المثل في السياسة فلم يستحكم أمره إلا في سنة ست وستينين وستينين كتب إلى المهدي يخبره بقيام الأمر وظهور الناس له ويامرة بالتقدم إليه فبادر عبيد الملقب بالمهدى وقدم افريقية وقد كان الشيعي يغلب على ملكها وصار بيدة فجيء قدم المهدي سلمه إليه فندته 2 وذى اخوه وقال له بن دوس ما صنعت بيدك ملك تسامة له وجعل يكر ذلك عليه حتى أثر عنده وهم ان يغدر بالمهدى فبلغه ذلك فاستمر منه ودرجة عليه من قتله وقتل أخاه في سنة واحدة منتصف جمادى الآخرة سنة ثمانية

؟ قفة

؟ قفة
الله تعالى وصاك بِصاحبك خيرًا وقَرَةٌ وأعرَفُ وَقَرَةٌ ولا تخرج عن أمة فالت أَفْرَك فملك وعَنْي فان عصيته لم ترشد ثم ودعتنا وخرجنا مع الحاج حتى أنينا شَيْئًا فصحيتنا ثم سرنا مع حاج اليمين حتى جِنَّنا فلاغقت ثم تواصينا لا يمس أحد منها صاحبنا ولا يقطع خبرة عنه ثم سرت حتى قدمت الجند وهي إذًا بيد الجعفري قد تغلب عليها وانتزعت من ابن يعفر وكان الشيخ قد قال لى أيّاك ان تبتدئي بشيء من أُردن afterward بلد يقال لها سند ناقة فإنها البلد الذي يتمّ ناموسك وتنال غرضك فيها فلم أعرفي فقصدت عدن أبدين وسالنت عن عدن ناقة فقيل لي إننا بجَهَّة حَجٌّ فسالت عن من تقدم من أهلها فاُشردت إلى جمعة قدموا لغرض التجارة واجتمعت بهم وصغيتهم وتعلعت عليهم حتى احدين وقلت أنا رجل من أهل العلم بلغني أن لك بلد جبلة وأريد أصحبهكم إليه فرجعوا واهلوا ثم لما ارادوا السفر خرجت من جملتهم وكتبت في أثناء الطريق احتجتهم بالخدام وأحقهم على الصورة وكنا بينهم بضعة فقهاء دخلت لاعة سالت عن المدينة فيها فأشردت إليها فاختقت لنا بضعة مساجدها واعبت على العبادة حتىि جمل إلى جميع من الناس فلما علمت أن قد استحكمت شعبت في قلوبهم اخبرتهم واننى أَنَا قدست عليهم داع للمهدى الذي بشر به النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم فجعلته منم جمعها على القيام فصار يُوقت لى بالزكوة فلما اجتمع عندى منها شأ كثير قلت إن ينبغي أن يكون لي معقل يحفظ به هذه الزكوة يكون بيحبت مثل المسلمين فبنيت عين صحّم وهو
أخبار القرامطة باليمن

بالتبديت والوقف حتى ينظر في الأمر و كان ميمون في الأصل يودي
قد حسب الإسلام و اعتار على دينه فلم يجد حيلة غير العكراف على
ترقه الحسين بكربلا و أطيار الإسلام و أصلة م سلمية مدينة في الشام
وناستب إلى الحلوين و أكثرهم ينكر صحة نسبه فالتاء اعلم وقطع ابن
مائل بانه يهودي و صحبة رجل من كربلا يعرف بمنصور بن زادان
حيث ب من الفرج ابن المبارك من ولد عقيل ابن أبي طالب.
كان جده زادان اثنين عشرة المذهب احد اعيان الكوفه و سكن ولاده
على ترقة الحسين في حين قدم ميمون تعرش بمنصور الفجابة و الرياسة
فاستمالة و صحبه وكان له دينا يستمد بها و كان ذا علم بالفلكل فأدركت
ان له وحده وأن يكون أحد الدّعاة الى ولده فلما قدم ابن فضل
و صحبة رأى أنه قد تم له المراد و ان ابن فضل من أهل اليمن
خبير به و بأوله فقتل ميمون لمنصور يا يا القاسم ان الذين يعلم
و الكعبة 4 يعانينة و الركن و كل الأمر يكون مبتداء من قبل اليمن فور
لأتي لله نجمه و قد رأيت ان تخرج انت و صاحبنا على بن
فضل لليمن و تدعون الى ولد فيسيك لكل بها شان و سلطان
و كان منصور قد عرف ق ميمون اصوات كثيرة فجابة الى ما دعا
فجمع بينه و بين على بن فضل و عاده بينهما و أوجي كل منهما
صاحبه خبير قال مصيره لما عزم مييمون على ارسالا اليمن أورمان
بوحبا منها اثنين منى دخلت اليمين سرتت امرى حتى ابلغ غزية
وقال لى الله برهين صاحبتك يعني ابن فضل احترفه و احسن
الله و أمره بحسن السيرة فانى له شانى و لا رأس عليه ثم قال لا ابن فضل

1. اعتار
2. Khi
3. Khi;
4. Khi
5. لبملاء،
أخبار القراءة باليمن المنقول من كتاب السلوک للقاضی أبي عبد الله يوسف المعروف بالنبياء الجندی

وفي ایامه ؛ ظهرت القراءة على بن فضل بلبل ياع و منصور بن حسین يعرف بمنصور الیمنی فجیئت اذکر نبیذة من احوالهما على ما ذکر الفقیه ابوبكر عبد الله محمد بن سالم ابن أبي العمال احمد فقیها الیمنی و علماء السنة وكان معن دخل في مذهبهما ایام الامامیة و تحقق اصل مذهبهما فلما تحقق فساده رجع عنه و عمل رسالة مشهورة يخبر بامور اصل مذهبهم و يتبين عوارهم و يکبر من الافرار بهم فقال كان على بن فضل من عرب يقال لهم لحدنون ینسوب الى ذي جند و كان شیخیا على مذهب الاثنين عشریة فصیح مكة ثم خرج مع ركب العراق يريد زيارت مشید الحسن فلما وصله جعل بیول و يصیح و يقول لیست من كان حضرت پایین رسول الله صلى الله علیه و سلم حیین جاءت جيش الفجرة و میمون مالون للضیف و معه علی عیبد يخدمه فجیه رأیا ابن فضل على تلک الیال طمعا في استفادة ثم خلأ به میمون و شربه انها لا لا لؤلؤة عیبد من دولة تقوم و بتوارثها بنود لكن لا يكون حتى تكون بدایته في الیمن على يد بعض دعاة فقال له ابن فضل ذلك ممكن في الیمن و الفلاحیون جائز عليهم فارمة

1) اي ایام أسعد بن يعفر
2) الإجدر

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بتختصر التاريخ إلى ابن خلدون

بصفة آذى إلى جبل قطابة بسرقي عدة فلم يزالا هنالك و في كل عصر منهم إمام شاعر بأن الأمر لهم إلى أن باب زردي أحمد الموطئ وكان فقيها أدبيا عالما بمذهبهم تواها صووا ببوع سنة حمس و أربعين و ستمائة و اهتم نور الدين عمر بن رسول شائه فعاصره بحص تلا سنة و امتنع عليه فأر جره على حمل العساكر من الحزن المجاوره لحصار و نقص قتل عمر بن رسول و شغل ابنه المظفر بحص الدعوة فتمكن الموطئ و ملك عشرين حسنا و رحف إلى صفة فغلب السليمانيين علىها و قد كانوا بابوا لاحمة ابن امهم عبد الله المنصور و لقبوه المتفاكل عند ما بوبع الموطئ بالعامة في تلا لانهم كانوا ينتظرن استكمال سنة فلما بوبعد الموطئ بابه و لما غلبه على صفة نزل له أحمد المتفاكل إمامهم و بابه له و أمله و ذلك سنة تسع و أربعين ثم حسر سنة حمسين و بقي أمر الزرديه بصفة في عقب الموطئ هذا و سمعت بعض أن الغلام بصفة كان قبل الثمانين و السبعين على أن أحمد من اعتقابهم و توفي قبل الثمانين و صلى ابنه صالح و بابه الزرديه وكان بعضهم يقول ليس هو بالأمام لعدم شروط الإمامة فقيل هو أنا لكم ما شئتتم إمام أو سلطان ثم وانطل صلح آخر سنة ثلاث و سبعين و قام بعده ابنه نجاح و امتنع الزرديه من بيعته فقال أنا مستحب لله هذا ما بلغنا عنهم ببعض إمام المقام فيها و الله وارث الأرض و بن عليها
يقتلى فاتحا فقتلا سنة ثلاث و خمسين و خمسمئتا و ملكوا عليهم أحمد بن حمزة فلم يطقو مقاتلة على بن مبدي فقر عزبيد وملكبا ابن مبدي قال و كان عيسى بن حمزة أخر أحمد في عثر سن حصن اليمين و منهم ذاخت بن يحيى ثم ذهب ملك بن سليمان إلى جميع الطهايم وجبل و اليمين على يد بنى مبدي ثم ملكهم بنو أيرب و قيروهم و استقرّ ملكهم أخر فالمنصور عبد الله ابن أحمد بن حمزة قال ابن العذيم ورت الملك بصعدة عن أبيه و استندت يدنا مع الناصر العباسى وكان ناظراً وبعث دعاته إلى الدين و جبل و حتى خطبه له هنالك و صار له فيها و تلقى الناصر عليه أموالا في العرب باليمن ولم يظفر به قال ابن النائر جميع المنصور عبد الله بن أحمد بن حمزة أمام الزيدية بصعدة سنة تثنى و تسعين و خمسمئتا و زحف إلى اليمين فخاف منه المعز بن سيف الإسلام طغتكي بن ايرب ثم زحف إليه المعز فنهوء ثم جميع داتية سنة تثنى عشرة و ستمئة جموعا من همدان و خولان و أرتجت له اليمين و خافق الم سعود بن الكامل وهو يومئذ صاحب اليمين و معه الكرد و الترك و أشار أمير الجبيش عمر بن رسول بمعاجلته قبل أن يملك الحصن ثم اختلف أصحاب المنصور و لفته الم سعود فحزه و توفر المنصور سنة ثلاثين و ستمئة عن عمر مديد و ترك ابنه اسمه أحمد وراء الزيدية ولم يخطروا له بالإماء ونتظرون على سنة و استكمال شرطة و لما كانت سنة خمس وأربعين بايع قوم من الزيدية بحصن تل بالموقع من بنى الراضى و هو أحمد بن حسين بن بني الراضى لأنهم لما أخبرتهم بنو سليمان من كرمى امتهنهم ت
خاتمة التأريخ

صدة و ترني سنة ثمان و تسعين لعشر سنين من ولائه هذها قال ابن الجبان قال و له صنفات في الجلال و الحرم و قال غيره كان مجتهدا في الإحكام الشرعية و له في الفقه آراء غريبة و تواليف بين الشيعة معروفة قال الصولي و ولي بعدة ابنه محمد المرتضى و اختراب الناس عليه و هلك سنة عشرين و ثلثمائة لثانيين و عشرين سنة من ولائه و ولي بعدة أخرى الناصر أحمد و استقام ملكه و اطرد في بنية و فلوك بعدة ابنه حسين المنتخب و مات سنة أربع و عشرين و ولي بعدة أخرى القاسم المختار إلى أن تقدم ابن القاسم الفحص اليماني سنة أربع و أربعين و قال الصولي و ولي من بني الناصر الشديد و المنتخب و المختار و البديع و قال ابن حزم لما ذكر ولد أبن القاسم الرسلي فقال و منهم التكون بسورة من أرض اليمن أولهم يميز البادئ له رأى في النفق و قد رأى على و لم يبعد نية عن الجماعة كل البعد كان لابنه أحمد الناصر بنون و ولي منهم صدة بعدة جعفر الشديد و بعدة أخرى القاسم المختار ثم الجسم المنتخب و همد البديع قال و كان اليماني القائم بدورا سنة ثلاث و أربعين و ثلثمائة يذكر أنه عبد الله بن أحمد الناصر آخر الرشيد و المختار و المنتخب و البديع و قال ابن المجاب و لم تزل اءتمهم بصورة متمرة إلى أن وقع الخلاف بينهم و جاء السليمانيون من مكة عند ما أخرجهم الهاشم فطلبوا عليهم بصورة و انقرضت دولتهم بها في الملكة السادسة قال ابن سعيد و كان من بنى سليمان حين خرجوا من مكة إلى اليمين أحمد بن حمزه بن سليمان فاستدعاه ابن زبيد لينصرهم على ابن مهدي الخارجي حين حاصرهم و فها ثمانية ابن محمد مم بنى نجاح فناجبهم على أن

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لا بن جلدون

البآخودة وكان ناجرا كثير العال تقرّب الى صاحب برطب بالتجارة
حتى استوزرة ثم هلك فملك احمد البآخودة ثم خرّبها و خرب
طاقة سنة تسعة عشرة و ستمئة و بني على الساحل مدينة ظفار بضم
الظاء المعجمة وجماها الحمديبة باسمه و حرب القديمة لأنها لم
يكن لها مرسي

قنان قال صاحب الكمام هي صقع منفرد عن اليمن و قال
غيره هي من اليمن قال البيهقى مسافتها عشروين مسافحة و هي
شرقيا صنعاء و شماليتها و تولى الخجراي فيها مدينتان نجران و جرَّاش
متقاربتان في القدر و البادية غابة عليها و سكانها كالعراب و بها
كعبة نجران بنيت على هيئة غمدة كعبة اليمن و كانت طائفة
من العرب تحج给她 و تأكر منها و تسنى الديرو بها كان قس بن
ساعدة يتعبد و نزلها من النجفانية طائفة من جرَّاس ثم غلبهم عليها
بنو حمير و حاروا و ظابت للترابعة و كانوا كل من ملك معهم يلقب
الأنفي وكان منهم اثنان نجران و اسمه الفياسم بن عمرو بن همدان
بن مالك بن مئذب بن زيد بن وائل بن حمیر كاهنًا و هو الذي
حكم بين أولاد نزار لها أثرة حسبًا هو مذكور و كان ولاديا على نجران
بلهقي نبعته الي سليمان عليه السلام و آدم و بـت دين اليهودية
في قومه و طال ظرة و يقلل أنّ البكريين و المشكل كننا له قل
البيهقى ثم نزل نجران بنو مذحج و استروا عليها و منهم بنو الجرعت
بن كعب و قال غيره لما خرجت اليمنية في سبيل العمر عروا
بنجران فناجنبهم مذحج و منها افتقوا قال ابن حزم و نزل في جوار
مذحج بالصلال الجزار بن كعب ابن عبد الله بن مالك بن نصر بن
الشجر من ممالك جزيرة العرب مثل الحجاز والعسير وهم
منفصل عن حضرموت وعمان والذين يسمى الشجر قربتة ولا زرع
فيه ولا نخل انها اموالهم البال و المعرو ومعاهم من اللحوم واللابان
ومن السمات الصغارة و يعطفونها للدواب و تسمى هذه البلاد أيضاً بلاد
مهرة و بها البال العطرية وقد يضاف الشجر الى عمان و هو سهل
لحضرموت و قبيل هو ساحلابها و في هذه البلاد يوجد اللبان و في
ساحل الاستراحات و هو متصل في جزء الشرق و من غربها ساحل
البحر الهندى الذي عليه عدن و في شرقها بلاد عمان و جنوبها
بحر الهند مستطيلة على و شمالا حضرموت كانتها ساحلابها و يكون
معا لمعلق واحد و هي في الاقليم الأول و أشد حراً من حضرموت
و كانت في التقدم لعاد و سكينها بعدم معرفة من حضرموت أو س
قضاءة وهم كالحوشان في تلك الرمال و وديهم الخارجية على رأى
الابائة منهم و أول من نزل بالشجر من القحطانية مالك بن حمير
خرج على أخيه وائل و هو ملك بقرش عمان فحاربة طولبا و ملته
مالك فوائد بعدد ابنه قضاءة بن مالك فلم ينزل السكساب ابن وائل
حاربة إلى ابن قرة و اقتصر قضاءة على بلاد مهرة و ملته بعدد ابنه
العبد ثم مالك بن الحافظ و انتقل إلى عمان و بها كان سلطانها قال
البيهقي و مالك مهرة ابن حيدان بن الحافظ بلاد قضاءة و حارب
عمه مالك بن الحافظ صاحب عمان حتى قتلهم عليها و ليس لهم
البيه في غفير بلادهم ذكر و بلاد الشجر مدينة مربوط و ظفار على وزن
نزال و ظفار دار مالك التغلبة و مربوطاً بساحل الشجر و قد خربت
هئان المدنين و كان أحمد بن محمد بن جعفر الحميري و لقبه
لاين خلدون

و منهم اليمامة التي سميت مدينة حُرًّة بها و اخبارها معروفة ثم استولى على اليمامة بعد طسم و جديس بنو حنيفة و كان منهم هودُ بن عدي١ ملک اليمامة و تَنجُوَّ و يقال انها كانت خرابات تنظم ولم يتبَّوَّق احد من بنى معدِّة قط ثم كان تَمْعِئَة بن اتال١ ملک اليمامة على عهد النّبِيّ و أَسْر و أَسْلم و نبت عند الّدّة و كان منهم مسيلة و اخبارها معروفة قال ابن سعيد و سالت عرب البحرين و بعض مذحج من اليمامة الليوم فقالوا لعرب من قيس عیال و ليس لبني حنيفة بها ذكر بلاد حضرموت قال ابن حوَّل هُز في شرقي عدن بقرب البخار و مديناتها صغيرة و ليا أعمال عريضة و بينها و بين عدن و عمان من الجيزة الأخرى رمال كثيرة تعرَّف بالاحتفال و كانت مواطن لعاد و بها قبر هود عليه السلام و في وسطها جبل شِبّام و هي في الاقليم الأول و بعدها عن خط الاستواء ثنتا عشرة درجة و هي معدودة من اليعن بلد نخل و شجر و مزارع و أثاث اهلها يحبكون بأحكم على و فاطمة و يبغضون عليها للتحكم و أكبر مدينة بها اللَّت قلعة شباام فيها خليل الملك و كانت لعاد سام الشجر و عمان ثم غلبهم عليها بنو يعرب بن قطَّان و يقال ان الذي دل عادا على جزيرة العرب هو رقيم بن آرم كان سباق الهمي مع بنى نَاد فرجع الى عاد و دلهم عليها و على دخولها بالجزائر فلما دخلوا غلبوا على من فيها و ثم غلبهم بنو يعرب بن قطّان بعد ذلك و ولى على البلاد فكانت ولية ابنه حضرموت على هذه البلاد و به سميت

١ Read هودة بن علي
٢ Read عاتال
٣ المنتسب
البلاد المضافة إلى اليمن

أوَلِّيّة اليمامة قال البهقي هو بلد منقطع بعملة وتحقيق أنى من الجحاز كما هي نجران من اليمن وأذا قال ابن حو يقول وهي دونها في المملكة وارضها تسمى العروض لاعترضها بين الجحاز والبكرين ففي شروقها البكرين وغربيها أطراف اليمن والجحاز وجنوبها نجران وشمالها يجد من الجحاز وفي طولها عشرون مرحلة و هي على أربعة أيام من عدة وقاعدتها حيْر بالفتح وبلد اليمامة كانت مقرى لملوك قبل بنى حنيفة ثم اتخذ بنو حنينة حيرو و بينهما يوم وليلة ونظاهما أحياء من بنى يربوع من تدوم وأنهاء من بنى عجيل قال البكري واسمها جو وسميت باسم زرقاء اليمامة سماها بذلك تبع الآخر وهي في التalım الذي مع مكة وبعدها عن خط الاستواء واحد و من منافل نوض وقرر و قال الطبري أن رحل عايل بين اليمامة والشحر وهى من أرض وبار و كانت اليمامة والطائف لبني هزان بن يعفر بن السكاس وغلبتهم عليها طسم وجديس ثم غلب بنو ييِّرآن آخر وأمكو اليمامة وطسم وجديس في نهبهم وكان آخر ملك بنى هزان فرط بن يعفر نماث وغلبتهم طسم على الململ و كان منهم تمليك و استحاقه عنونه ثم غلبب جديس
ملاخيف بني أصبع هو بوادي سجول و ذو أصبع الذين ينسبون إليه قد تقدم ذكرنا في إنساب حمیر من النسبة و الأقيال و مخاليف يحضر مشاوره و هو آخر أصبع

ملاخيف بني وائل مدينة هذا المخلوف شاخط و صاحبها أسعد بن وائل و بنو وائل بن من ذي الكلاع و ذو الكلاع من سبا تغلبوا على هذه البلاد عند مهلک الجس لابن سلمة عمّال الجبال لبني نجاج ملاخيف يريوه من الجبال تغلب عليه بنو عبد الواحد بعد

مومت الجس لابن سلمة و كان أهل الأطراف قد استبدوا على الفقرر فقاتلهم الجس لابن سلمة حتى عادوا إلى الطاعة و اختط مدينة الكدراء على ملاخيف مهام و مدينة المعطر على وادى دواد و مات سنة ثنتين و أربعة تاء

بلاد صندة وهي من جبال اليمن مما يلي حضرموت و أبجر و البره إلى إرم بها مملوك و قاعدتهم كثيرةذكرها أمرؤ القليس في شعره

بلاد مذحج تولى جيات التنئد من الجبال و ين堇ها من مذحج عنس و زبيد و مردان و من عنس بابراقية فرصة بحرية مع ظواهر اهلها و من زبيد بالحجاز بنو حرب بن مكة و المدينة و بنو زبيد الذين بالشام و الجزيرة فهم من طي و ليسوا من هؤلاء

بلاد بني نجيد في أجور السروات و كبالة و السروات بين تهامة

الابن خلدون
خاتمة التاريخ

المعترف بحصار حصن الدعمير فتمكن الموطية وملك حصن اليوم ورصف إلى صعدة وبايع السليمانيون وامامهم أحمد المتهك كما سر في اختبار بنى الرس واما قطابة فهو جبل شاهق شرقي صعدة وفنه حصن وقري وأنضوى اليه بنو البادية عند ما غلبهم بنو سليمان على صعدة الى ان كان ما ذكرناه حراز ومسار اما حراز فهو اقيام من بلاد همدان وحراز بطن من بطونهم كان منهم الصليحي وحصن مسار هو الذي ظهر فيه الصليحي وهو من اقيام حراز قل الديهق بلادهم شرقية جبال اليوم وتفقوا في الإسلام ولم تبق لهه قبيلة وبرية الا في اليوم وهو أعظم قبائلهم به قام الموطية وملموا جملة من حصن الجبال وهم بها اقيام بكيل واقليم حاشد وهم ابدا جنّم ابن حبان بن نوف بن همدان قال ابن حزم وسم بكيل و حاشد افتقرت بقايل همدان انتمى ومنهم بنو يام قبيل الصليحي وبنو همدان بعثة وهم الذين في نهاية من التشيع ببلادهم وأكثرهم زيدية بلاد خولان قال الديهق هي شرقية من جبال اليوم ومتصلة بلاد همدان وهي حصن الجبال ومتفرق جعفر دخلوا اليها في الدولة الصليبية وتغلب بنو النصر منهم على حصن حكد وتعكر وغيرهما وهم أعظم قبائل اليه مع همدان وهم بطول كثير وافترقوا على بلاد الإسلام ولم يبق منهم وبرية الا الباليه.
لاين خلدون

لداعي ابن المظفر والداعي الزريعي إلى أن بقي بيدا حصل تعز

أخذه منه ابن مهدي

معقل أشي أ من اعظم حصون الجبال و فيه خزائن بني المظفر

كان للداعي المنصور ابن حمير سبا بي أحمد بن المظفر من

لطبيحيين صارت له بعد المكرم ابن عمه صاحب في جبلة و قلدة

المستنصر الدؤوة و توفي سنة ست و ثمانيني و أربعمائة و غلب ابنه

على على معاقل الملك أشي و أبا المفضل أمير إلى لين تحيل

عليه و قتله بالسما و صارت حصون بني المظفر لبني أبي البركات ثم

مات المفضل و خلف ابنه منصور و استقل بملك أبيه بعد حين

رباع جميع الحصون فباع ذا جبلة من الداعي الزريعي صاحب عند

بديعة ألف دنار و حصص صبر بعد أن كان حلف بالطلاق على بيعه

نطلق زوجته الحرة وتزوجها الزريعي و طال عمره ملك ابن عشرين

و بقي في الملك ثمانيني و أخذ منه معقل تعز على بن مهدي

صعدة مملكتها تلو مملكة صنعاء و هي في شرقها و في هذه

المملكة ثلاثة قواعد صعدة و جبل قطابة و حصص تلا و حصص أخرى

و تعز فلها بنين الرسول وقد تقدم ذكر خبرة

و أما حصص تلا فمنه كان ظهور الموطئ الذي إعاد إمامة الزيدية

لبني الرسول بعد أن استولى عليها بنو سليمان فأروا إلى جبل قطابة

ثم بابوا لأحمد الموطئ سنة خمس و أربعين و ستامئة و كان فقيها

غابدا و حامدا نور الدين بن رسول في هذا الحص سنة ثم جمع عليه

عسكرا للحصار ثم مات ابن رسول سنة ثمان و أربعين و شغل ابنه

\footnote{Read}
ختم المَنْهَاب

حرصهم إلى أن أنقرض أُمرهم على يد علي بن مهدى وكان لهم خلاف جعفر الذي منه مدينة ذي جبلة ومعقل التعرك وهو خلاف الجند وخلاف معاصر ومقر ملكهم السعدان وهو أحسن من الدَّوَلَة

قلعة منْهَاب من قلعة صنعاء بالجبل ملكها ذوو زرعة وسبا بن زرعة نعمة صاحب الجليدة بالسلطان وقال كانت له قلعة منْهاب وكان خيا سنة ست وثمانين وخمسمائة وصارت بعده لخية العُرّ

ابي على

جبل المذَكرَة وهو بقرب صنعاء وقد اختط جعفر مولى ابن زيد سلطان اليمن خلاف جعفر فنسب اليه عد فلأمة جانب المذَكرَة أول من وقع ظهرت فيه دعوة الشيخة باليمن ومنها محمد بن الفضل الداعى وقال اليها أبو عبد الله الشبَعَي صاحب الدعوة بالمغرب وفيها قرأ عليها بن محمد الصليحي صبيا وهي دار دعوة اليمن وكان محمد بن الفضل داعيا على هَد

أبي الجيش بن زيدان وأسعد بن يعفر

يعن ذكرها عمار في المجاليَن الجبلية وملكها نشوان بن

سعيد القطان

تعين من أجل معاصر الجبل العظيمة على تهامة ما زال حَصَنا

للملوك وهو اليوم كرسى لدي رسول ومعدون في العسكر وكان به ملوك اليمين مصبر بن المنضل بن أبي البركات من أقرب الصليحيين وأبو صاحب معقل اشع واستلَى على حصن بني أبي البركات وبني المظفر وورثها عند ابنه مصبر ثم بعدها حصنًا حصنًا
لابن خلدون

و التفكر و حسن خصّد و لما غلبب على حسن خصّد في يد
عبد الله بن يعلى الصليبيكي و لحق بحسن مصدق كما ذكرناه ثم
غلبب على حسن مصدق واستولى عليه منهم زكريا بن شكري البكري
و كان بنو الكرندي من حمير ملونا قبل بنى الصليبيكي باليمن و انتشر
بنو الصليبيكي ملكهم و كان لهم خلاف جعفر بحصنه و خلاف معائر
و مخالف الجزند و حسن و حسن سعدان ثم استقروا لمنصرو بن
المفضل بن أبي البركات و باباها من بني التريث كما مر

صنعاء: قاعدة التبابة قبل الإسلام و أول مدينة اختطت باليمن
و بنته فيما يقال عاد وكانت تسمى أول من الأهلية بلغتهم و قصر
سعدان قريب منها أحد البيوت السبعة بناء الضماث باسم الزهرة
و حييت الله الام و هدمة عثمان و صنعاء أشهر حوارض اليمن و هي
فيما يقال معتدلة و كان فيها أول العائلة الرابعة بنو يعفر من التبابة
و دار ملكهم كشلال ولم يكن لها بابه في الملك الذي ان سكنها
بنو الصليبيكي و غلب عليها الزيدية ثم السليمانيين من بعد بني
الصليبيكي

قلعة كشلال و من أعمال صنعاء: قلعة كشلال لبني يعفر من التبابة
بناها قرب صنعاء أردشير و كانت له صادة و صناعة و نجرا و غيرها
من جبال اليمن و حاربهم بنو الرسTableViewCellمة الزيدية التي ان ملكوا صاعدة
ونجرا و اعتصمو بنو يعفر بقلعة كشلال و قال البهائي شيد قلعة كشلال
أسعد بن يعفر و حارب بنى الرس و بني زيدان أيام ابن الجيتن
حسن السعدان من أعمال صنعاء كانت في خرافات بنى الكرندي
الحميريين إلى أن انتقلت على الصليبيكي رد عليهم المكرم بعض

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الدولة داعية ونزل مدينة جَدَّة واعتصمت بهمدان فعارة السيدة
بجنب و خولان إلى أن ركب البكر و غرق و كان يتولى أمرها
المفضل بن أبي البقلاع بعد رجوعه إلى المكرم و استولى عليها
التعجرف من خلاف جعفر كان لبني الصليبيح ثم لسيدة من
بعدهم ثم طلبه منها المفضل بن أبي البقلاع فسلمته إليه وأقام به
إلى أن سار إلى زبيد و حاصر فيها بنى نجاح و طالت غيابه فثار
بالتعرق جماعة من الفقهاء و قُلأوا ذليته و بابعوا لابراهيم بن زيدان منهم
و هو عم عمارة الشاعر و استظهروا بخولان فرجع المفضل و حارقهم كما
مر ذكر ذلك من قبل
حسين حُدَّد كان لعبد الله بن بكر الصليبيح وهو من خلاف
جعفر و كان المفضل قد أدخل من خولان في حصن العقلاء عددا
كثيرا من بني بكر و بنى منبه و رزاج و شعب فلما مات المفضل في
ملكه خولان حصن التعجرف و بنى ذو جبلة لمصرع يبن المفضل في
كُفَّالة سيدة كما سرو و ثبب مسلم بن الزرّ من خولان في حصن حُدَّد
و ملكه من يد عبد الله بن بكر الصليبيح و حفت عبد الله بحسب
مَصْدُور و رشته سيدة لمكان المفضل و استخلصته و أخبرها عمران
و سليمان و مات مسلم نملت ولده سليمان حصن خادم سيدة
مكان أخياه مسلم و زوجته بنات القائد فتح عملتها على التعجرف
بقت و ملك التعرق من يده و استطالت إيد خولان على الرعايا
و استظهرت سيدة عليها بنجحب و كان عمران و سليمان ناجيين
في خدتها و هم اللذان اخرجوا الداعي ابن نجيب الدولة من مدينة
الجند و من اليمين بأمرها
حسين مصدور من حصن خلاف جعفر وهي خمسة ذو جبلة
لاين خلدون

عُدٌن من ممالك اليهود في جنوب ربيدة وهي كرسى عملياً وهي على ضفة البحرانى وكان بلداً تجارياً منذ أيام التبادلة و بعدها عن خط الاستواء ثلاث عشرين درجة ولا تنتمي زرعاً ولا شجراء ومعاشهم السمك وهي ركاب الهند من اليهود وأول ملكها بنى مهنم بن ذي زيد وهو أخطيبهم الأثيوبي و لما سلك الصليبيون أفرحهم الداعى بها ثم اخرجهم ابنه أحمد المعكرم و وخذلا بنى الكريم من جشاق بن يام زهرة من همدان و فازًا العقل فيها بنى التربيع منهم و ورد دعوة الصليبيين و ملكهم و قد تقدم خبر ذلك كله و لما ملك على بن مهدى لم يظهر بها منهم و قنع منهم بالانسجام حتى ملكها من أيديهم شمس الدولة بن أيوب كما تقدم عدن أيوبين من بنى الأ馍ن و هي الى جهة الشجر الزراعية بأريحا عدن و كانت لبنى مسعود بن الكرم المقارئين بنى التربيع

للجملة اختتاماً دوالع النزاعيين قرب عدن و نزلها بنو أيوب ثم انتقلوا الى تعز

حصن دا جبلة من حصين مخلوف جعفر اختطه عبد الله الصليبيي أخر الداعى سنة ثمان و خمسين و أربع مئات و انتقل إليه ابنه المعكرم من حص صنعاء و زوجة سيدة بنت أحمد المستبديّ عليه و هي التي كملت تشييدها سنة ثمانين و مئات المعكرم و قد قلّت الامر في الملكة و الدعوة الى سبا بن احمد بن المظفر الصليبيي و كان في معقل أسحق و كانت تنتظر بقبيل جئز و كانوا خاملين في الجاهلية و ظهروا بخلق حضر و رBUYG من عسان ابن نجيب
البحر والقائد سليمان بن طرف مقتعنا بهما إلى البدر بن زبان
وكان مبلغ ارتفاعه خمسة آلاف دينار ثم دخل في طاعته وخطب
له وحمل المال ثم صارت هذه المملكة للسليمانيين من بنى الحسن
امراء مكة حين طردوه الهواشم عن مكة و كان غالب بن يحيى منهم
يتقدم الاتهام لصاحب زبيد و بع استعان مسلم الفاتيكي على سرور ثم
ملك بعد غانم عيسى بن حمزه من بنية و لما ملك الفاتيكي يوجد
احذ يحيى آخر عيسى اسيرا و سبق إلى العراق فحاول عليه عيسى
فترخة من الأسر و رجع إلى اليمن فقتل أخاه عيسى و ولي ملكه
المهم من أعمال زبيد على ثلاثة مراحل عنها و عربى من سعد
العشيقة من حكم و جعفر قبيلتين منهم و يجلب منها الزنجابل
السويقين آخر أعمال تامة من اليمن و هي على البكر دون سور
و بيوتها اختصاص و ملكها راجح في قتادة سلطان مكة أعيام الزمنين
و سماحة و له قلعة على نصف محلة منها
الزرابين من الأعمال الشمالية عن زبيد و كانت لابن طرف
و اجتمع له فيها عشرون ألفا من البشبة و لما ثار الداعي الصليبي
لقيت بها في نحو من ثلاثة ألاف فهرة و قتلت البشبة الذين معه جميعا
و قال ابن عبيد في أعمال زبيد و الأعمال التي في الطريق الوسطى
بين البكر و الجبال و هي في خط زبيد في شمالها وهي البادية إلى
مكة فقلم عماره هي الجادة السلطانية منها إلى البكر يوم أو دونه
و كذلك إلى الجبال و يجتمع الطريق الوسطى و الساحلية في
السرين و يتفرقا

?_

جعفي١
و لذاذكر الآن طرفاً من الكلام على تواعد اليمين و مدنه وحيدة
واحدةٌ كما أشار إليه ابن سعيد

اليمين من جزيرة العرب تشتمل على كراسة سبعة للملك و هي
على قسمين تهامة و الجبال في تهامة مملكتان مملكة زبيد و مملكة
عبد و معنى تهامة ما اختخص من بلاد اليمين مع ساحل البحر من
السوس من جهة الحجاز إلى آخر أعمال عبد دورة البحر المديد قال
ابن سعيد و جزيرة العرب في الاقليم الأول و يحيط بها البحر المديد
من جنوبه و جنوب السوسين من غربها و بحر فارس من شرقها و كانت
اليمين قديماً للتتابعة و هي اختص من الحجاز وأكثر أهلها القطائعية
و فيها من عنم ابن وائل و ملكاً لهذا العهد لبني رسول صلى الله عليه
أبر و دار ملكهم تعز بعد أن نزلوا الجهة أولاً و بحمد من اليمين
أئمة الزيدية

زبيد و هي من مملكة اليمين شمالي الحجاز و جنوبها البحر المديد
و غربها حكم السوسين اختصاً محمد بن زياد أيام العモノ سنة أربع
و ماتين و هي مدينة مسرة تدخلها عين جارية جلبة الملوكي
و عليها غيطن نحل يسكنونها أيام الغلطة و هي الآن من ممالك ابن
رسول و بها كان ملك بنى زياد و موالاتهم ثم غلبتهم عليها بدو
صاحبهم وقد سر خبرهم

عصرو حلي و الشرجة من أعمال زبيد في شماليها و تعرف
بأعمال ابن طرف مسيرة سبعة أيام في يومين من الشرجة إلى حلي
و بين حلي و مملكة ثمانية أيام و عتر هذه مملكة الملك و هي على
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 المختلفة من على وعلى وكان يقتل على شرب النمر قال عمارة كان يقتل كل من خلفه من اهل النبلة و يستبيع نساءهم و أولادهم وكانوا يعتقدون فيه العصمة وكانت امرأة تحت يدها ينقفها عليهما في مؤنها ولا يملكون معه سلا و لا فرسا و لا سلاحا وكان يقتل المنهزم من أصحابها و يقتل الزائج و شارب النمر و سامع الغناء و يقتل من تأخر عن صلاة الجماعة و من تأخر عن وظهة يوم القيامة و الخمس

كان حنيفا في الفروض و لما توفي تولى بعده ابنه عبد النبي و انتقى عليه اخوته عبد الله و غلبه على زبيد و خطبه له فيها باللقاء ثم غلبه عبد النبي و اخراجه من زبيد و استولى على اليه أجمع و به يومنا خمس و عشرون دولة فاستولى على جميعها و لم يبق له سوى عدن فرض على عدنا الجزية و لما دخل شمس الدولة توران شاه بن أبوب أخور صلحدون سنة ست و ستين و خمسين و استولى على الدولة التي كانت باليمين فقبض على عبد النبي و استحانته و أخذ منه أموالا عظيمة و حمله إلى عدن فاستولى عليها ثم نزل زبيد و اخذها كرسيا لملكه ثم استوىها و سار في الجبل ومعه الطلب

يتأخِّر وكان صحابي يوات و لواذا أخذ في سيك الفوق اختيارهم على مكان تعز فاختى به المدينة و نزلها و بقيت كرسيا لملكه و ملك

بنيه و مواليه بنى مسول كما ذكر في أخبارهم و بانقرض دولة بني

مهدى انقرض ملك العرب من اليه و صار للغز و مواليه
ولاين خلدون

وقوى جميعهم وكان يقول في رأيهم، في الوقت الذي يشير إلى وقت ظهوره وانتشار ذلك عنقه، وكانت أم فاطمة تصد أهل الدولة عنه إلى أن ماتت سنة خمس وأربعين، وكان أهل الجبال قد حالفوا على النصرة وخرج من تهامة سنة ثمان وثلاثين، وقصد الكذراء فاتهم رأى إلى الجبال وأقام بها إلى سنة إحدى وأربعين، ثم اعادته الجبال أم فاطمة إلى وطنه، وماتت سنة خمس وأربعين فخرج إلى خولان?

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ونزل ببطى منهم يقال له حبان في حسن يسمى الشرف، وهو حسن صعب المرتقب، على سيرته يوم من سفح الجبل في طريقه أوغرة في واد فخيرة تسمى كور، وسماء الانصار، ومن كل سبع معة من تهامة المهاجرين، وامر للانصار رجلا اسمه سبأ، للمهاجرين آخر سماح شيخ الإسلام، واسمه الفضيلة، واجتذب عنهم سواعهم وجعل يشن الغارات على أرض تهامة، واعتنى على ذلك خراب النواحي يزيد فقط سابلتها وأخبر ناحيتيه، وانتهى إلى حسن الدائر على نصف مرهونة من زبيد، واعمل الجليلة في قتل سرور مدبر الدولة. فقتلت كما مرّ وأقام يتحفيز زبيد بالزحف، قال عمارة زاحفه سبدين رحفا، وحاولها طويل، واستنداوا الشريف أحمد بن حمزية السليماي، ماحب صعدة فابددهم وشرط عليهم قتل سبدين، فاتت بن محمد فقتلت سنة ثلاث وخمسين، ومنذ عليه الشريف ثم عجز وهرب منهم واستولى على بن مهدي عليها في رجب سنة أربع وخمسين، وتمت لثلاثة أشهر من استيلائه، وكان يخطب له بالله العلي العتيد أمير المهاجرين، وقائم الكفرة، ومعتدين، وكان على رأى الخوارج.

B. حيحوان

١ Read
اختصار التأريخ

صغيرين هما محمد و أبو السعود فجميسا ياسر بن بلال في القصر و استبد بالمر و كان ياسر ممدحا كثير العلمية للشعراء و سمى وفد عليه و موجه باب النجاسة شاعر السكندرية و عن قصيدة في محلة سفر إذا حاولت قدرا سار الفيل فصار بدرائ

و هو آخر سلوك الزرعيين و لما دخل شمس الدولة سيف الإسلام أخذ صلح الدين إلى اليمن سنة ست و ستين و ستون و نزل على ياسر بن بلال و انتقلت الدولة إلى زربان و صار اليمن لغث و فيه ولائهم بدو أيرب كما ذكرن في أخبارهم و كانت مدينة الجوة قرب عدن اختبأة ملاك الزرعيين فلما جاءت دولة بنى اليم بكرها و نزلوا تعرس من الجبال كما يأتي ذكره

أخبار ابن مهدي الخارجى و بنيه و ذكر دولتهم باليمين بدأيتها و انقرضها

هذا الرجل من أهل العبرة من سواحل زبيد و هو على بن مهدي الجمري كان أبوه مهدي معروفا بالصلاح و الدين و نشأ ابنه على طريقته فاعتزل و نسكت ثم حصب و لقي علماء العراق و أخذ الوعظ من وعظهم و عاد إلى اليمن و اعتزل و لزم الوعظ و كان حافظًا فصيحًا و يخبر بحوارات أحواله فيصدق فعال الهية الناس و اشتبثوا به و صار يترد للجهم منذ سنة إحدى و ستين و يعظ الناس في البوادي فذا حضر الموسم اتى على نجيب له و لما استولت أم فاتك على بنى جميش إيلام ابنه فاتك بن منصور أحسنت فيه المعتقد و أطلقته لهم و لقربته و أحياء خرجهم ففسدت أحزاليم و أمروا و زرعوا الغايل

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لاين خلدون

الكرم من عشيره جعَّام بن يام من همدان و كانوا أقرب عشائره اليه. فاقامته في وبني قيم زينا ثم حدثت بينهم الفتنة و انقسموا إلى فئتين بنو مسعود ابن الكرم و بنو الزرئيج ابن العباس بن الكرم و غلب بنو الزرئيج بعد حروب عظيمة قال ابن سعيد و أول مذكور منهم الداعي سبا بني أبي السعود بن الزرئيج أول من اجتمع له الملك بعد بني الصليبيشى و ورد عنه بنا و حاربه ابن عمه على بن أبي الغارات بن مسعود بن الكرم صاحب الزعاعوز فاستولى على عدن في سنة بعد مقاومة و نفقات في الأعراب و مات بعد فتحها بسبعة أشهر سنة ثلاثين و خمسين و ولى ابنه الآسر و كان مقيما بجنس الدملة المعقل الذي لا يرمل و اتمتع عليه بعد بلال بن جربير بني الزرئيج و اراد أن يعدل بالملك لعمس بن سبا بن أبي سعود بن زرئيج من موالاة و خشي محمد بن سبا على نفسه فقر إلى منصور بن المفضل من ملوك الجبال الصليبيين بذي جبلة ثم مات الآسر قوبة فبعث بلال بن محمد بن سبا وفر إلى عدن وكال التقليد جاء من مصر باسم الخزاعي فكتب مكانه محمد بن سبا و كان في نجوى الداعي المعظم المتشابه المماليك بسير أمير المماليك و هو دار الملل الصليبيين و تزور سيدة بنت عبد الله الصليبي و توبي سنة ثمان و أربعين و خمسين و ولي ابنه عمران بن محمد بن سبا وكان يامربن بلال يدير دوامه و توبي سنة سبتي و خمسان و تراك ولدين.
الجیاش ج سعید ب

معارک فاتک و ابراهیم عبد الواحد

محمد محمد

فاطک ز

استبد عليه من الله من موالیهم ثم زریق

نما سرور للبیش ثم غلب عليه: علی بن هدی الخسرجي و تنه

البیش على دولة بني تریبع بعدم دعاء

العبيدین بالیمی و أولیة امرهم ومصریة

وعدن هذه من آمنع مدانی الیمی وهي على ضفة البحر البندی

وما زالت بلدة تجارة منذ عهد النبیة و أكثر بنیهم بالخصوص ولذلک

بطریقها الیمی كثير و كانت صدر الیمی دار ملک لبني معن قال

البیشی ينتمون الى معن بن زائدة ملكه من أيام الع ولمو و اقتروا

على بنی زیاد فقنعوا منهم بالخطبة والسکة ولما استولى الداعی على

بن محمد السبیلی على الیمی رعیا لیم دمам العربیة و قرر عليهم

ضرباء يعطوها ثم أخرجهم منیا ابنه أحمد العکرم و ولى عليها بنی
لابن خلدون

جبيب داني العلامة فأبدعت عليه وهو الذي شيد المدارس للفقهاء
بزيدي و اعتنى بالجاح و بني سور المدينة ثم راود بنت معارك بن
جياش 1 و لم تجد بدا من اسعائه فماكته حتى اذا قضى وقرا
مسحت ذكرى بمنديل مسموم فتهوش لجمه و ذلك سنة أربع و عشرين
و خمسمائة و قام بابه فانطلق بعده روري من موالى آل نجاح قال
عمارة كان احوال شجاعة قدما و كان ولدا ثم عجز بعد حين و لم
يستقر احد مكانة حتى قام بالوزارة سرور الجعشي الفاتك من موالى
أم فاتك المتخصصين بما قال عمارة و في سنة احدى و ثلاثين
و خمسمائة توفى فانطلاق بن منصور و ولى بعده ابن عمه و سمه
فاتك بن محمد بن فانك و سرور قائم بوزارةه و تدبير دولته
ومعاربة اعدائه و كان يلازم المسجد الى ان دست عليه على بن
مهدى الخارجي من قتله في المسجد و هو يصلى العصر يوم الجمعة
اثني عشر صفر سنة احدى و خمسين و ثار الناس لذلك الشيطان
القاتل فقتل جماعة من اهل المسجد ثم قتل و اضطرب موالى آل نجاح
بالدولة و ثار عليهم على بن مهدى الخارجي و حاربهم مهارا و حامراهم
طويل و استغزا بالشيريف المنصور أحمد بن حمزه السليماني و كان
يملك معدة فاغاتهم على ان يملكونه و يقتلوا سيدهم فاتك بن محمد
تقللو سنة ثلاث و خمسين و سلوا عليهم الشيريف أحمد فجعل من
مقاومة ابن مهدى و فرتح تحت الليل و سلوا على ابن مهدى سنة
أربع و خمسين و انقرض أمر آل نجاح و البقآئ لله

P and B: معارك بنت جياش
النَّمّيّ وزير المُكرَّم و كان حنقاً على المَكَّم و دُولته فدَاخله الوزير خلف
و لاحظ ابنه الحسين الشَّرَّخان ثم انتقل الى مَلِمَعَة أبيه فاَغْتَبَت به
و اطْلعَة على رأيّه في الدّولة و انه ينتشِبّ لِل نِجاَح و اتَّمَم بعض الْيَام
و هو يلعب فسمعة على بنِّ النَّمّيّ و استثَكَّر أَمر فكَشف له القَنَاع
و استحلفه و جِيَاح أَثناء ذلك يجمع أَشْيَاءه من الجبَشة و ينقُل
فيهم الدّول حتى اجتمع له منُمّ حمَسة آلاف فثار بهم في زَبِيد سِنّ
نِتْنِيّ و ثَمانيّ و نزل دار الإمارة و عن على أَسْدَد بِن شهَاب و أَطلِقَه
لزمانة كانت به و بقى ملكا على زَبِيد و تَهَامه يختْبُط للعُباسيِن
و الصليحيِن يخضبُون للعُبيديِن و المَكَّم يبعث العرب للغارة على
زَبِيد كَل حِين إلى ان هناك جِيَاح على رأس المَلِمَعَة الخَامسة
و كانت كَنْتِيّة ابَو الطَّالِب و كان موصوّفا بالعدل و ولى بعدة ابنه
القُنَىَّ بِن جيِّاح و خَافِض عليه أَخْوَة ابْراهِيم و عَبد الواحد
و جرَت بينه و بينهما حرب و كان الظَفر له أَخَرّ ثم هناك سِنّ ثلاث
و خمسِماة و نصب عَبِيدِه للملَكَه ابنه منصُور بِن ذات صبيا لم
يغْذِم و دنوُّر ملكه و جَاء عَمة ابْراهِيم لقَتاله و بزوَّر له فتَار عَمْه
عبد الواحد بالبلد و بعد منصُور إلى المَقْتَل بِن أَبِي الْبَرَكَات صاحب
الْتَعِير فجاء لِلْقَتَال مَضْرَع للغُدْرَة ثم بلَغَه انتِقُس أَهل التِعَكر عَلى
فَرَج و لم يزل منصُور في مَلَكَه زَبِيد إلى أن وُورِه من عبيدة ابَو
منصُور* الله فقتله مسماً سِنّة سبع عشرة و خمسِماة و نصب
فَتَاك ابْنَه طَفِلَة صَغِيرًا و اسْتَبَد عليه و قام بِضَبَطِ المَلَكَه و نُعِي عليه
الْتَعِير لِجَِّرَّم آل نِجَاح حتَّى دَرَبَت منه أم فاتَّاك هذا و سَكَنت
خارِج المدينة و كان قدّم شيجارا و له وقُطَع مع الاعْتِداء و جَارِبة ابن

لابن خلدون

و تلقب نصير الدولة وتغلب ولاة الحسون على ما بيدهم و دهش المكرم ابن الصليبي بصنعاء وكاد أن يتضعف أمره و كتب إليه خسرته أمته من زبيد فقرة و تقول إني حبى من سعيد فاركنى قبل أن تقع المضايقة عليها وعلى جميع العرب فتحيل المكرم فن إثره سعيد بن نجاح بصنعاء على لسان بعض أهل اللغور و ضم له الظن فجاء سعيد لذلك في عشرين ألفا من الحبالة و سار عليه المكرم من صناعة و هزمه و حل به و من زبيد فهو إلى جزيرة دهلة و دخل المكرم زبيد وجاء إلى أمته وهي جائسة بالطوق و عندها رأس الصليبي و أخيه فأنزلهما و دفنهما و ولى على زبيد خاله أسد سنة سبع و تسعيين و ارتحل إلى صنعاء ثم رفع إليها سعيد سنة تسعة و سبعين و كتب المكرم إلى أبي عبد الله بن يصرف صاحب خص الشعر بأنه يغره سعيدا بالمكر و انتزاع ذى حبلة من يد له لاغتنامه بلذته و استيلاء زوجته سيدة بنت أحمد عليه و أن له فتحم المجد و سار سعيد في ثلاثين ألفا من الحبالة و أكمل له المكرم تحت حصن الشعر فغدوا به هلال ذلك و انهمس عسكرة و قتل و نصب رأسه عند الطلق الذي كان فيها رأس الصليبي بيض و استولى عليها المكرم و انقطع منها ملك الحبالة و هرب جياش ومعه ووزر أخيه خلف بن أبي الظاهر المروان و دخل عدن منظرين ثم لحقا بالبند و أقاما بها سنة أشهر و لقيا هلال ذلك كاهنا جاء من سرديب نبشهما بما يكون لها فرجا إلى اليمين و تقدم خلف الوزير إلي زبيد و أشاع موت جيASH و استأثر لنفسه و لحق به جيASH فاقام هلال ذلك مخيفا و على زبيد يومئذ أسد بن شهاب خال المكري و معه على بن
كان لنُجِح ثلاثة من الولد عمار وسعيد وجمار فقتل معارك نفسه ولحق سعيد وجيارفي جزيرة دهلك وأقاما هنالك يتعلمان القرآن والآداب ثم رجع سعيد الى زبيد معضاً لأخيه جيارفي واختنَى بها في نفق احتفظ تحت الأرض ثم استقدم أخاه جيارفي فقدم وأقاما هنالك في الاحتفاء ثم أن المستنصر العبدي الخليلية بعمر قطع دعوة بعثة محمد بن جعفر أميرها من الهاشمي فكتب إلى الصليحي يأمر بقتاله وحمله على إقامة الدعوة العلامة بعثة فسار على الصليحي لذلك من صعاعة وظاهر سعيد وآخر من الاحتفاء وبلغ خبرهم إلى الصليحي فبعث عسكرا نحوا من خمسة آلاف فارس وأُمرهم بقتلهما وقد كان سعيد وجيارفي خلفاً العساكر وسارا في اتباع الصليحي وهو في عسكة فيبتره بالهمم متروجها إلى مكة وكان معه خمسة آلاف من الجبهة فلم يغنوا عنه شيئا فانقض عسكره وقتل تولى قتله جيارفي بيدى وذلك سنة ثلاث وسبعين ثم قتل عبد الله الصليحي اخا على في مائة وسبعين من بنى الصليحي وأسر زوجته أسماء بنت عمه شهاب في خمس وثلاثين سنة من ملوك القطنائيين الذين خل يت عليهم بالينيم وبعث إلى العسكر الذين ساروا لقتل سعيد وجيارفي فأتمهم واستخدمهم وارحل إلى زبيد وعليهما أسعد بن شهاب أخو أسماء زوجة الصليحي ففر أسعد إلى صعاعة ودخل سعيد إلى زبيد وأسماء زوجة الصليحي اعترفت في هودج ورأس الصليحي وأخاه عند هودجها وانزلها بدارها ونصب الرأسين قبالة طاقبها في الدار واحتملت القلوب منه وُسّب

وقيل P. 1
لابن خلدون

وأخذ لهم به وكفّلت عقّب المفضل وولدة وصار معقل التعرك في
يد عمران بن النزّل الخوارج وأخيه سليمان واستولى عمران على
الجيرة سيدة مكان المفضل ولما ساهمت استبد عمران وأخوة جمع
التعرك واستولى مصعود بن المفضل بن أبي البركات على ذي جبلة
حتى باأيه من الداعي النزبي صاحب عدن كما يأتي واعتصم
بمعقل الشيخ الذي كان للداعي المتصور سبا بن أحمد وذالك أن
المتصور توفى سنة ست وثمانين وأربعمائة وأختفى أولاده
بعدة ونجله ابنه على منهم على المعقل وكان ينارع المفضل بن
أبي البركات والجيرة سيدة وأعيانها أمره فتخيل المعقل بسم اودعه
في سفرجل اهداه إليه فمات منه واستولى بنو أبي البركات على
حصن بنى المفضل ومات المعقل عن قرب كما سار وكفّلت سيدة
ابنه المتصور وكان غير مستقل بالملك ثم نهضت به سهّه فصار له
ملك ابنه في حصن التعرك وقلعة وذي جبلة وحصنو والملك
بنى المفضل في الشيخ وحصونه ثم بلغ حصن ذي جبلة من الداعي
النزبي صاحب عدن بعدة ألف دينار وما زال يبيع معقلا صنعا
حصنا حتى لم يبق له غير معقل تعز أخذته منه على بن مهدي بعد
أن ملكت ثمانية سنة وبلغ من العمر سنتين وله سبكانه وتعالى
أعلم بالصواب

لمحير عن دولة بنى نجاح بزبيد موالي بنى زياد ومبادئ
امورهم وتصريف احوالهم

و لما استولى الصليحي على زبيد من يد كيلان بعد ان اهلكه بالسم
على يد الباري التي أعدها الله سنة ثنتين وخمسين واربعمة كما
معقلة وسيدة بنت أحمد بنت جبلة وخطبها المنصور ساباً
وامتنعت فجاجرها بَبَت جبلة وقال له أَهْرُوا لأُمها سليمان بن عامر
الزواحي والله لا يُجبرك الا بأمر المستنصر خليفة مصر فرسل في
ذلك وأجيب وصل خادم من عند المستنصر وأبلغها أمره بذلك
وتلعليها وما كان لهولاء ولا وجوه مما أُصِب الله ورسوله أُمها أن
تكون لهم الخيرة من أمرهم وأن أمير المؤمنين زوجت من
الداعي المنصور أبي حمير سبا بن أحمد بن المظفر على سائحة ألف
دينار وخمسين ألفا من أصدف التحف والطوابق فانعقد النكاح
واسر سبا من معقل أَشْيَى إلى ذي جبلة ودخل البها بدار العز
وينقل أنها شبهت عليها مجازارة من جواريها فقامت على رأسه لياماً
كله و هو لا يرفع الطرف البها حتى أُصّب فرجم إلى معقلة وأفامت
هي بذى جبلة وكان المستولي عليها المفضل ابن أبي البركات من بنى
يام رفي الصليبي فاستدعى عشيرة جنبها وانزلهم عندها بذى جبلة
فكانت يضطر بهم وكانت سيدة تأتي القَنَع في الصيف و وبذخائرها
و خراشها فاذا جاء الشتاء رجعت إلى ذى جبلة ثم انفرد المفضل
بالتعكر ولم ينكر منها و لا انكرت منه ثم سار المفضل لقتال آل نجاح
يُثوب في حسن التعرق ففُلِيَّب بالجمل مصمْبةً من الفقهاء
أحدهم ابراهيم بن زيدان عم عمارة الشاهر فبابوا الجمل على أن
يَجُمَّع الدهرة الجابرة فرجم المفضل من طريقه و حاصرهم و جأتم
حرون لنصيرهم فصاعدهم المفضل و هلك في حصارهم سنة أربع
و خمسانية فجأت بعدة الجربة سيدة و انزلتهم على عهد فندلوا
لاين خليدون

أسماء بنت شهاب قد سبها سعيد بن نجاح ليلة البيت فكتبت
الي ابنها المكرم إني جبريل من العبد الأحول فادركتي قبل أن أضع
و الا في الغار الذي لا يعده الدهر فسار المكرم من صنعاء سنة خمس
و سبعين في ثلاثة آلاف و لقي الحبشة في عشرين ألفا فنهزمهم وأتفرت
سعيد بن نجاح بجراحة دملوك و دخل المكرم إلى أنّه و هي جالسة
بالطق الذي نصب عهد رأس الصليحي و أخيه فانزورا و دفنهما
و رفع السيف و لقي خاله أسد بن شهاب على أعمال تهامة كما
كان و أدلته زبيد منها و ارتحل بأمه إلى صنعاء و كانت تدبر ملكه
ثم جمع أسد بن شهاب أموال تهامة و بعث بها مع وزيرة أحمد
بن سالم ففرقتها أسماء على وقود العرب ثم هلكت أسماء سنة سبع
و سبعين و خرجت زبيد من يد المكرم و استقرها سعيد بن نجاح
سنة تسعة و سبعين ثم انتقل المكرم إلى ذي جبلة سنة ثمانيين و ولي
على صنعاء عمران بن الفضل اليماني فاستباد بها و توارثها عقبه
و تمسى ابنه أحمد بأسم السلطان و اشتهر به و بعدة ابنه حاتم بن
أحمد و ليس بعدة صنعاء من له ذكر حتى منها بنو سليمان لما
غلبهم الهواش على سمتة كما مر في اخبارهم و لما انتقل المكرم إلى
ذي جيلة وهي مدينة اختصا عبد الله ابن حمود الصليحي سنة
ثمانين و خمسين و أربعمائة و كان انتقالها باشارة زوجته سيدة بنت
أحمد التي صار إليها تدبر ملكه بعد أنّه أسماء فтренاها و بيني فيها دار
العطاء تقبل على قنبل سعيد بن نجاح فتم له كما ذكر في أخبار ابن
نجاح و كان مشغولا بلذائبه صبحها بوجوده و لما حضرته الوفاة سنة
أربع و ثمانين عيد إلى ابن عمه المنصور سبأ بن أحمد بن العظفر بن
علي الصليحي صاحب عمتة أشجع فلقداء المستنصر العبدي و إقام
كتاب الجغراف

قري حراز وقيل انها كان عنده كتب الجغراف من ذخائر اتمهم برزهم فزموا انّ عليها ابن القاضي محمد مذكور فيه فقرأ على عامل الداعي وأخذ عنه وما تؤسم فيه الأهلية أرّة مال اسمه في الجغر وآوافه وقال لابن القاضي احتفظ بابنك نسيمتك جميع الياف خمس عشرة سنة فصار ذكراً وعُطّست شهرته وألقى على أنسنة الناس ابنه سلطان الياف ومالك الداعي عامر الزواحي فارغى له بكثرة وعهد الياف بالدعوة ثم حض بالناس سنة ثمان وعشرين واربعمئة على عادته واجتمع في الموسم بجمعة من قوته هميان كانوا معه فدعاهم إلى النصرة والقيام معه فأجابوا وبايعوا وكان سنتين رجلاً من رجالات قوهم فلما عادوا قام في مساره هو حسن بذرة حبل حراز وحص ذلك الحصن ولم ينزل امرئ ينعي ويكتب إلى المستنصر صاحب مصر يسألة الأذن في اظهار الدعوة فأدان له وأظهرها ومالك الياف كله ونزل مكافأة واختط بها الالبس وآسكنه قصوره ومملوك الياف الذين غلب عليهم وهزم به طرف مملوك عثر وتهبة وأعمال الجليلة في قتل نجاح مولى بنى زيدان ملك زبيد حتى تم له ذلك على يد جارية أهداها الياف كما ذكرنا سنة ثنتين وخمسين ثم سار الى مدينة بكر المستنصر صاحب مصر ليجمع منها الدعوة العباسية والإمارة الحسنية واستخفاف على صنعاء ابنه المكرم أحمد وحمل معه زوجته أسماء بنت شهاب وعمال الذين معه مثل ابن الكردي وأبي يعفر اللقب وولي بن عيسى الإحاذي وأمّالهم فبيته سعيد بن نجاح بالجهام وقتله سنة ثلاثون وعشرين واربع مائة وقامت بعده ابنه المكرم أحمد واستولى على مكة وأقام بعده كان.eu
يعرَف عمارة اسمه لقائلي الحذرة عليه، ويعني عمارة مؤرخ اليمن.
وقيل اسم هذا الطفل الأخير إبراهيم، وكفالتها عمته ومرجان من موالاة الجنس بن سلامة واستبد بأبهم ودوتهما، وكان له مولانيا اسم إدهما قيس وآخر ناجح فجعل الطفل المملك في كفالة قيس وانذرته مع بريدة وولي نجاحا على سائر الأعمال خارج بريدة ومملكة الكذرة والهلال وكان يثور قيسا على نجاح ووقع بهما تنافس ورفع تفويضه ان عمدة الطفل تميل إلى نجاح وتكابده دونه نفقات عليها، بدون مولاة مرجان، ودفعهم حقيقت وعديد، ورسب بالظلمة وضرب السكة، وانصرف نجاح ذلك فرخت في العساكر، وبرز قيس للخليفة، فكانا بينهما حروب ووقت انعمه قيس في آخرها وقتل في خمسة آلاف من عسكرة ومملكة نجاح زبيد سنة ثمانية عشرة و أربع مائة ودفني قيسا ومملكة مرجانا، مكان الطفل، وعمة، واستبد وضرب السكة نسهما، وكتب ديوان الخلافة ببغداد تعقد له على اليمن، ولم ينزل إلا لقصله قدرا لاهل الجبال وانتزع الجبال كلها من ولاية الجنس بن سلامة. ولم تنزل الملكات تنقي صولته إلى ان قلته على الصليحي.
القائم دعوة العبديين بسم على يد جارية بعث بها اليها سنة ثمانية وخمسين وأربع مائتان، فقام بالآخر بعدة بزيادة مولاه كهله ثم استولى الصليحي على زبيدة وملكة من يده كما يذكر.

الخبير عن بني الصليحي القداميين دعوة العبديين باليمن.
كان القرشي محمد بن علي الهمداني، ثم الصليحي، رخاز من بلاد همدان وينتسب في بنى يام ونشأ له ولد اسمه علی و كان صاحب الدعوة يوم مغزه عامر بن عبد الله النواحي، نسبة إلى قرية من
العصرية

العنصرية

صحابه واجتماع دعوة الزيدية ورحب إلى صنعاء فعمكها في يد أسعد
بن يعفر ثم استقرَّا به فنُو أسعد ورجع إلى صنعاء وكان شيعته
يسميه الإمام وعقبه آتين به وتم تقدُّم خبرهم ودائم أيام أبي الجيشه
بن زيداً أيضاً ظهرت دعوة العبديدين باليمن فقام بها محمد بن
الفضل بعدن ثلاثة وجبال ينص إلى جبل المذيدرة سنة أربعين
وثلاثمائة وثاني له باليمن من الشرجَي إلى عدن عشرون مرحلة وس
جعله إلى صنعاء خمس مراحل و لما غلبه محمد بن الفضل بهذه
الدعوة امتنع أصحاب الطرف عليه مثل بن أسعد بن يعفر بصنعاء
والسليمان بن طرف بعثٍ الإمام الرسوم إلى صنعاء فسلت معهم طريق
المباينة ثم هلك أبو الجيشه سنة إحدى وسبعين وثلاثمائة بعد أن
اتسع جبايتها وعظم ملكه قال ابن سعيد رأيت مبلغ ارتفاع جبايتها
وهو ألف ألف مكرمة مرتين وثلاثمائة ألف وستون ألف من
الدنانير العشرة$1$ ما عدا ضرابية على مراكب السند و على العينر
الواصل باب المنجد و عدن ابين و على مغاص اللؤلوئ و على
جزيرة دهلة و من بعضها ألف رأس و صافف و كانت ملوك الجبيشه
من وراء البحر يهادونه و يتخطبون مراسلاً و لما مت خلف صببا
صغيراً اسمه عبد الله وقيل ابراهيم وقيل زياد وكفْتنه اختته و مولاة
رشيد الجيشه و ولي رشيد على الجبال مملوكه الخمس بن سلمة المهيو
و آل الحفرة دولة المباينة إلى الوزارة في موالى الجبهة واللهب واستبادهم
عليهم إلى أن انقضت دولتهم سنة سبع و اربعون ثم هلك هذا
الطفل فلو طالب آخر من بنى زياد أعمر منه قال ابن سعيد لم

$1$ Read
لاين خلدون

ف حياة اليمن من العلوبيين فوصلة فولاة قرينتين واحة اليمن وقدمها سنة
الثاني والثلاثين فتقى تهامة اليمن وهي البلد الذي على ساحل
البحر الغربي واختتم بها مدينة زبيد ونصلزا وأصرضا كوريا لتقية
المملكة وولى على الجبال فولاة حجفر وفقى تهامة بعد حروب مع
العرب واشترط علي غرب تهامة أن لا يركبا الخيل واستولى على
اليمن أجمع ودخلت في طاعته أعمال حضرموت وشجر وديار
كونا وصارت في مرتبة القباعة وكان في صناعه قاعدة اليمن فنً يعفر
من حمير بقية الملكات الترابية استبزروا بها مقيمين للدعوة العباسية
ولهم مع صناعه بيشان وشمر 1 وشمر وكان اخبارهم بدأ يعفر
ثم أخباره محمد مدخلا في طاعته ابن زيد وكان في آخر السالك
اليمن أيضًا سليمان ابن طرف مدخل في طاعته ثم هلك
محمد بن زيد وولي بعده ابنه إبراهيم ثم ابنه زيد بن إبراهيم ثم
اخره أبو NVIDIA سقط ابن إبراهيم وطلبت منه إلى ابن أسى وبلغ
الثمانين وقال عماره ملك ثمانين سنة باليمن وحضرموت وجزائر
البحرية ولا بلغه قتل المنكول وخلع المستعدين واستبداد الموالي
على الجلابة من ارتفاع اليمن وركب بالمنظمة يظل سلطان اليمن
المستبدين ونفي إبمه خرج باليمن يحيى بن الحسين ابن القاسم
الرئيسي ابن إبراهيم طباعا بدعاء الزيديه جاء إليها من السودان وكان
جدته القاسم قد فر إلى السودان بعد خروج أخوه محمد مع أبي السرايا
وهلهته كما مسر فلغي القاسم بالسند وأعقب به الحسين ثم ابنه
يحيى بن الحسين فظهر يحيى باليمن سنة ثمان وثمانين ونزل

1 خراب
القرن الثالث

فقاتل قيس بن مكشور و هزيمة ثم ولى أبو بكر المهاجرين أبو أمية على قتال اهل الريدة باليعين. وكذلك عقدة بن أبي جهل و امره أر
يبدا بالمرتدة من اهل عمان و يلحق بالمهاجر ثم استقرّ اليعين في ولاية
يعلى بن مسمّة و لقي عادبة بعثة فسار معها و حضر حرب الجمل و لوى
على اليعين عبد الله بن عباس ثم أخذ عبد الله ثم ولى معاوية
على صنعاء فيروز الديلمي و مات سنة ثلاث و خمسين ثم جعل
عبد الملك اليعين في وليّة الجحاج لما بعثه لحرب ابن الزبير سنة
ثنين و سبعين و لما جاءت دولة بنى اليعين ولي السفاح على
اليعين عمه داود بن على حتى إذا توفي سنة ثلاث و ثلاثين و لى
مكانه محمد ابن خاله يزيد بن عبد الله بن عبد المنان ثم تعاقب
الولاة على اليعين و كانوا ينزلون صنعاء حتى انتهى الخلافة إلى العثمان
و ظهرت دعاة الطالبيين بالنواحي و بايع أبو السرايا من بنى شيبا
بالعراق لمعمر بن ابراهيم طباطبا بن اس معيل بن ابراهيم و ابراهيم
اَخْرِ الْمُهْدِ الْبَنِيَّةَ الْكَرِيْمَةَ مُحَمَّدٌ بْنَ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنَ حَسَنَ وَ كَثِيرُ الْهَجَرِ
و فرق عثمان في الجهات ثم قتل و بيع محمد بن جعفر الصادق
بالمجادات و ظهر باليمين ابراهيم بن موسى الكاظم سنة ستةين و لم يتم
أمره و كان يعفر بالجزار لسفكة الدماء و بعث العاملون عسكرة إلى
اليمين فردوها ناحية و حملوا كثيراً من وجوه الناس فاستبدام أمر
اليعين كما نذكره

دولة بنى زياد بالدعوة العباسية

و لما وفد وجهة أهل اليمين على المأمون كان فيهم محمد بن زياد
و لى وفد وجهة أهل اليمين على المأمون كان فيهم زياد بن زياد
و لى عبد الله بن زياد بن أبي سفيان فاستNECTION المأمون و ضمن

2 Read زياد
1 Read متيه
و هنذا تأريخ اليمن المنقول من كتاب العبر

للعلامة عبد الرحمن ابن خلدون المغربي

أخبار اليمن و الدول الإسلامية التي كانت فيه للعباسيين و للعبدیين و سائر ملوك العرب و ابتداء ذلك و تصرفاته على الجملة ثم تفصيل ذلك على حدته و ممالكه واحدة بعد واحدة

قد تقدم لنا في اخر السير النبوية كيف عارض اليمن في مملكة الإسلام بدخول عاملة في الدعوة الإسلامية وهو بذان نظام كسرى و أسلم معه أهل اليمن و أُمر النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم على جميع خاليتيا و كان منزله صنعاء كرسى التباغة و انها مات بعد حجة الرداء فقسم النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم اليمن على عماله من قبله و جعل صنعاء لبيبة شهرين بذان و ذكرنا خبر الأسود الغنض و كيف أخرج عمال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من اليمن و زحف إلى صنعاء فملكها و قتل شهرين بذان و تزوج لحراة وأسرته و استولى على أكثر اليمن و ارتفع أكثر أهله و كتب النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم إلى عماله و إلى من ثبت على إسلامه فدخلوا زوجة شهرين بذان التي تزوجها في أسرة على ابن أبي عمها فيروز و تولى كبر ذلك قيس بن بذان يغوث المرادى فيبته هو فيروز و ذاذوبه بذان زوجته و قطعها و رجع عمال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم إلى أعماليهم و ذلك تقبل الوصاية واستبد قيس بصناعة و جمع القبائل يند الأسود فوهم أبو بكر على اليمن فلوروز فيبته من الاتباع و أمر الناس بطاقة...
تأريخ اليمن

انتقل الدناء بسعادته اوفى حظوظها وقسوتها وصلى الأيام مفرقة على نابذ بمسمها ومكانات من حضرته أمير المؤمنين المكين. واللذي ا мнتمعن عن المماثل والقرنين أشرعت هذه الب(!(اء إلى قدرها العظيم فخرين المنتشر صيتها وذكروا لتأخذى من المسيرة بها بارفٍ نصيب وذوبيها فيمن قابل من الأولى والمستجيبين اذاعة يتساءو في المعرفة بها كل بعيد منها، وقرئت لينظف بها عن السور. ويتضع عرفانا تضيع المندل الوطاب منها والخضور فاعمله هذا واعلمه به: أن الله تعالى وكتب بالختار المذكور وصله على رسله سيدنا محمد وعلى آل البيت الطاهرين وسلام وشرف وكرم إلى يوم الدين.

ثم انتقل إلى مولانا أمر وولى الباشاخت فكان أول سبيل وصل منه إلى الجرة الملكة من ولي عهد المسلمين وفي السنة الثانية من أمير المؤمنين فاقامت الجرة الملكة الداعي اجل ابرهيم بن الجسيم الجامدي ثم نقلت دعوة الجائزة إلى آل زريع وقال حسب بني الصليبي ما علما من أمر مولانا الطيب ثم صارت الدعوة في وليا حائم إبرهيم بن الجسيم الجامدي إلى هذه المدة فانتقلت من وليا الباشاخت آل زريع تفرعمهم الأمير الوحيد سبا بن أبي السعود بن زريع بن العباسي الذي جمع بين الدعوة والملك ثم ولده الداعي المعظم النتّوج الملكين داعي أمير المؤمنين محمد بن سبا جمع بين الدعوة والملك قد اثنيا في هذا المختار على جمل من أخبار الملك في جزيرة اليمن. والدعاة

تم التاريخ المبارة للا修剪 الله الذي بامته تتمّ الصالحات.

1) امر مولانا
2) الخضر ؟ الكافور
3) قال
4) عملاء
5) في
للقيقية نجم الدين عمارۃ اليعامي

محمد خاتم النبین و سید المرسلین صلی الله علیه و علی آلله الطاهرین الائتُم الهیتین و سلّم تسليعا اما بعد فان نعم الله عند أمیر الاعبدین لاتختص الى ابدا و لا تتوقف عند امد و احد ولا تنتهى الى الاحاطة بها الظلمون فكونا كأسباب الذي كله اعطاءه سبب اعقابه سبب. هنالك الشمس الساطعة الاشراق الدائمة الاستطام و الانتهاء و العيون المتتالية انحلال المتولية بالغد و الأصل و من اشرفا لديه قدر و اعطمها صيتا و ذكرا و اسناها جالا و فطر الوهبة بما جددة الا ان بان رزقه مولودا ركيا مرضيا برّا نقيا و ذلك في الليلة المقصدة بيوم الأحد الرابع من شهر ربيع الآخر سنة اربع و عشرين و خمسمائة ارتحلت الى طيبر ذكره اسرة المغناير و تطلعت الى مواجهه انلا كل باي و حاضر و اضاءت بانوار غنیة و بنت بمثل عظمة الدياجر و انظمتهم به للدولة النازرة الفاطمية عقود المفاصل والمفاشر استخرج من سلالة النبیة كما يستخرج الظفر من الغور و منع أمیر الاعبدین منه بما قدح رزان السرور و سماعة الطيب اطيب غنیرة و كناته ابا القاسم كنیدة جدة نبی الهدى المستخرج جوهرة من جوهرة و امير الاعبدین يشكر الله تعالى على ما منى به من اطلاعه وكوبا منهرا في سماء دولة و شيابا عضا في ذلك جلالته و زعته شكا يقضى باستدامه نعمته و ادرار سجائب طله و رفته و نسائه اين يبلغه فيه كنه المثال و يصل به جبل العلماء ما اتصاص الايام بالليال و يجعله عصمة للمسترشدين و حبيبة على الجاحدين و عونا للمحتاجين و غوثا للمحتاجين و وزرا للاحافين و سعادة للعازفين
تأريخ اليمن

زيارة ابن مقيب 1 و هذه الرسوم انها في العسكرية و الاذى الرعايا
فأظهرهم الطف من أمر السرية وقد بلغ في هذا الوقت وهو
سنة ثلاث و خمسين و خمسين و أن الأمر قد هان على ما كان
عليه من الشدة

فصل فيهم على الدعوة الفاطمية بالبيض

فمن ذلك الداعي على بن محمد الصليبي جمع بين الدعوة
و الملك ثم ولده المكرّم أحمد بن على الصليبي جمع بين الدعوة
و الملك ثم السلطان سليمان الزراحي ولي الدعوة و في ذلك ثم
القاني بن ملك الصليبي جمع الدعوة و الحكم دون
الملك ثم على بن إبراهيم الموقن في الدين ابن جناب الدولة ولي
الدعوو وملك بأمر الجيرة الملكة بعض أعماله ثم نما وحل سجيل
مولانا الإمام الامير باحکام الله أمير المومنين على السلم بالبشارتة بولاده
مولانا الإمام الطيب ابن القاسم بن الإمام الامير بالفضة عليه بالبشارتة
إلى حبته هذه الجيرة اليمنية بما مثله

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم من عبد الله و ولية المنصور ابن على الامر
باحكم الله أمير المومنين إلى الجيرة الملكة السيدة الراضية الطاهرة
الركبة وحيدة الزروع و سيدة ملوك اليمن عمة الإسلام خاصّة
الامام ذخيرة الدين عمة المومنين كيف المستجيبين 3 عصمة
المسترشدين و ولية أمير المومنين و كافلة أمير المومنين المدنيين ادام الله
تمكينها و تعمها و احسن توفيقها و معونتة سلم على ائمة
امير المومنين محمد الله الذي لا الله الا هو ويسالن ان يصلى على جده

1 Khi
2 Launna in MS
3 المستجيبين
للقيقية نجم الدين عمارية اليمن
تفرده الابن في عبادة الله وخدمته وعمره وجعل
دارهم دار الحرب وحكي لى عني وعهد على الجحيم أن لا ينك
شفق ابنهم احد من المهاجرين حتى يذهب ولده أو ابناه أو اخته ويرزق
عليه لا يجد قوماً يʔون بانه واليوم الآخر يراكون من حان الله
ورسوله وقد كانوا اباإهم او ابناءهم او اخوانهم او عشيرتهم اولئك
نتلب في قلوبهم الابن ويتمهم بروح منه واعرف صبا منهم كان
جابه للو كان يتفقة راحت والده الده تنزية فذجيا وابن اعتقد
اصبح له فهو لحق ما يعتقد الناس في الامراء صلوات الله وسلامه
عليهم وذلك ان الواحد من آل ابن مهدي هو الذي يوحس عنة ان
بقلت جماعة من عسكية ثم اذا قدروا عليها لم يتخولو دينا وعقيدة
و اذا غضب على رجل من اكابره وأعيانهم حبس نفسه في
الشمس ولم يطم وللم يشرب ولم يصل الده ولده ولا زوجته ولا
يقدر احد ان يشغف فيه حتى يرضي عنه ابتداء من نفسه ومن
طاعتهم له ان كل واحد منهم يحمل ما تشغله زوجته وفاتها الى
بيته المال ويكون ابن مهدي هو الذي يكسو الواحد منهم ويكسو
اهله من عنة و ليس لاحد من العسكره فرس يملكه ولا يرتبه في
داره ولا عدة من سلاح ولا غيرها بل تجنيب في اصطناله وسلاح
في خزایته فذا عزلله أمر دفع الده من الجحيل وعنة ما يختجون
الله وسم سيرته ان المنزيم من عسكرة يضرب رقه ولا سبيل الى
حيحته وسم سيرته قتل من شرب العسكر وقتل من سمع الغناء
وقتل من زنى وقتل من تناكر عن صلاة الجمعة او عن مجلس
وعنه وها يوم الخميس وقتل من تناكر فيه ما عن
تآريخ اليمين

و شربان و ذكر 1 و أعماله 2 و ليس ملك هذا على بن محمد صاحب
ذكر دون ملك منصور بن المنفّل ثم ملك بنى المزَّ و مدينة ذي
جبلة 3 و مدينة ذي أشراق و مدينة عب و حصن خولان و بلادها
و حصن بني ربيعة و هي عيان حس 4 و الشماخى و * أخذ السلطان
ابن النورين ابن الفتح فبئي 5 حصن السوا لابن السباي ثم استولى ابن
ميدي على معاقل الداعي عثمان بن صعد التي صارت لابن مهدي
و هي حصن سابع و سيران 6 و هذه الحصون أقليم المعافر و انتقل إليه
معقل اليمين الذي ليس بعد التفك و حرب سوا وهو حسب السعدان
و هذه يضرب المثل و هو الذي ليس لمصلوب عليه اقتدار ما لم يعن
الحائل بعناصر الانداز و هذا الذي سميت نقطة من بحر ما ملك
ابن مهدي هذا و لم يذكر 6 بلاد بنى المظل 7 سبا بن أحمد الصليبي
ولا أقليم حزان 8 ولا ضق ولا بلاد بكيل ولا حاشد ولا جبلة و حصولها
و أعمالها و لا وادي عهنة 9 ولا وادي زبيد ولا غير ذلك من 10
واي ربع و رئة و الشاعر و حصولها و معاقفتها و قرائها و مذكرة و أعمالها
و هي مسيرة أيام و دمت و وادي تحالة 11 فما المذهب الذي كان
عليه ابن مهدي و ما يعتقد في خفي الوعر 12 ثم أضاف إلى عقيدته
في الأصول التفكير بالمعاصي و التقلب بها و قتل من خالف اعتقاده

8 Khi, حراب
9 Khi, ولا حلف ولا وادي غلغلة ولا
واي عئة
10 Khi, من جبال وادي ربع و ريمة,
الاشعار
11 Khi, ولا رحاظ و أعمالها و هو مسيمة
و لا وادي و دمت و أعمالها ولا غير ذلك
؟ خلافة
12 Khi, حنفي المذهب في الفروع,
1 Khi, بالله و سراي و سر و أعمال,
و هو خلافة و أسع
2 Deest in Khi.
3 Khi, وهي عيان و حب و السماحي
و حصن السوا لابن السباي لولي
4 Deest in Khi.
5 Khi,
6 Khi, ادكر
7 Khi, المظلا; om. لى
للفقية نجم الدين عمارة اليمني

و عشرين دولة من دول أهل اليمن فعناها أموال أهل زبيد وما من عبيد فاتك وجبانه و اعيان دولته الامام مات عن اموال جميلة من العين جزيلة 1 لالة بلك الدرار و النساك فاظهرنا له كذور مواليدهم و كذلك المصغري واللواء والجوهر و الباقيات الفاخرة و الملبس الجميلة على اختلاف اصنافها وكانوا كما قال الله تعالى كم تركوا من جنات و عيرون وزروع و مسمى كرم و نعمته كانوا فيها فاطريين كذلك إلا أن نود أن نذكر قلة الامام مملكة لبني سليمان الشرقا و انتقل الامام مملك لبني وأهيل سلطان و حافظة و هو أهل دولة مكانة و كذلك مسائل من * بقي من 2 بني الصليبيكي كل معقل منها لله أعمال واسعة و الأزفادات الكثيرة فأما مملكة الملك منصور بن المفضل بن أبي البركات ابن الوالي الجميري قالت حان جميع حصوله وهي ما هي و جميع ذخائرة و انها هي جميع ذخائر الداعي على بن محمد الصليبيكي و ذخائر المكرم على 3 بن على زوج الحرة الملكة السيدة و ذخائر الجلة الملكة زوجته و ذلك ان الجميع انتقل الى الجرة و اودعته في حصن التحك و غلب عليه المفضل بن أبي البركات و على ما فيه و انتقل التحك و ما فيه من الممالك 4 بأسراه إلى ولده منصور ابن المفضل لأنهم يعزون ان الأمير منصور بن المفضل عمر في الملك ثلاثين سنة و مات في عشر المائة أو التسعين و معنا انتقل الى ابن مئوية حصن المجمعة و امواله و حصن التحك و امواله على ما قيل و مدينة ذى جبالة وهي مقر الدعوة الفاطمية و كرسي الملك ابن الصليبيكي و كذلك مدينة الجند و اعمالها و كذلك ثالثة

3 Read أحمد
4 ?
1 Khi, مار جميع ذلك اليه
2 Om. Khi.
تحقيق البغدادي

زحفاً يقتل منهم ما يقتل ونائم الجيوب حتى أكلوا المدينة من شدة البلاء، ثم استنجدوا بالشرف النزيل، ثم الرسول أحمد بن سليمان صاحب صدعة فاتجهما طمعاً في الملوك، وشرطاً له أن يملكوه، فقتل لهم الشريف إبراهيم بن جياع ومرجان، ولبي عبد الله الحسين ابن سلمة ومساندها ابن سلمة، وعلى رشد الزعام، ورشد مولى * زياد ابن أبى أحمد بن * زياد فقتلوه في شهر سنة ثلاث وخمسين، ثم عجز الشريف عن نصرهم على ابن مهدي وجعل بينهم بعد ذلك وبي ابن مهدي مصافَ لِيتَحصنوا ومنه بالمدينة إلى أن كان فتحة لها، وزوال دولتهم واستقرار بدار الملك في يوم الجمعة الرابع عشر من رجب سنة أربع وأربعين وخمسين، وأقام على بني مهدي بقية رجب وشعبان ورمضان، ومات في شوال من السنة فكانت مدَّة ملكه شهرين واثنين وعشرين يومًا، ثم انتقل الأئمة إلى ولادة العهد ثم إلى ولادة النبي، وخلع ثم إلى ولادة عبد الله ثم عادت إلى عبد النبي كرمة ثانية والأمر اليوم في اليمن بأسرة اليه ما عدا عن فان اهلها هادئة عليها بمال في كل سنة واجتمع لهذا عبد النبي ملل الجبال وتمائم وانتقل اليه ملل جميع ملل اليمن وذخارها وحدثنَه محمد بن علي من أهل ذي جبلة أنه حصل في خزائن ابن مهدي ملل خمس

Om. زياد بن أبى أحمد بن
Om. محمد بن
Read ابى أحمد بن محمد بن زياد
Khi. على مولاه وهم عبد فاتك
Read و خياط
للفقهية نجم الدين عمارة اليعني

أثناء جميع أهل البوادي وقطع الحريت وقوافل وكان يؤمر أصحابه
أن يسويوا الاعمال والرقائق وما عجز عن المسير عقودا ففعلوا من
ذلك ما أرغب وارحب وقضي جرائ الأعمال ثم لقيت هذا
على باء مهدى عند الداعى محمد بن سيب صاحب عدن بمدينة
في جزيرة سنة تسع واربعين يستأجدها على أهل زبيد فلم يلته
الداعى إلى ذلك وعرس 1 صحبته وعقد لى ان يقدّم في على كل
أحد من أصحابنا ولمّا عاد ابن مهدى من فذ جزيرة سنة تسع إلى
حص الشرف دبّر على 3 القائد سرور الفتني فقتل في رجب سنة
أحدى وخمسين وخمسين وقناصا وكان معنأ أوان ابن مهدى على
اهل زبيد أشتغال بوسئيا بالتناقص والتحسان على رتبة 4 القائد
سرور فتح على الديرة 5 بعدة أبواب الشر المسدود وأنزل عقدها
المشدود وفرق ابن مهدى حص الشرف و هبط إلى الداخير بينه
و بين زبيد اقل من نصف يوم وتقرب الرعايا إليه و عرب البلد هم
كأنوا رعايا الجبالة وكان الرجل من أصحابه ابن مهدى يلقى اخاه
او قربه وهو 7 مع الجبالة اما مزارع واّما جعلل واّما راعي مشرف
اهم فيفسدوه ولم يزل 6 الأمر كذلك حتى زحف ابن مهدى ليهم إلى
باب المدينة في عوالم لا تقصى و حدثنا غير واحد من أهل اليمين
معن ادرك 8 الحصار في زبيد قالوا لم تصر أمة على الحصار و القتال ما
صبب أقبل زبيد و ذلك انهم قالتوا ابن مهدى اثنين و سبعين

6 كه، هم الذين
7 كه، ممن
8 أدرك
9 كه، عليه
1 كه، على
2 كه، واربعين
3 كه، على قتل
4 كه، مرتة
5 كه، على اهل الديرة
تأريخ اليمن

بالسكن اليا١ و سمّاهم الانصار و سمّى كل مم صعد من تباهية المهاجرين ثم ساء ظله بكل أحد معي هو في صحبته خوفا منهم على نفسه فاقد الانصار رجلا من خولن يسمى سبا بن يوسف١ و كذا ب цифр الإسلام و للمهاجرين رجلا٢ يسمى النوبي٣ نعهه أيضا بشريح الإسلام و جعلهما نقيبين على الطائفتين فثار يخاطبه و لا يصل اليه سواء و رجّا احتسب فلا يرونه و هم يتصرون في الغزو فلم يزل يغادى الغزوات و يراوحيا على اهل تباهية حتى أكرح الحدود المصاحبة للجبال و الجبهة يومئذ تنعى بالمحمول في المراكز فلا يغفر شئا لوجرة كثيرة منهم ان الموضوع الذي هو حسن الشرف حسن منيف بنفسه و زفعة خولن و منها ان الإنسان إذا أراد أن يصل إلى حسن الشرف مشى في واد ضيق بين جبالين مسافة يوم كامل او بعض يوم فإذا وصل إلى أهل الجبال الذي فيه الحص احتاج في طلب الفنيدق إلى نصف يوم حتى يقطع العقبة ومنها ان الوداع يتصل مسيلة من تباهية بخارج٤ ظليمة اذا كرنك فيها الجيوب العظيمة الجارية شهرا لم يعلم بها أحد و كانت ناريا ابني مهدى اذا غارت على بعض أعمال تباهية و نهبت و احرقته و ادركها النجهر تعدل الى الجبال الذي في الوداع الذي فيه الخراج فمكنك في فل يوصل اليها و لا يقدر عليها ولم يزل ذلك من فعله مع اهل زبيد الى ان

٤ Khi, I. Wardi II., 61
٥ Khi, التوبيت
٦ Khi, اللوازي
٧ Khi, تتعت الآزال
٨ Khi, بشعب
٩ Khi, اخنرات
١٠ Khi, كمكنت في بعض تلك الشعاع

١١ يقال له الداشر لبث به مدة ثم
١٢ ارتفع عنه إلى حسن يقال له الشرف
١٣ لعاب من خولن يقال لههم حيات
١٤ حافاتهم و سماهم
١٥ Khi, محمد
١٦ Khi, من العروائيين
لفقيتة نجم الدين عمارة اليعمي

فلما استعمل أمرة انقطعت عنه خروفا من أهل زبيد ولم ينزل من سنة إحدى وثلاثين وعظ الناس في البلد فذا دنا موسم سنة خرج حاجا على نجيب إلى سنة ست وثلاثين ثم اطلقته أمرها عم فان الله بن مرزوق له ولاحوزته وأصباره ثم لمس يلون به خرج امكائه فللم تغض بهم هيئة حتى أثروا واتسعهم بهم الجبال وركبو الخيل فكاناً كما قال المتنبي

فكاناً نتاجت قليما تحكمهم وانصروا بالله على صيرائها

ثمأتي بقوم من أهل الجبال حالفوا على النصرة فخرج اليوم سنة ثمان وثلاثين وجمع جموعا تبلغ اربعين ألفا وقصد بهم مدينة الكردا فلقاء القائد أسسق بن مرزوق السجزري في قومه فيزروا اصحابه وقتلوا خلقا من جموعه وخفوا عن أكثرهم وعاد ابن مهدي إلى الجبال فأقام بها سنة أحدى واربعين ثم كانت إلى زبيد وسألها في دمه لما كله وعمر يلون به وعوز إلى وفاته ففعلت الجيرة له ذلك على كورة من أهل دولته ومن فتيانه عشرة لبيضت الله أمرها كان مفعولا واقام على ابن مهدي يستغل إمكائه عدة سنين وجي مطلقة من الخراج واجتمع له من ذلك المال جزيل وكان يقول في وظيفته إيها الناس دنا الوقت أرز النور كأنتم بما أقر لكم وقد ربتروا عيانا فما هو إلا أن ستما جرة في سنة خمس وأربعين حتى أصبح في الجبال في وضع يقال له الشرف من بلد خولان ثم ارتفع منه إلى حصن يقال له الشرف وهو لوط من خولان يقال لهم بنو حيران

Khi, مروان 1 1
J. and Khi, بها إلى سنة 2

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ذكر خروج علي بن مهدي باليمين

اذكر على بن مهدي باليمن هذا فصل اشierz فيه الى جمل من بدايته وشايته

ذكر خروج علي بن مهدي باليمن

أثما نسبه فين حميدي وأثما اسمه فعنى بن مهدي من أهل قرية يقال لها العبدة من ساحل زبيد كان ابنا رجلا صالحا سلما القلب ونشأ واده على بن مهدي هذا على طريقة ابيه في العزلة واسمات
والصلة ثم حم وزار ولقي حاج العربة والمجاهد واطلقه الفحير من معارفهم وعاد إلى اليمن دعى لكن 2 أظهر الوصي واطلق التحذير من حلب للقامة في خروج الجسم بين عينيه سجدة 4 حسن الصوت طبيب الفعمة خلو الابن غزير الخفظات فاتما بالوعة وتفسير وطريقة الصوفية 5 اتم قيم وكان يتحدث بشيء من احواله المستقبليات فقصد من ذلك من قرب عدد في استمالة قلب العلم وظهر امرة ساحل زبيد بقرية العبدة وقرية واسط وقرية القصب وساحل عبير وساحل القارة. 6 كان يقتله حينها وكانت عبرته لا ترى 8 على معي الوتقات وكان يبعث منقطعا اليه مالكما له في أكثر الوتقات سنة ثلم والدى انى تركت الناقة ووى وسعته بعض فصيح من بلدة مسنا حتى اخذني من عدةه وعادنني الى المدرسة زبيد وكمت ازوره في كل شهر زورة

I. And Khi om. حميته و عزته.
2. Khi, عزته.
3. J. و متي استدعى إلى مجلس الخاكم.
4. J. كم لما فعل إليه ابنه وان كانوا اصاعور.
5. Deest in J. and Khi.
6. ليفتدى به سواء و إلخ.

، و ما يختص بذلك اكبر البغدان و العلماء و التجار دون اصغرهم بل من دعا اجابة و كان المتظم من الرعية ينكر عليه و يفحش له في القول وهو آخر من حميدة و عزة و غضبة و كان يدعى إلى الحكم تبتكر ولا بوكا و يتغدد بين يدي الحكم تواضع لا وضاعة و خولوا لأمر الشرع تحت الطاعة ثم * يعود بعد ركوبه بالغادات فيسلم على السلطان و يستعمل الاستغلال بتدبير الأمور العسكرية إلى وقت الغدا ثم يخرج إلى المسجد في زوال النُش فلما يشغِّل بشيء سوى المسندات الجميدة عن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم إلى صالة العصر ثم يدخل داره و يخرج قبلا المغرب إلى المسجد فذا على المغرب تنتظر الفقها بين يديه إلى العشاء الأخيرة و رّبما تطول المراة في بعض الليالي و ركب جمانا و أخذ وصيفا واحدا بين يديه حتى يجمع بالمكة للمشورة و لم يزل هذا حاله من سنة تسع وعشرين و خمسة. لى أن قتل في مسجد هذه رجعة الله بن يزيد في الرزعة الثالثة من صلاة العصر يوم الجمعه الذي عشر من رجب قتله رجل يقال له حجر من اصحاب علي بن مهدى ثم قتل قاتله في تلك العشية بعد ان قتل جماعة من الناس ولم تلبث الدولة بعد قتله الا بيسيرا حتى أرسلها على ابن مهدى وملك زبيد و أعمالها في سنة أربع و خمسين و خمسة: و علی.

7. J. و كان متي عاد بعد الركوب.
8. Khi, في اول زوال.
11. Om. على ٢. ام ٢. Om.
تأريخ اليمن

يأتيها و السرة الثالثة وافية على رأسه حتى يقوم إلى صلعة الظفر فيعود إلى مسجده وهو على باب داره فتجده لا يتجهم من كثرة الناس الذين لا يستطيعون الخروج في لقته.

فصل فيما شاهدت يخط كتبته

واشتقت الصدقات التي يدفعها عند دخوله إلى زبيد للفقهاء والقضاء والمحققين في الحديث وال نحو ولغة علم الكلام والفرع.

انغى عشر السن ففي كل سنة خارج عن صلة العسكرية مع كثيرهم و حكا لعلي بن بكر وغيره ان الهدايا التي يدفعها في كل سنة برمد حواشي السلطان من الجبنات والزمنة و وقفات الخاص عشور الف دينار هذه وصلة خارجة عن إرفاقهم المستقر 4 و حدثني غيرهم ان المجمل من اعماله إلى بيت مائه في كل سنة ستون الف دينار و ان المجمل إلى بيت مولاته الجرحة و حواشيها و ترابيها و من يلز بيا على جبة الهدية خمسة عشر الف دينار

فصل كان الفائز أبو محمد سور الفاتكاني رجعه الله يخرج إلى مسجده.

بعد نصف الليل أو ثلاثة كان أعلم الناس جميعا بال.car * و باً

ويقول أنا أخرج في هذا الوقت لعل أحدا من أهل البديعات وأرباب السطر لا يقدر على الوصول إلى عندى بالنيار إلا لكثره الناس أو لفرط الحياه فذا صدى الصنع ركب اما الى فقيه يزول أو مريض يعدعه أو صبية * مية يحضرها أو ولاية أو عقد نكاح

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6 J. خمسة
7 Om. J.
8 J. and Khi، انا
9 J. and Khi، أو ميت
10 Khi، يحضر دفته
11 يشهد J.
لفقهية نجم الدين عمارة اليماني

و تشاعب الجماعة و تشاعب الأمير غانم بن يحيى الحسني و دولته ظاهرة وكان هذا النقد مقيماً في زبيد من هلال ذي التعدة إلى آخر يوم من شعبان ثم يخرج من زبيد فيصوم رمضان في المهجم و يصلح احوال تلك الاعمال و تقتبع نفقاته و صلاته في شهر رمضان حتى قال لى الشيخ عبد بن جبر وزيرة كانت وظيفة مطابقة مدة شهر رمضان في كل يوم ألف دينار وكنت اشتهده عادة سنين.

أما جاء من المهجم يريد زبيد احتفل الناس بالخروج للذئب على اختلاف طلباتهم و يقف الناس على كل عال فوال طائفه تسلم عليه الفقهاء المالكيه و الجعفريه و الشافعية و كان يترجل لهم و لا يترجل لحاد قبلهم ولا بعدهم ثم ينصرون و ييمن. بعدهم التجار فإذا انصرفوا جاءت العسكرة أفواجها و إذا دخل المدينة و قضى حق السلم على السلطان قضى إلى دار دولته الجزيرة فإذا دخل عليها انفص الناس من عددها الصغير و الكبير ولا يبقى عندها الا غزل جارية وهي أخت زوجته و جارية بولاها منصور بن فاتت و هؤلاء النساء يعيشون في الخبير على نفسته و ينشبون في الصلاح بإفعالها فإذا وصل إليها نزلت عن سريرها اكراماً له منها و تجلياً 1 لقدرها وقالت له انت ياهمد وربنا بل مولانا بل رجلنا الذي لا يحل لنا ان نخرج عن طاعةتك في شيء فرخ. بالله و بين يديها و يفر خده بالضر إلى ان تتولى رفعه بيدها عن الأرض ثم تستأنف النساء. 2 في طرف الجبل غير بعيد بجيت يفضي إليها بما حسن عبدة ان فعله من التدبير في تلك السنة من ولاية و عزل و انعام. 3

2 بعجلة.

3 Blank in MS., Khi. 

و قيل ثم

N

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تأريخ اليمين

من البزعة ثم اللقت الفاس فكانت الدائرة على ضفائر وغمام وس
معيماً وتضاعف حظ القائد سرور في نفس الموالف والمعتالف و
قبل ذلك ما كان من خروج الوزير مفطط طالما لعدن إلى أن حصل
من زبيد على نصف مرحلة وثار محمد بن فاتك بن جياس في
زبيد حين خلت من العسكر وملك. 3 هذا محمد بن فاتك دار
الامارة 3 وقف القرار بين يدي فاضت البلد عليه بالتفانية وزبر
منصور بن الوزير من الله الفاتكى واستعشت السرية وبلدها بعد
الدار ونرى أحد إلى القائد سرور وهو في ساحة العسكر فانتهى راجع
و تسوى العصا ودخل المدينة ونادي إلى مولاته من خلف دار
الملك ارطوا إلى الجبل اذا فلان ورفعت والاستاذين والنساء بأجلب
حتى وصل إلى مولاته فسلم عليها وسكن روتها وقال هذه العساكر
خلفى متواصلة ثم اخذ مائة جارية وخمسين اسداً فالسبهم زر
الرجال من الدروع والسلاح وقُتح الطيقان، 4 وصاح الجميع صيحة
واحدة يا فاتك بن منصور هذا وسهد بن فاتك جلس على سرير
تحت طيقان الدار وان 5 القائد روى بكيفر لم يخط وجه محمد بن
فاتك فهيمنت وجهة عند تلك الصيحة العظيمة فاتهم هو ووزير
في تلك الساعة وسمن معهما وخرجوا من باب البلد ليلة ولم يصل
العسكر الى البلد إلا في الظاهر من صبيحة تلك الليلة فذئب بعض
المتقاطعات الموجودة لتتم سرور على كافة أهل الدولة ثم ولى المعجم
و هو كريس مملك كبير ثم تشابث العرب وبنو عمران وبنو زل
للقيقة نجم الدين عمارة اليمني

الاثير و استغفى به عن الزعة وكان الزمام الناظر 1 يعتذر وهو 2 الشيع
وابحول الى الدين والتخلي للعبادة فذا عتبى على 3 الذي قال القائد أبو حمود سرور وهو صاحب الفارس والنهب على وا على مولاننا وليس يخرج عن انور وهو اهل أن يتقلى أمر
الناس في الشوائب والعقاب والهل والعقد وترقيت الجبال بسروه 4 حتى اخرج الوزير مفصول من زبيد ولم ينزل سرور يحارب فلمه حتى
مات مفصول في الجبال بعد أن جرت بينهم وقائع يحور في كل
واحدة منها العدد الكثير من الفريقين و كانت الزيادة والدولة
لسرو والشهاب الشيخ عبد العظيم بن اسمعيل وكان كاتب القائد
سرو ووزيرة 7 قال الذكر وقد سار الامير الشريف غانم بن يحيى
الحسن في نصرة الوزير مفصول على سرور ومع غانم الفارس ومن
الرجال عشرة الف و اضاف ذلك الى عسكر مفصول واصفمت اليهوا
من العرب بنو اسمعيل وهم احلاف الخيل و فرسان الليل و بنو
عميان و بنو زيل و بنو حرام و الكهدين في ضوم و زحفوا الينا
و نحن في عدد كثير 8 وقد كتب القائد سرور الى اهل زبيد يسตน
الناس وكانت الوفعة على المهج 10 و بعدها من زبيد ثلاثة أيام قال
فقدت للقائد من هذا تبور و آنما نحن في هؤلاء كقطرة في اليحم
أو لقعة في القمة فقول أمسك علينا لن تخلى ان المرت عندي اهون

6 Khi, D. ولا الدولة
7 Khi, D. وزيرة
8 Khi, مشعل
9 جمع
10 Khi, يسير

1 J. زمام الدار.
2 Khi om.; J. om. وهو
3 J. and Khi om.
4 J. and Khi, وعلىكم وعلى
5 Khi, وليس ش
6 Khi, نبأكم.
تَأْرِيْخ الْعَيْن

7 إلـى عبيد بن بحر،وزير القائد. سأرر الآلـؤت عقدتـك، بعد فـرد،
حـمير قالت فكـيف ذلـك قال أن أم عمرو وردة ساحطة، عليه
و اقتست لا تكلمته، و لا تآث كلها في الدخـول عليه، حتى يأتي إبراهيم.
و هو الشيخ حمـير بن اسعد قال مسلم، و لما كان كل ذلك الليلة، دعى
إلى مجلس فيه سرا و فناء، وطيب فليسنا، و إذا القايد قد طلـب
علينا ف설منا عليه. ثم سمعنا من خلف الستارة، جلبة و حرس على
لم يكن و إذا هي وردة اصل حمـير بينها، و بين القائد نجهته للفتـي،
له فوقع في قلب من تعجيز القايد، سرور، وضعف عزيته، بعض ما يقع.
فكأنه توـحى بما في نفسه، فاقترب عليها، قول الشاعر:

َّحْنَ قُمْ ذِيـبـنا الحـدـق النـجل، مِـع أَنـّا نذـيب الـحـدـيد.
و مـن عـبيد فاتـل من جعلـت ذكره خانمهم، و أُخـرتـه، و ان كان
امامهم، و هو القايد، النجل، يـو حـمد سـرور، الحرة الفانكـي. و جنـسة من
الجبـشة، الحرة، و كلما اوردة، عند، نفظة من حـكر، فضلة، فـن، مبادية، امـرة
أن منصور، بن فاتـل من قـايد، الوزير، انيسا، و ابتاع من ورثة الجرّة،
الصالحة حرة زبيد، الجماـة، وأستولدها، و لا، سمـه، فاتـا، بن منصور،
ابناء الصفر التي، الجبة، و إلى، صغارا، كان هذا سرور، احدهم و ربي.
في حـجرها، ولم يثبت أن تزهر، و برغ و لونه. زم، المعالميك و صرفت
اليه الرياسة على كل من، في القصر، نساد، و سد، و ليين، و شد، ثم
ولى. العرافة على طائفة من الجند فعلهم، بالاحساس والصفع، عليهم، ثم
ترّقت به الجهل إلى ان، و على الخطابه، بين السلطان و بين الوزراء.

1 J. אליאש. זל. אליאש.

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لفقاتية نجم الدين عماره اليمني

و لما ساء موالى في الجبال بعض الكرش او مكرشة خطابي الوزير
اقبال و القياد سرو و القياد اسحق بن مروق و القياد علي بن مسعود
صاحب حيسم فبعث رسل كل واحد منهم و عدا جميل و شاوري
و مالى منصور بن موارى مكمل في رسائل القوم فشار سنور و قال
استقيرى بشورة الشيخ حميم بن اسعد قالت فاستذكرت من تهامة
إلى الجبال فقال انا على بن مسعود فعدة تسعون سربه و اربع زوجات
و امام أقاب بن عبد بن مروق فنعدة ثم هو ساعد ناحر و ترية التجار و نجبا
منصور بين عينيه الى هذه الغاية و اما القائد اسحق بن مروق فنعدة
ابنها عريق ثم ولدا فرح و عنده ابنة عمها احول وكما تعمى بارض
تياز مولى و لكن اشتر عليكم بالقياد أبو سنور السور الفاتكونائي
واعش المقصود ثم هو ترية المطال فالت الفاتكة من
فالت بن منصور قال رجل مشغول على الدنيا و عن النساء و النسوم بالنظر في عيان
المور فلم ازل به حتى حلته و تدربته في عشيرة حتى سلمته
وكان على خشونته و يبسه و هبدمته و انتباث جوابية هذه لا يخفى
فليما أرح و اذا غضبت عليه كان يفرق الجيرة و دليل ذلك
ما حدثني به الشيخ مسلم بن شبشب و الامير الشريف غانم بن
يحيى السوسي قال قدتمت من بلادى رسولا الى القائد سرو السور الفاتكو
في عقد هدوتو بينا و بينه فقال لي وريدة عبد بن جبريل قدوسة
تقدم او تأخر فالت الصدف من الحندي مشغول خاطرة فاتمت يومين
 او ثلاثة أيام و اما لم اجتمع بالقياد قدم علينا حميم بن اسعد فقال

فشار رسل

لا مذئة

القياد

تم عدد ناجية وهي من ترية

أخملته لله
تأريخ اليمن

و عُمر و زرع و هم الفرسان و الأجانس فاستثمار حصنها ليهم يقضال لدبلس و ببنة وبين المعهم نصف يوم أو دونه فنشّت الغارات على أعمال المعهم فكتب الأمير الشريف غانم بن يحيى السليماني ثم الجسي و هو يُوَيَّد ملأى خلاف بين طرف و اشتُرّت ملح الشريف و لبْغى عمّه استناد إليه نفهم المستقرة لصاحب زبيد على غانم في كل سنة و مبلغها ستون ألف و ان يضيف لهم ملح إلى ذلك أعمال الواديين و هي واسعة فسار الشريف في الفارس و عشرة الأف راجل ناصرا لمحل على أهل زبيد فلقيهم الفائض سرور فكسر ملأها وكسر الأشراف و كسر العرب على المعهم و خرج إليه من زبيد و هو صميّ فالمجفف تقابل ب أعمال المعهم و ما معه من الأعمال و هو مور الواديين فأستقر سرور فيها و تنا محل إلى حصن الكرش فمات بها سنة تسع و عشرة و خمسين فهماً و أداً منصور بعد ابيه فناوشهم حريباً و اناقه من الشرّ ضرّوا ثم خذته أصحابه و تقلوا عنة و سأله الناس عّض السّين و فراك الوراثة فاستأبن على متي منصور و انزله في دار إبيه فلما كان من العد قبض عليه و قتل ليلاً بدار السّين في آخر الملوك فاتاك ذلك وهم باجباً ثم ابقاها على دخن قال ليء حميم بن اسعد فابطاً مني رسول الوزير اقبال سماً و الله ما علمت لئن هو و رفع على اقبال حتى سقي بولا فاتاكا و الله السّم فناعت فاتاك من متي في شعبان قال فردة جارية الوزير محلع

6 Khi, على يد القائد سرور و دخل
7 معده زبيد و الوزير يوُيَّد اقبال عقل
8 J. السّور
9 Khi, بال الوزير اقبال
10 Khi, سنة 531

D. in Khi.

صاحب خلاف سليمان بن طرف

ستون الف ديبار

فخته

طالع
للقيقه نجم الدين عمارة اليمني

ارسلوا اليه في ذلك امتنع وقال صرف المال إلى أعداء الدولة أولى من هذه الجرائم و لمولانا بالغزل ولزومها كسر بيتها شغل شاغل ولم يزالوا يراجعون في ذلك إلى أن قال مولانا إلى غير هذا جاتحة فانظروا لاه فأنتم يسلبيها قالوا وما هو قال شيء في طول هذا وقبض كفّة وقد ذرهاء فحدث في النفس من هذه الكلمة شرّ لم يستدركه مفلح الا بالدين لا في الحج و تجهيزها بثلاثين الف دينار و تسبيبه ولدة منصور بعدها إلى مكة ثم كان من تدبير سرور على خروج مفلح تسبيبة إلى عدن لممارسة سبأ بن أبي السعو و على ابن أبي الغارت الزربعينين فلما خرج مفلح من زبيد على ليلة ثار محمد بن فاتك في زبيد على الجرّة و ولدها فقضى ذلك برجوع مفلح إلى زبيد ثم دبّ سرور على خروج مفلح أنه كاتب عرب الزعلي و العرواني بالانثقاب على أعمال الهميم و فيها يهضى القائد مسعود الزيدى فقضى ذلك بخروج مفلح إلى المهمم وهي من زبيد على ثلاثة أيام فما هو إلا أن خرج مفلح من زبيد مسيرا ليلة من البلد حتى تسلل الناس عنه و رجعوا إلى المدينة و بقي في خاصّة و توجه إلى جبل برغ و ملثح حق المكرشة و رواج تبامة و غاداه بالغارات و عبيد فاتك تقابل بالمراكز و المساوال ثم انتقل من الحصن و ترك به حرية إلى عرب الهميم و هم بنو مشغل

7 Khi, خاصته
8 Khi, الكرش
9 Khi, روح
10 Khi, يقاتله
11 Deest in Khi.
12 Khi, وسار
13 Khi, مشغل
تأريخ اليمين

زيارة في أول وزارة الشيخ القائد موفق أبو العالى بن الجلود

الديار المصرية فاتحا وصيفا حبشيا برسوم الجادة ثم ذره الوصيف

بسبب غلامة بنيين من الشعر هما

وانت سجع طبق الأرض صوبه وعاقبة عن سكينة احد عوائدة

فان لم تجد هطولات غميدة فلاد منى محقرات مواعقة

فلم يوقف مقلع仕事を اليفين عثر بها وتبث على فضل بع العالى

و استدعي العالم فردّه اليم خمسة خمسة من جنسه ثم استدعي أيام العالى و أمره أن يمد الوزير بقصيدة فعل ذلك ثم احترى اليد

حتى انشده و دفع له خمسمائة دينار و بل كلا من نحو بن مقلع

من عنده بثلاثمائة دينار ثوابا على قصيدة أخرى مدحه بها و حمله إلى مكة حسبا الله تعالى و اما احوار مقلع مع العسكر فإن قصر الملك

فائت من منصور نشأت به وجد من عبيد الحرمة الملكة أم فائت بن

منصور وهم عما و رحبان و يعس و عزر و رحبان الأكبر هؤلاء الزوجة

العيان الكبير وهم الفجول اقبال ومسرور ودارا و سرور و هو أمير الفرنسيين

مكانة و عنى و كان هؤلاء الجماعة هم الذين يتلمذون على لسان

السلطان وصار الوزير في أمور السلطان 8 اجنبيا معهم و عظم بهم جانب

الحرة و استعملوا كثيرا من الفرس و الراجل ثم دبروا حيلة يخرجون

يها مفاجآ من زبيد فقال لهم سرور ما عندكم حيلة احس من

مطابقة على حق مولتنا الى مكة وتجيهزها بثلاثين الف دينار ففعل

9 Khi and D., عن غير
10 Khi, إقبال وبرهان وسرور ودار
7 Khi, غنا 8
8 Khi, السلطنة
1 D. البث
2 Khi, فهرب الوصيف وعُلَق الع
3 Khi, المواعيد [see note 86.
4 Khi, الصواب
للفقه الطبية

لم تجمع الدين عمارة اليمن

سواء وردت وها روحًا فإن كانت تصلح لها نزلت عنها و أن 1 اموت قلنت إن قبليا فهي مما تصلح له قال فاستدعت معي فيها فإن قبليا فلقت عندي ألف دينار ثم أمرنا باحضارها عاشرة عشر فقبلنا به الوزير ثم اندفعنا يغذّنا بين يديه مكشوفات الرجوة و اوصيت الوزير أن يحضر على وردة ويستحسن غيرها ففعل ذلك مما توى عزيمة

مولها في قبليا منه فلا سكر إثمان و نام و سكر النسوة الأ وردة فلني كنت أريد صحدها قمت إلى المستراح فأستدعت وردة فاتلعتها النقص فقاتت لا أغلب لا في موالى فاستدعت الوزير إلى مجلس ودخلت أنا و وردة عليه نودها و منّها و هممت بالخروج فثبنا فالمستوى وقال لي والله لا يكون هذا أبداً ثم عدانا جميعا إلى المجلس و والله ما ستغينه منها و لا سكتها يده 3 عند السلام فلما صحا مولها استاذنا في الخروج و كان 4 عند العشاء الأخرى فلم تخرج النور تابينا فأنصحت 5 فبعث عليه اللوف الدينار التي كان يدفعها الى و سألته في ضيعة ذوول و انا الوزير فاحضرني ليلة و خلع على وقال ان بينك وردة أقسمت على لا دوّنت منها حتى تركي حميرا لما الذي يرضيك قلت ضيعة العباد لما فيها من زروع وما لما 6 عن ابصار فوقع لي بها و هي الضيعة التي لا ضيعة على 7 مالكها و نعود إلى اخبار الوزير مفلم فمنها ما حدث إلى به الشيخ أبو الطالب جيالس بن اسماعيل ابن اليوه قال قدم علينا إلى

5 Khi, ولوا اغلم
6 Khi, ما فيها
7 Khi, على من
8 Deest in Khi.
تأريخ البيمي

عثمان ان يطلق في الليل على الوزير، يركب إلى الدار، ويقول
ضيف يشتهي أن يتشرّف بالسماع و الشراب، فلما أمسى، و أنعل
عثمان إلى النبا اشترى على الوزير، يخرج المغاني، ويشتكي الساميات.
عليها ففعل ذلك، و وعد الوزير أنه في غد ضيف
فجمل إلى عثمان
في تلك الليلة مالاً جريلاً، و عدنا من الكروب من دار مولانا.
دار
عثمان فوجدنا اسمع ياسع عددات في واحد ثلاث، خربخ مشاوية.
و ثلاثين جاماً من الجزيرة، و اما الذي جلس عليه الوزير فكان في
طول قاعة البستان الذي لعثمان، وهي خمسون ذراعاً، فلما رأى الوزير
ذلك ابتعت حسناً، لعثمان على حفته، و سرعتها، ما تأتي له ناقة
الاسمع، وكانت أربعة ثم فرق عثمان على حواشي الوزير
* خمسة
خروف و انبوب العسكري تلك اسمعوا، و فرق على حواشي الوزير
ثلاثة ابهرة صوره، تصلة قنطور، ثم انثلنا إلى مجلس الوزير، و كنا
سبعة لفم انصرفنا قلت لعثمان أنّه بيضاء لا عقل للذين
ابنا ذات تلك، أو شرب ما اقتصر همّته، و أعدي بصري التال، ندبّي.
قلت أعرض على ما عندك فذكر الجليل، و العدد، و الجمال، و اللطائف،
و الذخائر فاظهرت له في كل شيء تقيصة، و ضججته عليه قال بما ترى
قلت أنظر هديّة، لا تخبر في الجنزاء، و لا تغيب عن عينه، فإن
المقتصد أن يكون يذكره بديعة فلما

1 Khi, 2 المغاني
2 Khi, 3 ان يكون ضيف في غد
3 Khi, 4 و لا عدنا من الكروب إلى;
4 Khi, 5 دار السلطان سرا إلى دار عثمان
5 Khi, 6 Deest in Khi.

غداً

12 Khi, 11 يذكره بديعة فلما
6 Khi, 10 انظر هديّة، لا تخبر في الجنزاء، و لا تغيب عن عينه، فإن
7 Khi, 9 انظر هديّة، لا تخبر في الجنزاء، و لا تغيب عن عينه، فإن
8 Khi, 8 انظر هديّة، لا تخبر في الجنزاء، و لا تغيب عن عينه، فإن
9 Khi, 7 انظر هديّة، لا تخبر في الجنزاء، و لا تغيب عن عينه، فإن
10 Khi, 6 انظر هديّة، لا تخبر في الجنزاء، و لا تغيب عن عينه، فإن
11 Khi, 5 انظر هديّة، لا تخبر في الجنزاء، و لا تغيب عن عينه، فإن
12 Khi, 11 يذكره بديعة فلما

غداً
للفقيه نجم الدين عمارة اليميني

1. حاشد بن بنت هذا الشجر في بقعة من الأرض لبيت هناك إلا
2. يهم وهي من حصونهم وهم يحتفظون بها كما يحتفظ بالديار المصرية
3. بالشجر الذي فيه دهي البلسان 3 وافٍ و كل من مات من بنى
4. نجاب ووزرائهم فعن حمير بن اسعد حتى كانوا إذا نادموا
5. قالوا له يا بابسنا 5 ذاك ونشهر ونخت في حبشة فنجات
6. تهم وكان حاو المجاعرة كثير المحتفظات حسن الذارة كثير البذل
7. في ذات الله وفي سبيل المعروف يترسّب بين الحلوت من الجبيصة
8. في رفع الجبل ويوت الجبل ثم سكن الكدرة عند القعد استحق بن
9. مرزوق السجيري فاركه وخلطة بنفسه وبيما من السنة ثلاث وخمسين
10. وقد جاور السبعين وكان ينزل عندي إذا دخل زبيد و عند غير
11. من ادقاته، ولم يكن بآلهة هذا السبب يسرسل معى قال
12. حمير فلما أخذت النشوء من عثمان، أمزكها قال لي كنت حرضا
13. على لقائت طمعا في صالح احوالنا مع هذا العباد الطائي وتركنا
14. على اقطاعنا وان لا يشا التي لم يشهدها في أيامه و ليس انướiت
15. نعم مع ما فيه من الانجاح وان الكبر حسن الباطن قربنا الرجوع
16. وانا اجتهد في غير ان شا الله تعالى إذا عاد من الصباح على مولانا
17. ان نظل صنعا عندك وانا انعم اننا اذا أكل طعامك وشرابك
18. وانتى له حريرتك 10 استحكي منه كخبل وعاد عما في نفسه
19. فكان عثمان ان يظير فرحنا ولم يصدق ان الوزير وزيرة 11 واترى على

7 Khi
8 ان يطيب
9 Khi, شرب شرابك
10 Khi, جوزك
11 Khi, زورك

لا ينت
اللأ في
البلسان
يرب
ما يبا نيا?
أسطدتها
تأريخ اليمن

و أربعين إلى سنة أربع و عشرين و خمس عشرة فترات الغرور و حسنات
حتى و تجلها و رياستهم تنتهى إلى شاة و إلى طيطاس و هذا عثمان
ثم مات الأثنان و بقي عثمان هذا ولم يبق في الفرر المياء فارس
شيوخ و أما أولادهم المولودون بزبيد فلم يقلحوا ولا جاء منهم بأسر
يتقى و لا يعرف برتجى قال الشيخ حمير بن اسعد كاتب الوزير
فقرر في خيلة انتقل بها إلى غرفة فوجدتها وهي التي قلته الوزير
بأمر ينطغى قسمة الأعمال القديمة فإن الرجال التي كانت تنفث
مات و تجمعت الاقتراح الجيدة في أيدي أولادهم الذين لا ينفعوا
و تصلب في ذلك و تقدم على الناس بالغشود 2 من الأعمال إلى
زبيد و تنقل يومين إلى عملين آخرين 3 قال حمير فلما فعل ذلك
الوزير ضاق الأمر على جمعة من الداخلية و لا كفيته على عثمان
الغربي فان اموال الغربي الذين سئوا من رفافته صارت إليه فلما كان عثمان
ان يخرج من زبيد فيهم معه من قراءة و يشقيه العصا دخلت اليه
و شربت عندئذ و غنّت له وردة و غيرها بعده عنده ولم يكن أحد
من أهل تهامة يحبص عن حمير لا مغنية ولا أم ولد لان أكثر سرايهم
وجمليهم من تحريج و ترتيبه في داره و خدم جمعة من ملوك
الجبال ثم نزل إلى تهامة فاختص بصحبة أحمد بن مسعود بن فرح
المؤمن صاحب حيس ثم كتب بعدة للشيخ من الله الفاتكى ثم
كتب للشيخ ابن منصور مخلل الفاتكى و من عند حمير هذا يبناح
السم الذي يقتل به الملوك لن له الخروج و اعمهما في بلاد بكيل

2 Khl, بالحشورة
3 Khl, كت قوم إلى عمل اخر غير عمالهم
1 Khl, وكانت رياستهم تنتهى إلى
كلا نفوف وهم سولى و طيطاس
وعثمان هذا
للقيقية نجم الدين عماره اليمني

سبب ما اسمحا كل حين في غناء وردة جارية الأمير عثمان الغربي

يوصف ١ لي من جمالها ولقد اشتدت على ابواب الحيلة في

حصيلها عندى قبلت أن كن ترديها سفاحها بذلت وسعى في

خدمة الوزير فقال والله ما عصيت الله تعالى بفرحى فلم يبلغ

نلت نيكم يسترشدا الوزير قال بكل ما يقترب ملولا وكان ملولا إماما

جليلًا كبير القدر له واجهته ومنزرة في الدولة ثم هو مقدم الغر

 الذين استدعهم الملك جيُبَال التجارية ٣ سبا بن أحمد الصليبي

وعثمان هذا اميرهم وشبيههم وهم إمامة فارس رفآ، وبهم امتعت

دولة السبحة عن العرب وكان الملك جيُبَال استدعى منهم ثلاثة

الف قوس فلما قلت عن مكة منهم الفان إلى زبيد ندم جيُبَال

على رأبه وعلم أنهم يخرجونه من البلد و يستولون عليه فيتقد دراج

على ولاية ٤ الذين أمرهم على الغر بعكة عليهم إلى ٥ أن يطرحوا لهم

السعود فيهما باكونونه ويشرون ويلبسون فعمى منهم بشكثير و خلاص

مهمهم إلى زبيد الف فارس أو دونها فجهز منهم خمسة فئة إلى الجبال

ففتحوا منها هوا ٦ وعلى الجاف و لما حصلوا في نون ٧ صنعا دس علىهم

جيُبَال من قتاتهم بالسم ومرق كلهمة بالجرح و الدمو ٨ و بقيت

عندة بتهامة اربعئة و خمسون فارسا فقتتهم من واسع الأعمال إلى

واد يقال له ذوال و رجيته علق و اشاعرو غرضه يوم و طوله من

الجبل إلى البحر يمياو أو دونهما و بينه وبين مدينة زبيد يوم واحد

و لم يزل الغرب يستاؤون خراج هذا الوادي من سنة ست و ثمانين

١ Khi, وما يوصف
٢ Khi, امبرا
٣ لجارية
٤ الولاة
٥ Om, عليهم إلى
٦ ما ؟
٧ كور ؟
٨ الآخوال ؟
تأريخ اليمن

فإن نقلة من الرحل إلى الوراق إلى أن صارت لهم الفريضة جميعًا، ولم يدرج من هنالك حتى قسم المال بين الفقهاء، والملزمين، ورجع إلى مدنهم فلم يأتهم في القبضة العضوية فقال استغفر الله يا ولدي قد كنت اكذب من يقول إنه رأى خالدة دينار ثم دفع المال إلى وقال لا حاجة لي به وأنت تكذبين جملته و بالتوجه إلى الله عليهم بعد أن قضى الخمس، و لما دعت الجبهة بربيد بقلم

سنة خمسين قال أم القائد سرور اليس هو صاحب مسألة رزق
والله لا يقتل واما رزق فقد ينال في سياستها لكنه لا يدري
بتم إبراهيم السلطان فلم يلبس في الوزارة بحجة حتى استقال من
الوزارة واستدعى أبي الوزير أبو عوف صحف الفاتكية، وكان غالبًا في الجبال

وزارة مقلع الفاتكية

أما جنسه فبطل من الجبهة يقول أم مهرب، وكان يلقي إياه النصر
ومنصر ولد له و كان منصرف هذا رشيدا من الأعيان، اهل الخبرة
والفقهاء، والأدب، والophysa، والسياحة، والسياحة، والسياسة، الكاملة
وكان الناس يقولون لوكا له نسبه من قريش، كملت له شروط الحلفاء
وكان عبيد فاتك و هم ينبرون مغرما بالبغل، فكان يقال له مفلم
البغل، ولا يغضب، من ذلك و حدثني كتابه، حمیر بن أسعد قال
أنها سمى البغل لأنه كان يدلي آلته مثل ال التي يدليها البغل، وكان مع
ذلك عفيف الذيل لم يعمل له سوء في صغر ولا أكبر قال حمیر ولقد
ذكر بعضا من عفانه، أنه دعا إلى وزير فقال له 4 تنفّد على العيش

3 Khi, ولا أكبر
4 Khi, قد
1 Abi Mnsur
2 Om.
لفقيه نجم الدين عمارة اليمني

ي♪قف بذلك و وثيق به و سكن اليه و ذكرته ليلة و حسن على الجمل
تريشة بني زريق وهو احدى و خمسون نظرا فاندفع فيها كان يحفظها غيما حتى طلع الفجر و لم يأخذني نوم لغرض المسرة بعلمه
ثم قال ان شمت ان تترف السفر هذا اليوم و تقين على هذه البقر
ولم اعلن صلاة الظهر حتى قد جمعت السفرة و عروشات سهما
كل واحد من الرغة على الانفراد فعلت ذلك فذللفت السفرة
مكتوبة بخطه عند الغداء و والله لقد طال ما اجتمع عليها عثمان بن
الصفر و محمد بن علي السهابي و نظرواهما من الفرضيين و ما
منهم إلا يرى ان ابن اللبان من اتباعه في الفراض و الوحيا
و الدور و الجبل و المقابلة و في السببين العظيما كانت تصنع الوزراء
لهما الوالد و يوسعون ايم في الصلاة يفترقون فيها على غير شيء
ولما وصلت الى زبيد اسكنت السفرة في آخر الدار بحق
أحد غيما و كنت بالليل اقرأ عليه الفراض و بالنهاي اقرأ عليه حرف
ابي عمرو بن الولاء في القرآن العظيم و كان فيما يقرأه السراءات
السبع ثم اخذت اكرر المستندة التي لولا زريق إلى ان صرت اخذت
بيا مع نفسها غيما ثم تقدست الى الخان و سور الفاشم فانعشت
عندها معرفتها و هو من اشد الناس حرما على الابتياح من آل زريق
و قال ان سمعت دعوات دفعت لك كذا و كذا الصفها قد أنسنته
فلما صحت احمر المال فدفعه الى الفقيه ابى محمد عبد الله بن
القاسم الابار فهو رأس الشافعي يولد بربيد و عليه تررت المذهب
الشافعي ثم جمع الفقهاء الى قاعات ارتفاعة مفرشة جرح الولاء
و جلس كل فرد يضربون في الولاء ناحية عن غيرهم فانتصع ليم
تسارع اليمين

سره و سملع بنادي به اعترو صاحب الفرس و اما يسقط على
الارض ثم حمل على مملع فضره ضربة على متعد الرديف في فرس
مملع فقَسَمت الفرس نصفين و سقط مملع و ركفت عنه لم شعل
وهم العرب و ابنا كريمة فكان أكثره على الشعراء ولم يكن في زمانه من
يقدر على ما يقدر عليه من الأكل حتى كان يضرب به المثل فكان له
بين ذكور و أبناء ثلثين ولا تُناسِيت فريضة و فريضة من
مات من أولاده ولواهم قبل القسمة فأنشحت و أتسعت حتى لم
يقدر أحد من العلماء على قسمتها و كان الوزير مملع و الوزير اقبال
وزي عصبع و الفاتكينين قد أراد كل منهم أن يبتاع منهم من ورثة
الوزير رضيق أراضى و رباعا فلم يصلوا على ذلك لعدم القدرة على صحة
سهم كل وارت ولم يكن في سنة تسع و ثلاثين وجدت في عدد
شيئاى من أهل حضرموت يسمى أحمد بن محمد الحاسب و كان
حاسبا فرضيا قد جاور التمدن و هو يريد البخّه و كان ذا ضرورة و لم
يمثل منذ خلقته الله علية دانيار و لا يصدق من يقل رايت
الف بديع لأنه كان ناشيا في بلد كندة فيما يلي اليوم فانكسر
مركب في ساحل البحر المجاور فوقع منهم إلى رمل كندة رجل عالم
زايد و هذا الشيخ احمد هو الفرضي فأخذت هذا الفقيه إلى منزله
بعدن فكسوته و أبهرت من كان معه بكرامته و أطعمة و تنظيفته من
فتائل و خضاب لميبه و اطارة بالمنصرا علما حسنت حالة عادلاني
في جمل من عدن إلى زبيد و وجدته إلى احتج به معى و اكفية

3 Khi، 4 Khi، القائد اقبال و القائد مصوص،
الفاتكين
5 Khi، بباع من ورثه،

1 Khi،

اعترو به الفرس يسقط إلى الأرض

3 Khi،

القاد اقبال و القائد مصوص،
الفاتكين
5 Khi، بباع من ورثه،

على متعد الرديف من الفرس فقسَمت
للقيقية نظم الدين عماره اليمنى

لا فاتك ضرورة سواءاً، ولا اراد الله هكذا من الله الفاتك حاول بنت معارك بن جياس وراوها، وكانت موصوفة بالجمال، فانتدبت نفسها منه بارعين بكرا من جوارها فأبي فكشفت أسرة إلى عبيد عمها فاتك وعبد ابن عمها منصور بن فاتك قابودة، ولم يقدروا على شيء.

قالت لهم أم الجهر أم أبي الجيش 1، إذا إكفيكم أسرة، ثم استخرجت ابنة معارك بن جياس من قصرها قصر الأميرة إلى قصرها ثم ارسلت إلى سلالة، فنونها أنوك اسانت السومة على، وتلنيا فيها تقدمت لو كنت اذننتي خدمني، ان خدمة، ولم يعلم بك أحد فرح الوزير بذلك وتبناه السائل بينها وبنها حتى قال فاني ازرك في هذه الليلة إلى دارك منكرن قال لرسولة أن الله قد أجمل قدر الوزير عن ذلك بل أنا أروبة في دار، فلا ممس الليلة جاءت اليه، فغدت لئه وشرب وطرب ومكنته من نفسها زرع عليها، ومسحت ذكرها عند الفراح، فقد فيها سام قاتل فقيراً، وناتس ليلته فافده ولد منصور في أصطبله وسبى به الأرض، فلم يعرف له قبر إلى اليوم، وكانت وفاته ليلة السبت الخامس عشر من جمادى الأولى سنة أربع وعشرين وخمسون، ثم وزر بعدا لفاتك بن منصور رزيق الفاتك 2 وكان شجاعاً كرياً، أيضًا شجاعة، فقال لي محمد بن عبد الله الداني، ثم الحميري، وكان كانب رزبق قال رزيق الفاتك 4 يوم الجمعة، وكان لعفاف على أهل زيد 5، وقد استخرت فيه سبعة ارماح، وهو مضاعف درعين فقصد أكثرها بسيطة واندقة منها درعين وهو ثابت 6 في

1 Khi,  
2 Khi and J.  
3 Khi,  
4 Khi,  
5 Khi,  
6 Khi,
تأريخ اليمن

اجزاء كبير من شعر المجددين المشهورين المشاهيرين وهو الذي
اخترع أحمد بن مسعود الجزلي وملحقه الفاتيكي وكأنه كشيش الكتيبة
وصاحب الهيل والعقد بريد فسدرها خروفة في الجبال كل شرود
وحُرجمهما دانت لله الدنيا وعلمت كلمتهما واما الذي عليه من
اعفائه فانه لما ورث بعد قتل انسى منصور بن فاتي بن جيام
سنة سبع عشرة وخمسات فلم يقدم شيئًا على ان قتل منصوراً مولاة
بالسم وملوك ابنه فاتي بن منصور وهو يومئذ طفل صغير ومات
منصور بن فاتي وابوة فاتي بن جيام وغيرهما من آل نجاح في أكثر
من الف سرية ما فلبن احد مسلم من الوزير من الله إلا عشر نساء
من حظاي منصور بن فاتي ملئ بحر الملكة أم فاتي بن منصور
نفاسها اعتزلت القصر وخرجت خارج المدينة ودنت لها 5 دارا
لا يطرد اليها الوزير بعذر ولا سبب هذا والملك ولدها ولها
حممت العادة بالبعد عن قصر ولدها وكتاب كفاحته إلى عبيد ابنة
الاستاذين ومنه أم ابن الجيام وهي ولدها وكتاب لها بين ابن
منصور بن فاتي وسماه القرص أيضًا أم ابن الجيام بسية هذه
السفينة وكتاب فاتية بالجمال وحس الغفاة وانا ادركنيا و كنت
ادخل إليها وأعد ببين يديها في رسائل كانت تجري بينها وبين
السلطان عبد الله بن اسعد بن زاد الوحاظي لأنه كان تزوَّج بنتها
التي كانت دقته 8 من منصور بن فاتي ومنه القرص رياض
و منه القرص أم ابنها ومنه جناب الكبرى ومنه تغري ولم يك

6 كه، مولادة
7 كه، وكتاب لها بنت من منصور،
8 بن فاتي فهاذا قبل انته نسبة بسب
9 هذه البنت
? الشعراء
1 Khi، الى
2 Khi، على
? عن
? نص
4 تعلم
5 به

لفقيه
نجم الدين عمارة الأيمن

فقالوا بتهاءً إلى أن عمَّن ذكره هذا وبنى داراً
واسعة رمية عرض كل قاعة منها ثلثين ذراعاً وعرض كل مجلس
رابعون وهي قصر واسعة وعمل لنفسه مظلة للركوب وستةُ بابها
وهم أن يبتكت بعودة المنصور فاشتيار الأمر والنهى والتدبير من ندمانة

لمعرفة فاتك في قال على الرأى حتى عمل منصور بن فاتك وتراعهم
لهم وله وليمة فيه قصر الرئاسة واستدعى أنيساً بنيه فلما حصل
في خديافه في الإخطار والع kosوس ومن جملة الوزراء بعد أننيس
هذا الشهير من الله الفاتك وهو الذي سوّر زبيد بعد الجسيمنايب
سلامة وفعالية مستوسنة له وعليه فما الذي له فالكرم البادر والشجاعة
و الهيبة وهو الذي كسر ابن نجيب الدولة على باب زبيد وقتل
من أصيباء صفاء من العرب وثلمة فتنة ارتفو رمالة وخصمتهما أسود
ونه وفقة أخرى مع أصفد بن أبي الفتح وقتل فيها من العرب
ما ينيف على الألف وهو الذي تصدّق على مدارس الفقه الفنفانية
و الشافعية بما أغناه ممن سواهم من الأراضي والمرافقت والرابع
وكان يثيم على المدح ثواباً جزيلاً حتى قال على الفقية أبو عبد
الله محمد بن السباعي رحمة الله عليه وكان يذهب أرائدة الوزير
من الله قال أذكر أنني جلدت مما مدح به القائد الوزير عشرة

بالإتباع
6 Khi, من ذلك في خَرْسَة 518 Khi, ألف رجل

1 Khi, تهامة
2 Khi, وضرب
3 Read الأئمة، ندمانة؟
4 J. and Khi, وقد بلغ مبلغ الرجال
تأريخ اليمن

البلاد عليهم حتى بلغه أن حسن النعكر قد ملكها جماعة من الفقهاء، واستولوا على سلطته لا ينبغيٌّ مثله له أحد ففارق المفضل زبيد لا يبارى على أحد حتى كان ما قدمنا ذكره من قتله نفسه بالسمه، كما نظرت حظاً بين الرجال وهون في المصائب والطوارئ باديئين، وهين يغلغلك ثم أن الأمر استقر لمنصور بن فاتك وعبد الله بن أرءد فتلقاه فاتك الأمر، ومن عبيدته الوزراء فانهم الأمر، فمنهم المنصور بن فاتك ثم فاتك بن المنصور وهو ابن الجهر الصالحة الحاجة ثم لما مات فاتك وولى منصور 3 انتقل الأمر إلى ابن عمه وأسمه أيضاً فاتك ابن منصور بن فاتك 4 ابن جيامش وانتقل الأمر إلى فاتك ابن كمال هذا 6 سنة ثالثة وخمسين وخمسمئة وعِنهم زالت الدولة وانتقلت إلى على بن مهدي الخوارج بل اليمن سنة اربع وخمسين وخمسمئة ولم يكن لواءً فاتك بن جيامش من الأمر، سوى النواحي الظاهرة سوى الخطب لهم بعد بني العباس وسنة الزكر بالعظالة في أيام المواسم وعند الزعماء في جملهم، واما الأمر، والنهى والتدبير والإقامة للحدود واجراء الوفود فلعبدهم الوزراء فهم عبيد فاتك بن جيامش وعبد منصور ابنه وهم وان كانوا حبشاء فنُظم ملوك العرب تقوْتهم في الحسب الا بالنسب ولألفهم الكرم الباهز والعزر الظاهر الجمع بين الرؤساء المشهور، والصنائع المذكورة، وأول من وزر منهم انسس الفاتك، وكان من بن في الجبهة بقال لابن الجزالين وملوك بني نجاح من هذا البطن وكان انسس هذا جباراً غشواً مشهوراً جواذاً له في العرب.

6 Read كمال بن فاتك
7 Khi، ولم يزل إلى أن تقوله عبيد، و
5 Khi، ولم يكن له عقب
1 يعود
2 Khi، علم
3 Read ولد منصور؟
4 Khi،
لفقهية نجم الدين عمارة اليمني

اغناة و إرادة و اما إبرهم بن جبيش فنزل باسعد بن وائل بن
ميسى الهاطب ففعل معه ابن الأركما لم يسبق له أحد وكان
سبب فاتك بن جبيش قد علّمته و كثرت و انشدت شوقتها ثم
مات فاتك بن جبيش سنة ثلاث و خمسين و ترك ولده المنصور
فانطى صغيرا دون البلغ فعملته عبد ابنه و حشد ابنته بن
جبيش بعد موته اخوه فاتك و هبط إلى تبامة فاتقى هو و عبيد
فاتك فتوافقو على قرية يقال أنها
ربيدة بن عمّل فاتك فاستلقو بأبدهم بن جبيش ثار عبد الواحد
بن جبيش ففي زبيد فملكها و حار دار الإمارة و خرج الأستاذون
والوصقان بملوك منصور بن فاتك 3 ادلة من سور البلد لبلا خوفا عليه
من عبد الواحد و لجتمع منصور بعدد إبيه فاتك و تسأل الناس عنه
و وفاته إلى عبد الواحد بن جبيش حين ملكة زبيد و كانت العسكر
تحبب و لم يراه إبرهم بن جبيش ان اخاه عبد الواحد قد سبقه إلى
الأمر و إلى حصون زبيد توجه إلى سليم ابن إبي الحفاظ الجبروي
و هو يرصد بالأمر و بنو إبي الحفاظ منبني جريب بن شراحيل
وهم يعودون إلى همدان و اما عبد فاتك بن جبيش و مولاه المنصور
بة فاتك فانزلوا بالملك المفضل بن أبي البراق الجموسي
صاحب العقد و بالجرة السيدة الملكة بنت أحمد الصليبي بذى
جلبابة فأكرمت امّها ثم المرشدة عبد فاتك المفضل بن أبي
البراق بن بريز البلد على نصرتهم على عبد الواحد بن جبيش فاخرجه
من زبيد و ملكا لهم 4 وهم المفضل ان يقدر بالآلة فاتك و يملك

1 Lac. in MS. Khi, 2 Khi, 3 Khi, 4 4 Lo, 5 Khi, Khi, 

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لا يقتل يا ابا حسان ثم احاس جيّاش اليه و الى اولاده خيرا و سيفاً
بجميع ما ملكت من أهل و قال جيّاش و تسلمت دار الفاتحة
بما فيها صبيحة الليلة التي ولد فيها ولدى فاتحة و جمع ما كان اخباري
هب الحسين ابن سلمة من رجوع الأمر الى عند ولادة أهل الذي كانت
عندي ثم لم يمض شهراً حتى سرت اركب في عشرين ف حرية
من عبيدنا ونبقى عمّنا الذين كانوا مستضعفين في البلاد فسبحان
المعز بعد الذلة و المكرر بعد القلعة ولم يكن من المكرر بعد ذلك
كثير نكية في جيّاش أكثر من غارات على اعمال زبيد و في هذا
الحال يقول الحسين بن الهمّ يخاطب جيّاشا حين قتل قايمي القضاة
الحسين ابن أبي عقيلة
اتفرّد جمّ السكر المكرّر رحمه و تشجب فيهم ليس يحب و لا يعري
و فيه أيضاً من قصيدة يقولها يبنى ذكرها
اختطأت ياجيّاش في قتل الحسن ففقات معتدياً به عين الزوس
ولم يزل جيّاشا مالكاً لفهامة من سنة ثمانين و ثمانين و اربعمائة الى
سنة ثمان و تسعين و اربعمائة ثم مات في ذي الحجة منها و ترك
من الولاة الفاتائح بين الحنافية و منصورا و ابراهيم و عبد الواحد
ذخيرة و معاذ و قتل مات جيّاش سنة خمسين سنة في شهر رمضان
منها و الول اظهر و ولي بعدة ابنه الفاتائح و خالفة عليه اخوه أبديم
بن جيّاش و كان ابديم فارساً جدآ متأنباً فاضلاً و خالفة عليه
ايهما اخوة عبد الواحد بن جيّاش و كان العسكر تحت و تأمنه و جرت
ببهم وتباع و حرب و اقتسمت عبد ابديم عليهم و آلت الحال
الي ان ظفر فاتائح بن جيّاش باخيه عبد الواحد فعض عنده و كره

1 مسافر
2 J. and Khi,
3 باسم وله،

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لفقيه نجم الدين عمارة اليمن

ابوة على سريبر وهو يعلم ولده قال له أبوه أن غلبت الهندى
وقدت على المكرم و السيدة بارتفاع هذا السنة و دفعت لات
الولاية التي يدفعونها لعامل تاجبة وهي الوفى إلى الدنانير فتراخت
له حتى غلبت قضا في التقرب إلى قلب أبيه فظائع الجسيم
من الفرح فمس عليه بلسانه فاحتمله لا يقول يغد يده إلى الحرة التي
كانت على عيني فاختطفها فقام أبوه فقبح عليه و قمت من الغيظ
فغتبت. فقلت اننا جيّاش على جارى عدمي ولم يسمعى سوى
فأبر على إلى القدم خلفي خفيا يتجّر رداً حتى ادركى فاسمكى
فأخذ المسافر فخفى لي بما طابت به النفس سجلت له وليس
معنا أحد ثم إمر بإخالة دار الآخر بين الصليحي 3 و فرشت وعلقت
ستودا و نقلت الجارية الهندية إليها * الوصاف و الوصاف 4 وما عن
و اثنا و عاقبنا علها إلى ان امسى الليل ثم أدى لى في الانصرف
فدخلت توجدت الجارية قد وضعت 5 بين المغرب و العشا ولدى
الفاقته ثم اتاني على إلى القدم للاقات لكنه لا يخفى على اسعد
بن شهاب قلت ان معي في البلد خمسة الف حريه فتى ابن القم
جيّاش قد ملكتك فاستطعت أمر جيّاش فإنى أكرر قائل اسعد
بن شهاب فانى طالما قدر على اهلنا و ذرافنا فعندى عفهم و احسن
اليوم فقال له 7 ابن القم جعل ما تراها فضّرب جيّاش 8 الابواق
و الطبول فثارت معه عامة المدينة و خمسة آلاف من الجبشي و أسر
ابن شهاب فقال له ابن شهاب ما يؤمن منكم يأل نجاح و الاليم
سيّب بين الناس ومنى لا يسأل العفو فقال له جيّاش ومثله

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؟ معون
6 Khi، بين
7 إلى
8 Khi، فارج جيّاش بضرب

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1 See supra.
2 Khi، لم يسمعى إلا الشجع
3 Khi، دار الغز دار الصليحي
4 Khi، حمل إليها وصاف و صفحان
تأريخ اليمن

الشروط فقال له والده ما هذا من يغلبـت الله جيشًا بن نجاح وقد مات في البند ثم خرج على والد الحسين، وهو طبقة عالية فلعبت معه فكرته عليه ١ فخرج الدست مايأع ٢ فاختبى و خلطى نفسه وهو في كل يوم و ليلة يقول عجل الله علينا بكم يالنجاح فذا كان الليل اجتمعت انا والوزير خلف ثم نفرق بالفخار و انا في اثناء ذلككاتب الجيش المتفرقين في العمل و آوهم بالاستعداد قل جيش و حين حصلت حول المدينة خمسة ألف حرية متفرقة في الجارات و داخل البلاد قالت الوزير خلف ان لى عند عمر سليم مالًا فدح منه عشرة آلاف دينار و انفعنا في الرجال الذين قد اجتمعوا ففعل ذلك ثم لقيت الوزير ليلة فقلت له يا مولى القائد اتائي ٣ حسين ابن سلمة في النوم وقال لي يعود الليك الأمر الذي تحاوله ليلة ولادة هذه الجاربة اليمنية ثم التقنت الحسين إلى جانب الامام فقال لرجل معه اليس كذلك يا أمير المؤمنين قال بلي و ببقي المسرف ولد هذا لمولد برحة من الدهر قال جيش و لقد اذكرتما ان ٤ على ابن النماد عاد يومًا من دار السلطان إلى دار وهو مغتاظ فلما سكن غيظه قال لي اسعد يا هندي حتى العاب معاك فلما ان عيننا جاء الجيِّش ابنة فضيب عبدا له بالسوط فالتاني طرفه و انا خاف فاعتبرت ٥ وكانت عادة لي اقولها عند كل مهمن يبغتفي و قلت انا ابوب الطالبي فقال لي الشيخ ما اسماك يا هندي فقلت يبرر فقال بحر والله يعلق ان ي تعالى ابا الطالبي قال جيش و ندمت و ساءت ظنونى بالقوم قال جيش فلما اراد الله رجوع هذا الأمر هذه تلعتبنا انا و الحسين الشاعر ابن النمدم الشطرنج و ليس معنا الا

1. المولى القائد حسين
2. معاً
3. كله
للفقيض نجم الدين عبارة اليمني

ابن أبي طاهر ودخلنا الهند في سنة أحمد وثمانين فاقمنا بها سنة
السيدة والمائة بسنه بعدها قال وسمعه أرفع
ما رأيت في الهند ان الأساسية قدم مع سريديب ولم يتوجه أحد أثناه
لا يعرفه ورغموا أنه تعالى بالخبر المستقلة فسأناها عن حالنا فبشرنا بأمر
لم يخرج من قوله لنا شيئاً واتجربت جاريه هندية فعلقت منى
بالهند ودخلت بها اليه وهي في خمسة عشر وعشر وصلنا إلى
عن فقمنا الوزير خليف إلى زبيد إلى طريق الساحل وامرتنا أن
يشبع مرتا في الهند وان يستأدين لنفسه ويكشف لي عن حقيقة
أحوالنا ومن بقي من قومنا بالجليسة وصعدت الى جبلة فكشفت
أحوال الكراها بن علي وما هو عليه من الخوف على لذته واعتراب
جسمه وتفوض الأمر إلى زوجته المكرمة الملكة السيدة بنت أحمد
ثم انصرفت من الجبال إلى زبيد اجتمعت بالوزير ابن خليف
وأخبرني عن أحوال طابت بها نفسين في أولئك وبني عبدينا
وانتنا في البلاد كثيرون واننا يعدمون رأساً يثورون معه قال جياس
وامطرت على عادة الهند فاخرت شعر وجبي وطبعئت اظفار
وشعرت على الواحدة بفرقة سوداء وكنت قرباً من الدار
السلطانية و اذا افرقت الناس من الصباح قدمت مصطبغة على بن
النجم و هو وزير الوالي من قبل الملك الحكم بن علي فسمعته يقول
يودي والله له وجدت كلاً من آل ناجح لملكته زيبيد و ذلك
لشر الحدث ببنه و بين الوالي اسعد بن شهاب قال جياس و خرج
السيبين بن علي الفقيه الشاعر وهو يمدهم رأس طقة اهل زيبيد في
الشطرنج فقال لي يا هندى تحسن تلعب بالشطرنج فقلت نعم فتلاعنا
فعلتها فكان اني باستطاعاً ثم دخل على أبيه فقال له غلبنت في

^2 Kli على ما

^1 لمن خرج من قوله و
تأريخ اليمن

الجدير أن نذكر على كل شيء قدير ولا ينسى قول الشاعر العثماني

قصيدة و ارجابا في ذلك العظيم يصف الظلمة

ما كان اتقن وحده في ظلها ما كان أحاس راسه في عددها

ثم ارتحل سعيد إلى زبيد و الرأسان معه بعد ثلاثة أيام من الوقفة

و قد حاز من الغنائم ملكا عنانية 1 و عينما جسيما و مما غنم الفنقي

فرس بعددها و ثلاثة آلاف جمل بعددها و دخل زبيد يوم السادس

عشر من ذي الفطر سنة ثلاثين و سبعين و رأس الصليحي و اخوه

إمام دودة الأشرار اسماء بنت شهاب حتى انزلها بدار شجار و نصب

الرسيين قبالة طافتها و هرب اسعد بن شهاب من زبيد إلى المكرم

بصنعاء و امتد صدور الناس 2 هيبة من سعيد بن نجاد بعد مقتتل

الصليحي و تغلب و لا الحصن على ما في إيديها من المعاقل و كاد

أمر المكرم أن يتضعض و استووقف الأمر ببئر له سعيد و بعث بالموالى

إلى بلاد الجبهة و خرج منها حرية 3 و انقطعت الاخبار بين

المكرم و بين والدته السيدة اسماء بنت شهاب حتي كان من ذروته

و اخذها من زبيد ما قدمنا ذكره ثم عاد سعيد إلى زبيد تنمكما

و اخرج منها و لا المكرم ولم يزل مالكها لها حتي كان ما قدمنا ذكره

من قتله في وقعة حض الشعير و تدبير الخليفة العلامة السيدة بنت

أحمد زوجة الملك المكرم سنة احدى و ثمانين و أربعونا

ذكر دخول جيالس بن نجاد إلى الهند و معه الوزير قسيم

الملك أبو سعيد خلف بن أبي الطاهر الاموي من ولد

صليمان بن هشام بن عبد الملك

فقال جيالس ثم تذكرت و دخلت إلى عدن و معه الوزير خانف

1 Khi, عدد 9؛ Read 80
2 Kan. عقينا
3 Khi, الحرب
لكشفية نجم الدين عمارية اللبعني

فانت لم تقم علينا كفاخر طبيعية ولم يغلبك مثل مغلبة...

ثم أمر يمنى ان يذبح رضوان إلى الخمسة آلاف التي قد كان الصليبي...

بعضهم من الليل تقتل سعيدا يقل له انا الصليبي قد قتل واما...

رجل منكم وزعركم واما يبره سعيد على باب المسجد ورأس...

منصوران عمه وتطبول تضرب حتى قدمت العبيد عليهم فسلمت...

عليه وهم استutar على عسكر الصليبي قتلا وأسرا ونهبهم قا جياب...

وعزت نفس اخى سعيد من ذلك المقام وسمع بنته حتى على...

والله في لاهوا ابن أمه وابنه وذل اشترت عليه ان يكسى إلى...

السيدة اسمية ويعفو عن من معها من بنى الصليبي وهم ملك...

وسبعه سلطان على الصليبي يخفف معهم ان يفاقوا بعد ويعفو...

عن معه من ملوك قطان فيهم خمسة وثلاثون سلطانا وان يكتب...

على يديها الى ولده العكر بن على الصليبي انا ادركنا ثارنا...

واسترجعنا منهم وقد احسن اليد وحماية اليك امك بصيانة...

والعفو عن بنى عملك وقنلته لله والله يا مولانا لنت فعلت ذلك...

لا تزورتم قطان في ملك تاجهنا وان كرمت ذلك ليجني...

حقائقنا واقتربنا دخولها فاجابني سعيد بقول الأول من الشعراء...

لا تقطعنا ذنب الافعى وترتكبا ان كنت شياً فاتبع رأسها الذنيبا...

ثم أمر بالصليبيين قتالوا عن آخرهم رحمة الله عليهم اجمعين...

وابت شيخا منهم اتقت المعركة بولة فانجزت منهم جميعا نعور بالله...

من جيد البلاء قال جياب لا انسى رأس الصليبي في عيون المظلة...

قراءة المنى قبل الليم مالك الملك تؤتي الملك من تشاه...

وتنزع الملك ميعن تشاه وتعز من تشاه وتدل من تشاه بيدك...

منهم ١

١ ٢ من بعد
تأريخ اليمن

إلى أن دخلنا طريق العقيق والنس يعتقدون أنه 2 مشهد عبادة
صلح الشيخ والحاشية ولم يشترل أجاملنا أبد الله بن محمد أخى
الشيخه فاتحة ركب وقال لأخيه يا مولانا أركب هذا والله هو الأحق
من نجاح وعبد الذي جاءنا به كذاب أسد بن شهاب من زيد
قال الشيخ في الأحقية عبد الله أن لا إله إلا لله واله هو المعلم
معتقدا أنها بدر أم معبد التي نزل بها رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم
حبيب الهاجر ومعه أبو بكر قال مشعل ابن تل شعيب قال على نفس
فيه والله بدر الدين بن عيسى وهذا المسجد موضع خديمة أم معبد
من الحرث العباسي قال جيال فارقة الياسمين من الجيزة فارق الناس
في قبة درقة ولم يمر من مكانه حتى قطعنا رأسه بسيفنا ونكرت
أو لمن طعنه وشركه ف فيه عبد الله نجاح هو الذي يطعنه وان الذي
جززته رأسه بيدي ونضِئته على ورد الفضيلة وأدرت بضرب الطبلاء
والإيوب وركبت فرست الحضرية المكية بالدبالة وأسا عبد الله
الله بن محمد الشيخ في كان فارس العرب فجعل فينا وقتل من رجاء
ثم اختنق رجل من وسقتي إلى الأرض ونادى صاحبه اقتالنا أنا والرجل
فال أعزه رحيم يقتلني قال نشئيما سعيد بحريحة واحدة وزجر
راس عبد الله بن محمد وهو يعتقد الشيخ ثم ركب سعيد فرس
عبد الله بن محمد والرسول مفضلان إمام على 7 باب المسجد الذي
فيه السيدة اسماء بنت شهاب زوجة الشيخ فيقال لها آخر جماة
فتيه على السلاطين فقاتلا لا صحبة الله يا احول بخير ثم
انشدت ووجهها مكشوف قول أمراء النقيب الكنيدي

Khi: 1 2 Kan: 1 3 Read: 1 4 Khi: 5 6
للقتية: نجم الدين عمارة اليميني

التجديد الجزء في الجريد وحدثنا أحمد بن فلاح صاحب ديوان
التحقيقب ربيعة قال لما خرج سعيد بن نجاح الأحول من زبيد قتل
جدي فرسا كان تحته فركبه و كان خروج سعيد من زبيد يربية
الصليبي في آخر اليوم الناس من ذى العشرة سنة ثلاث وسبعين
واربعمائة قال جياث بن نجاش فخرجنا في طريق الساحل وتركنا
البيادة السلطانية جماعة العسكر ان تلبسنا و ديننا و دين المعجم مسيرة
ثلاثة أيام للمجي و كانت الاخبار قد سبقتنا إلى الصليبي بخروجنا
والاسماع يومئذ قد انتشرت في الجبال والقبيبة ثم أن هذا وقت ظهر
الاحول سعيد بن نجاح حتى لا نكت من المساجد والمساجد والمعارس
والأسواق والطرق تكرا من السرون في ذكر ذلك و كنا نتغم هذا
الأمر وصفته على نفوسنا و سعيد يقسم بالله تعالى إن قاتلنا وأي صاحب
الوقت وتحدث بذلك مع أكثر الناس فلما سمع الصليبي بخروجنا
سيّر من ركابه خمسة الف حرية من الجبسة و أكثرهم مالكيما و بدو
عمان و قال خذوا رأس هذا الحول و رأس أخينا وبي و سمعة و كنا قد
سكلنا يد البصر فخلاصنا و لند أذكر إن أظام علينا الليل و نحن
المراوعة من أعمال القدرا فخرج علينا رجل من ائتم الولى و قال
إطتحكم طريق الطريق فلتقدا نعم قالت اتبعونا فص دل بين إيدينا حتى
طرع الفجر ففقدناه و نذالنا نتابع و سمعنا ضرر نفس تعب البيج2 بين
مسير الفيرو و الليل رجالة حفاة و سعيد بن نجاح راجل بينا و الفرس
يجنوب وهو ينزل يا صباح الخير و الظفر و السرور وهو يقول باردوا
الإنسان قبل أن يموت بغير إيدينا في غد فوالله لا طمعت شمس
قد وهو في الدنيا ولم يزل بعد4 السير على الوفي و الياس5 من الرجال

1 Khi واخذوا الفرس
2 Kan تعب ولقاء. Possibly
3 فجروا جندنا على فرس فلقانه
4 لم نزل السير
5 اليوس or الياس
تأريخ اليمن

وهذه اخبار آل فجاج ملوك زبيد من الحلية

لم يزل العوائد نصير الدين نجاج ملوكا للهبامة من اعمال ابن طرف الى
عدن وملاوك الجبال تعظم دولته و تنقى صولته الى ان قصة الدها
علي بن محمد الصليبيكي مع جارية اهدادا الدها سنة اثنين و خمسين
وابعماة و تماسك بنو نجاج بتهامة بعد ابنهم سنتين و الامر لعول
ليم يقال له كليل وهو في حدة عزم المماليك وبعضهم دون النفوذ وللم
يلبست الدعاى على بن محمد الصليبيكي ان ازلهم و افرق آل نجاج
بعد حصولهم في جزيرة دلائل فأما معمر الاكبر فقتل نفسه غليدا
و اما الذخيرة فكانت حالية و اما سعيد احول وهو قاتل الصليبيكي
فكانا رجلين البيت وما منهم الا ان تأدب و عاش و كثر و لكن اباهم
جاجا كان يرشم اخاهم الاكبر للعمر وهو معمر و اما جيالا فانه
تذكو و دخل الى زبيد فاستخرج و دبى كانت له عند عبد الرحمن
بن طاهر القبيسي و عاد الى دلائل مدة أيام الصليبيكي عافا على
العلم حتى برع و اما سعيد الحول وهو أكبر من جيالا و حما شفيفان
فكان أمره من اعجاب ما ذكر و ذلك أنه خرج من دلائل الى زبيد
مغامرة لأخيه جيالا حين نهاه جيالا عن الغدر بصاحب دلائل
و استمر سعيد زبيد عند الرؤيس ملاعب الدلائل وهو سوقه 2 الا ان
كان أكثر الناس حبا للنجاج و احتفل سعيد يب نجاج نفقة بين
دور ملاعب كان يسكنه اشهر الوقعين ثم كتب سعيد الى زبيد الى
اخيه جيالا بدلائل يأمره بالقدوم الى زبيد و يبشر بانتفاضة دلائل
الصليبيكي و اقبال دولته فلم فقم جيالا الى سعيد ظهر سعيد من
زبيد في سبعين رجل لا فرس مع واحد منهم و سلاج ال لا مسائيين.
لفقيه نجم الدين عماره اليمني

على الأحزاب والظلام التي في عهد سنة اربع والثلاثين إلى عام ست
أو سبع واربعين ثم مات ثم ملك عقيم أحمد بن عتايل والد البال أحمد العبدي وكان
خصوصي جبالة قال مات بلال على ملل من العين العميّة 2 ستمة
الف وخمسين علما ومن العين المصرى عن ثمانية الف وذينف
وعن استرداد النشا العصاف حايل وماركب خليل وجال وسيوف
ورسال واداوى كتابة ودعاية وابرهق وسعديات 3 ومعانش
ومنافل وسطال وطبلات وحربيات 4 وقصب عن النشة وآلات
مرسی بالذهب وسكاكين صليبة وكيزان فضة وبعليات ما متقدرة
خمسة ابرة ومائتان رطل فام العابوس والبضائع فمزنق وسناز
وذلك الصيد والوسطاء والعدم والسراج وتحك الهند والطاف
الصين والمغرب والعراق ودنانير 7 مصر وأرض عمان وكران ما لا
يبدع تحت حمص ناقل جميع بوصة إلى محلة الدائى محمد
بن سبأ فارق ذلك في مدة سنتين في سبيل المروة والمعروف
ومات بالل ين أولاد رجل منهم الشيخ صافع بن بلال ووزر بعدة ثم
مات وأقام بكتابة الأمر النميريين 8 الطفلي ودلى عمران بن محمد
وناصبه 9 منصور الوزير وليا 9 الفرج 10 يسر بن بالل المصري
وليس دون ابيه في حزم ولا غزم ولا اقدام فاما الكرم فهو مشهور عنه
مذكور به منسوبي اليه

1 ثم مات والملك عقيم
2 الملكي
3 زيداء
4 See مشمش in Dozy's Dict., also Bul. Ed. of Mac. II. 1200, where
5 علامات ميلات is suggested instead of
6 جرانيات
7 مرسية
8 مقاتن
9 بكتابة الأمر النميريين
10 منصور الوزير أبو
11 Khi, التخرج
تاریخ اليمن

وملك بعدًا ولدة عمران بن محمد بن سبا فنعنعى اهل زبيد من السفر إليه وقضى الله بتجيیه إلى دیار مصر رسلًا لامیر الجومین المعظمین سنة أضیاء وخمسین وخمسة فانخذت كتابة من الملك الصالح إلى الداعی عمران بن محمد، فسأله عن تثقيس المال الذي مات إليه 1 الداعی عمران بن محمد ما مضمون كتاب الملك الصالح فی المال قال له القاضی الرشید تثقيس قال الداعی بل يقسم بیتين يقسم على القاف فيه فیقسّط ثم تداول ورقة وكتب فيها ما مثلاه

بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم أقول وإنما عمران بن الداعی المعظم محمد بن الداعی الیجل سبا من أبي سعود من زریع من العباس النبی 2 الفقیرة عماره بن الجسر الحضری برهنة الذمة من المال الذي درج میبده لمولانا الداعی محمد بن سبا وهو القرآن وسبعیة دینار ملکیة ثم فارقت البلاد سنة اثنتیان وخمسین وخمسة وخمسة وخمسة وخمسة وخمسة وخمسة لیمن إلى الديار المصرية یكون من مدارة وشدة عزیة ما يحل الدهر إذا كا وغیث إذا جا ثم مات في سنة ستین وخمسة وخمسة عس اولاد هما محمد وابو السعوود ومنصور وما منهم الا4 من ادرک العلم إلى هذه التاريخ المذكور وهو العجمیة سنة ایبع وسبیل وخمسة وخمسة من البحر صلوات الله وسلمه على صاحبها وسبیل وخمسة حکیمة وعرج 3 إلى التفصیل فقیرة في أخبار الشيخ السعید المرور السید الی الندی جریر بن بلال 6 محمدی وقید قدمنا أنه ولی جهاده بعدة 7 مولاة سجا ثم إبقاء

1 مقال الداعی
2 يقسم على القاف فيه فقسّط
3 درج
4 استمَع
5 قدر
6 Read
7 عقد
للقيقية نعم الدين عمارية اليمني

والشيخ أبو الحسن بن علي بن محمد الصليبيكي و الشيخ العرجي
الجراى إلى ذى الجبلة ومن ذى الجبلة إلى حسن حب و كل من
رفع اليد رعقة و قع له فيها بما مثله العزة لله وحدة فلما انتهى إلى
الجبل احتسبنا الرقاع التي بآيدى الناس وكان خايني شيخ ريزان
أحمد بن موسى ابن أبي النزر 1 العامل و الشيخ ريزان المحمدى
فجاء مبلغ الرقاع خمسة آلاف دينار فاستكرها الشيخ احمد بن موسى
قال نشأته على ذلك و قال الشيخ ريزان أما أنا فما أكره الجيبة
فوالله لن شاورة على ذلك لا سلمت منه فدفعت له 2 المال في ذلك
اليوم بسر و مسحة في ذى الجبلة القائى يحيى بن احمد بن أبي
يحيى بقصيدة فثابه عليها بخمسة دينار و خلعة و قدمت 3
تهامة ولد بيد ملا كان قد دفعت اليه في بعض اغراضه و جاءني
كتابه إلى زبيد من ذى الجبلة يستعيني اليه فوصلته فلم أثوب
بين يديه قال ما اهديت لي قلت كذا و كذا من اشياء كنت قد
اعدتها له قال ما اريد ألا الشعر قلت والله ما علمت
اقدرت عليها خوفا من أهل زبيد لا آتيم ينتمون على في عمله فلم يزل
يسألني والله حني الخليلي و اقترح 4 على الوزير الذي عمل القائي
هنيى بن احمد بن أبي حيى حيى عليه فلم انشدته قال قد كنت
ابت القائي بخمسة دينار و خلعة و أنا أتيبك مما تحت يدك
بمثى ذلك و اميضى عنه في الجلعة بثبيان التي على فقسست
المال و الثياب و كان ذلك أحد الأسباب التي نقمة على الجبالة
و همها 5 قتل بنا و في الله عز و جل و مكار الدماء محمد بن
سما أكثر من أن كحيا و مات في سنة ثمان و اربعين و خمسنأة

1 دار
2 لهم
3 عملا
4 اقتراح
5 عملها
تأريخ اليمن

دينار فقال أجعلها ثلثمائة دينار وهي قليل ثم نمض و تولّينا قسمت
باثم و حضن يومنا عندها بقصر الحجر في مكان يعرف بالجادات و عنده
من الشعراء وفاعلي الدولة أحمد بن علي الحكاي و القاضي أبو بكر بن
محمد اليافعي الجندلي قاضي القضاة وهو مجيد وله بديعة لا يفصل في
الروية عليها و القاضي يحيى بن أحمد و أبي يحيى قاضي صنعاء
و هو في الشعراء عند اهل اليمن في طبقة ابن القلم فاقتراح الداعي
بتي شعر و وقتم على خازرة و شرف لنع سبق مالا و ثيابا
كانت عليه فنساً الجماعة فسبقهم القاضي أبو بكر بن محمد اليافعي
و كان قريبا منها نسقته الورقة من يده فجعلتها في نفي 2 و اتخذت
بتيته و قمت فاستدعتها الداعي و أخذت خصلة و سلمته و سلبته
نضلة 3 و فرعت بالمال و الثياب ثم فاست ينابيع كروه على الجماعة
فما منهم إلا من خلق عليها واجز صلة و اما كان في شهر ستة تعز
و أربعين اتباع الداعي محمد بن سبأ من الأمير منصور بن المنفسل
جميع المعاقيل التي كانت لدينا الصليبيون و هي ثمانية و عشرون
حصنا و مدائن منها مدينة ذي الجبلة و ذي اشرق و اشرقت فاخرها منه
بئدة الدينار و نزل منصور إلى حضن صدر و طالع و طلق زوجته
الصليبية و هي اريرة بنت علي بن عبد الله الصليبي و صعد
الداعي إلى المخطط فسكت بذى الجبلة و تزوج امرأة أمير منصور بن
المنفسل و تزوج أيضا بنت السلطان أسعد بن فيض بن عيسى الجربة
الوحاذية و اسكنها بدار ابن سبأ بعد الصريحيين و أكثر الشعراء البنيه
و مددته بالمعاقيل و العنقاقيل الزوجات المذكورين و طافتنا فرحنا لما
صار اليه و بسط يده بالعطايا حتى اذكر يوما وقد طلعت صبيحة انها

2 (sic) Read بن أحمد بن أبي يحيى
1 Read و اصاب خصمه
3 Khi،
4 ثمانية عشر
الفلقية نجم الدين عمارة اليمني

إلي عدن فملكه بلأل واستخلف له الناس ولالذي ورجه بلأل بابته وجهزة باحسن جهاز فجامره أنيسا ويهيه بن علي العامل على الدملوة ثم سلمها وأطاعته البلاد كلها وقال أنيس وقد لعنه في التسليم للدملوة والدملوة حصينة لوم استسلم قتلنiji الجووار و النساء بالقباطب لكي في مدت الحصار اسمهم يقتلل عن الله هذا العبد الذي يحتاج مثل ما تحتاج كيف يمنع من هو خير لنا منه يعيني اخا مولاد محمد بن سبا وكان القاضي الرشيد أحمد بن الزبير تد خرج من الباب المتقدة بتقليد الدعوة المجيدية الاعتر المرتقى على بن سبا سنة اربع وثلاثين وخمسينما يوجد عليا قد مات فقتل الدعوة محمد بن سبا ونعته العظيم المقرئ المعين ونعت وزيرة بلأل بن جبريل بالشيخ السعيد الموتى السديد وكان الداعي محمد بن سبا كرما مغجحا يثيب على المدع ويفرح به ويفرحه ويكرب الادب والفضل وربما قال البيت الشعر والبيات وأيضا في يوم عيد وقد احترقته الشمس في المصلحة فظاهر مدينة الجنوة والشعراء يتسابقون بالنشيد فقال لي قل لهم ورفع موتضغط لا يتزاحموا فلست أقوم حتى يفرغوا وكنا ثلاثين شاعرا ثم كتبهم جميعا وأذكر ليلة وانا عندها في قصر بالج геро أريد النزول إلى عدن وعندلا القاضيان أبو بكر بن محمد الباني الجندى وابو الفتح بن السيد وجماعة من خروحة الآياء مثل ابنى قاسم سبا ومحمد وهو نيران واحدهما طبركا وسنجى وهو محمد وكأنه قد اجتمع على بابه أصحاب هذه المداعي وهم عشرا ثم اخرج الفصائد وقال ما ذا ترون في ثوابهم وقدر الجماعة فلم يزيدوا على ماة

3 Khi, ووصف بالمتوح 1 ولم استسلم قتلنiji الجووار
2 Khi, اخاه وهم نيران 4
تأريخ اليمن

سبأ بعد فتحه الزعزع بعدد سبعة أشهر و بقي من المال الفرض ثلاثون الف دينار و قضاها عنه الاعتر و لدة على بن سبا و حدثني الشيخ السعيد بالله بن جرير المعمد قال لما ملكت حصن الحضراء و اخذت الجرّة جبهة أم السلطان على بن أبي الغرات وحدثته عنده من الذخائر، لم أقدر على مثله و عدن كله بديء في عدة متحولة قال بالله و بين عدن و لجع مسير ليلة فأدرك اني كنت من عدن بخبر الفجوع و اخذى الخضراء و سيّرت رسول الله بالبشرى الى مولانا الداعي سبا بن أبي السعد و في اليوم الذي كان فيه فتحي للخضراء فتح مولانا مدينة الزعزع فالتقى رسوله و رسوله بالبشرى و ذلك من أعجب التاريخ و الانتجا على بن أبي الغرات إلى حصنين يقال لهما منيف و اللعل و هما لسنا صرحاً على ليح و قتلهم محمد بن سبا في ليح هو محمد بن مسعود و رعية ابنا أبي الغرات في سنة خمس و اربعين و ابنا الداعي سبا ندخل مدينة عدن ولم يقم بها السبعة أشهر كما قدمت و دفنا بها في سفح الكور من داخل البلد و اوصي بالمر لولدة على الاعتر و كان موت الداعي سبا سنة تلثين و ثلاثين بعد موت الجرّة الملكة سنة و كان الاعتر الاعتر المرتضى على أبي سبا مقيما بالدمارة و هم ان يقتلان بالله بعد فسات مسلولما و اوصي الاعتر بالمر لولادة و في حاتم و عباس و منصور و منفصل و كانوا صغارا فجعل كسفاليتهم إلى الانيس الاستري و الى يحيى بن علي العام و كان وزيرة كابنه و كان محمد بن سبا قد هرب من اخيه فاستجار بالمير منصور بن مفصل بن أبي البرك بتعمر و صبر فنجرة و حين مات على بالدمارة سير بلال من عدن رجلا من همدين فأخذوا محمد بن سبا من جوار المنصور بن المفصل و نزلوا به.
لفقيه نجم الدين عماره اليميني

قال اجلًى ۱ يا يا حمير فلم يبق عندهما غيري فقال إنا كل تعلم أن الحرب نار حطببا الرجال والخيل ونا اريد منك ان تدفع إلى دينتي و هي اللف دينار فعل الداعي ذلك ثم قال و ديه ولدى فلان وأخيه فأخذ عندما اللف دينار ثم قال دفع الله عنك يا ابا حمير و بقي على الخيل ان عرقت فقال له الداعي حتى تعقر الخيل قال البعدان قدم لنا ثمها كما قدمت لنا الدية دفع له الداعي كيسا فيه خمسة دينار فلما قضى المال قال و بقيت خصلة ما اظل كركم يا ابا حمير يدري فيها قال وما هي قال ان عزمت على أن انتروج فلانة ابنه فانه تعرف شرف قومها و ليس له من المال ما يليق ان اقابهم به دفع له الداعي ستة دينار ثم قال انعمت و تنفشت ولم يبق شيء إلا انه فحسب بعثلي ان انتروج و لادى بل زواج دفع له مائة دينار كل واحد سنة ثم قال البعدان فلما بلغ باب الخبرة رجح فقال للداعي سبا والله لا سالنن حاجة بعد الحاجة التي رجعت ليها وهي ان لي بنت لا زوج لها و قبض بها ان انتروج انا و اخوتنا و تبقى ارملة قال له فما ذا يكون فقال تدفع لي مال ازوجها به دفعنه له مائة دينار أخرى ثم تمت للراعي بقول الراجز استفتته بنية زيد فانفظ و حدثنن الداعي محمد بن سبا و بلل بن جويري المجدد قال انتفق الداعي سبا بن ابي سعود علي حرب السلطان على بن ابي الغزوات ثم انيا الف دينار ثم افس و اقترب من تجار المدن الذين يكونون مثل الشريف ابي الجس محمد بن ابي العمير من ولد عمر بن الخطاب و الشخ ابي الجس علي بن محمد و ابي اعيين و ظفر بن فراج و غيرهم مالا ثم سالنن الداعي

۱ Read اجلًى
۲ Khi منهما
۳ استفتة لئية زيد
تاريخ اليمن

لئ يا صبي قل لا بيتك يثبت فلا بد اليوم عشية من عصد الجشيميات.

اللواقي في مشاربه فلما أخبرت والدها بذلك ركب بنفسه وقال
لم يسمع من آل الذهيب وهم بنو عمّه الإدريان أن العرب المستأنة
لا تقدر على حرب الطعان ولا يعسل النور الابروقة. فاتقوا بني
عصمم فاصطلاها بنفسكم والآخرين الهزيمة والعار فالتنقي القوم فجعل
منا فارس على منيع بن مسعود فطرسته طالمة شرم بها شفته العليا
والنآله افنته وكثر الطعن بين الفرقين والجلال بالسيوف وعقر الخيل
و العرب المشرودة. نظرًا ثم حملت همدان ففرقته بين الناس
و تحاجز القوم لم وادي لجميع أقبل دافعا بالسيل فاتقوا على عدوي
الوائد يتحذرون فقال الداعي سبا أو غيرة لمنيع بن مسعود كيف
رابت تقنيل الجشيميات. يا إبا المدافع في هذه العشية فقال
منيع وجدته كما قال المتنبي

و تعالى الطاعون صبيين كالمقبل
فلزم الناس يستحرون هذا الجواب لمنيع لاي الشاهد وافق الجمال
و حديثي الداعي محمد بن سبا قال اقامت فتنة الزراع مننين
و كان على بن محمد بن ابي الغارث في أول الأمر ينفق الأموال
جزافاً والداعي يعسل فكار الناس ان يميلوا علينا لنا تضعفت
حال على بذل الداعي ما لم يخطر بالبال ان يبذل و لقد اذكر يوما
ان رجلاً من همدان دخل على الداعي سبا و هو مخيم في الجيزة.

6 Khi, Read
7 تقنيل
8 يا إبا المدافع
9 محمد بن، or omit
10 Khi, و هو في اللحية

1 Read
2 الحببات
3 Khi, الثور النازعة، perhaps
4 D. in Khi.
5 Khi, المحددة
لفقيه نجم الدين عماره اليمنى

و الشيخ أحمد بن عتابة البدلي ذاها لسما بن أبي السعود في نصف عدن فانبسط ابن الجزرى في تمسك الارتفاع على أحمد بن عتاب
واستمرت ابى اشادبس على بن أبي الغرات إلى ظلم الناس و عائر
في البلد و افسدوا و اطلقوا الاقوال بعذبة الداعى سبا و قالوا
ذلك مما يوجب الغيظ و يثير الخفظة و الداعى في ذلك 1 هنّم
بجمع الفنال والغلال سراً شراً و 2 كم يلذ بالداعى * في ذلك
يضام و بتضم الصولة لصاحب على و الداعى في ذلك يحتمل
و حين كان احتمالاً أن يخرج الأمر من بدة عنم على منازرة القوم
و قدّم قادته الشيخ السعيد الموتقم بلبن جبرين فولا عدن و امره ان
بيايق القوم و يكررت التقال بعدن ففعل بلابل ذلك ك كان شهما
ان جمع جموعاً من همدان و جنوب بن اسعد 5 و عباس 6 و خولان
و حميم و مدهم و غيرهم و هبوب من الجبل 7 في نازل 8 القوم بودى
لجم و الداعى سبا بقرية 9 في هذا الودى رسوله يقال لي بني ابنه
فنزلوا ببني عمه آل الزربع و لبني عمه مسعود بهذا الودى مدينة
اخرى كبيرة يقال لها الززعور سوزة أيضاً فشيخ كل منهم بعدن ثم
افتقلوا اشد التقال
و ظلم في القري اتش مضادة على العرش من وقع السهام المهدٍ
و حديثي الداعى محمد بن سبا قال كنت في طليع الداعى فظهر
لنا على بن أبي الغرات و عمه ممنه بن مسعود ولم تحمل الجبل
افرس من اثنين ولا اشجب فانهزا فذكرنا ممنه بن مسعود فقال

6 Om. Khi. Read
7 Khi, فلم يقف. 8 Khi, ومن دلها، الداعى بالملوة حتى نزل الى لحي
8 Khi, فنازل
9 Read

١ Khi, إذن ذلك
٢ Khi, سراً فكان كل
٣ D. in Khi.
٤ Khi, ولم يلبس ساب ان جمع،
٥ حرب
تاريخ اليمن

محمد بن سبا ولد عمران ثم نفى وصفت بعدة قليل زريع إلى ان
الخراجين منها السلطان المعظم شمس الدولة توران شاه ابن أبي
إبراهيم في القاعدة وكانت بيد محمد وأبي السعد ابن عمران
بن سبا وقد كان ابن حربة في عدن نصيب لا أقوم
على حفظه ولا على تاريخ وقته وليست في آل السكزن أكر من
عمران بن حربة و من مفضل بن زريع و دون كثرما يقطر
الوصف و نحو الكزن يعرفون بالذي يوم وم بعد بني الصليبي بقيت
العرب باليمن و لم ما محمد بن أبي الغارات من مصعود بن
السكزن ولي الامر من بعدة اخوة على بن أبي الغارات وهو صاحب
حص الفضرا المستولى على البكر و على المراكب و مدينة و الداعي
الوحد المفترض مجد الملك شرف الخلافة ضد الدولة سيف اللهم تاج
العرب و مقذفها داعي أمير المومنين سبا بن أبي السعد بن زريع
بن العباس بن السكزن اليابي شريك السلطان على بن أبي الغارات
في عدن وهو مالك لها و لا يدخل من البر و له معتقل الدملوة
و الروا و سامح و مطران و نحن و بعض المعائر و بعض الجند و
اعماله في الجبال واسعة و له من الأبناء الاعز على و محمد و المفضل
وزيان و رج

ذكر السبب في زوال على بن أبي الغارات من عدن
و حصولها للداعي سبا

حدثنني الداعي محمد بن سبا و جماعة رأى عدن قالوا كما نعرف
ابن الجزري ابا القاسم نابا على بن أبي الغارات في نصف عدن

Khi، Kdn. | الكزم، المكرم،
توافق 1 | محمد 2
وصم البلد بعده 3
لا ين

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لفقيمة نجم الدين عماره اليمني

اليه الشريف أسعد بن عبد الصمد بن محمد الجوفي، وكان اصدق الناس إليه فادكره من الجند على ليلة قبل له هذه الجزء الملكة حبعة ولاتنة مشروعة على الموت ولست تثقيح باحده لا بل فارجع اليها فرجع فاحتفظت به على كراية وقيدته بقيد ف 찾아ه في خمسون اوقية، ووصل الرسول من عدن يطلبها فأحتفظت الجزء الملكة عليه وقالت له انت حامل كتاب ولاتنة خذ جوابه وآلا فاتعد حتى أكتب إلى ولاتنة ويعود الباور فدخل السلطان سليمان، وعمران ابنه النزور، وباذل عبد الله بن المهدي المعمري عشرة آلاف دينار وحصننا بأعمالها، وكانت الجزء الملكة إلى راية فجمعته سها السمعة بالنزارية، وأمر الرسول وسمعه ان يشييعه بذلك ولم يزل بها حتى استوحت لابس نجيب الدولة من ابن الحياط بارعين يعينا وكتبت إلى ولاتنة الأمر باحكام الله، أمر الموظفين، وسيرت رسولا هو كاتبها محمد بن الازرقي، وكان اديبا منشيا لدروان بليغ، صبغي اللفظ بأهر الاحسان ثم سيرت الجزء الملكة في البداية بدنية الجواهر التي فيها اربعون ألف دينار، وشفعت فيه، فيما هو ألا ان خرج من ذي جبلة بقطص خشب ونساء ينظردوله، فقال اليم ما نظروا أسد في قفص ثم ساروا به إلى ان فارقوه ذى جبله بليلة حتى جعلوا في رجله طبعت من سائقة رطل حديد، وشتمها وهانوها، وسبتها في الدهليز عريانا في الشتا، ودانوا به، من عدن في جبلة سواكنية، وظهروا، وسبتها، ودفنتها على

3 Khi, إلى عدن وسفروه
1 Khi, إلى مصر
2 Khi، لليلة
4 Khi، بعد عدما عشر وما
تأريخ اليمن

قد خبرت فرحب إلى ذي جبلة و تنسل و اعتر و كانت المملكة حجة السلام على السلم و كان سبب هذا القبض على ابن نجيب الدولة ۱ القاقيب أبو عبد الله الحسين بن علي الجلبي ۲ المأمون في وزارة سيير رسولًا إلى اليمن كان يحمل السيف و يسعى الأمير اليسار فلمه و حل واجتمع بأبي نجيب الدولة في ذي حبلة في مجلس حائل ولم يك ان ابن نجيب الدولة أكره و لا أذته و لا عني به و قد تمس منه فقال له ابن نجيب الدولة انت وات إلى الشرطة بالفجاءة فقال بين الذي اطم خيار من فيها عشرة ألف ف على بعض من ذلك ابن نجيب الدولة و النصق اعداء ابن نجيب الدولة إلى هذا الرسول و اثروا بر و حمل اليدايا اليه و ضمن لهم هلاك على بن ابراهيم بقصورهم اما احدهما فقال أثبتوا على يدي إلى مولانا الامير كنتا تذكرون فيها أنه دعاكم إلى نزار و ركذكم على ذلك فاستعنتم و الفصل الثاني أخبروا سكية نزارية و انا اوصلها إلى مولانا الأمير باحكام الله ففعلوا ذلك و وافق ووصله سل يعين القبض على المأمون فواصل الكتب و السكية إلى مولانا فقضى ذلك بتسبيب الأمير المرفق ابن الخيام للقبض على ابن نجيب الدولة و سار معه من الباب مائة فارس من الخديجة المقتريين و معن كان في حمصة هذا ابن الخيام عند الدين و سار مع ابن الخيام ابنه سعد المأمون فلما وصل الخير بن الرسول في دهلك توجه ابن نجيب الدولة إلى بلد زبيد بعد استناج حريته لذلك و كان يقول داع لا يذاق و المرت اصلت من النفاق ودخل اعداء إلى الحرة الملكة و قالوا لي ااحتقاني يا مولانا ابن نجيب الدولة فان الأمم لا يطلبها الا منك فتعراضت الملكة و ارسلت

1 Om. 
2 البالتي.
لفقیه نجم الدين عمرة العامي

خرجت واستحالت عندى ان يحسب عليها فعند ذلك وصل الى
السلاطين الأربعة سليمان و عمارة ابن المنذر و سبب ابن ابي السدود و
ابو الغزالة و اسعد بن ابي الفتح و المعتبر بن المفضل واستنفدها
في حصار ابن نجيب الدولة في الجند فاذلت لهم وكانت
الجند مسؤولة ومعه فيها من هددان اربعانمة فارس منطقته في بقائه
السلاطين في ثلاثة آلاف فارس و ثلاثين ألف راجل و احاطوا به
و كانت مع ابن نجيب الدولة في الجند فرسان كل فارس منهم

١ يعدّ بعثة فارس منهم الطوق بن عبد الله و محمد بن أحمد بن
عمارة بن الفضل بن علي الرايي و عبد الله بن عبد الله الذي ولى
الدرعة بعد ابن نجيب الدولة وهو من بني الصليحي و منهم على
سليمان الزواح و ابن الغياث بن سهير و محمد بن الأثر و عاص الى
ابن ذياب بن مهدي عذراً و منهم الفراذين و اما استند الجمال على
ابن نجيب الدولة و هو في اشد التعب كنتسة الجزيرة العقلة على
جوار الجدة منها إلى عمرو ابن عروطة الجنبي فأرادهم
فخرجهم بذئ جبلة و بعثت الى رهوة التقدان ففرقت فيهم عشرة آلاف
مصري و قالت للرسول أشعوا في العسكر ان ابن نجيب الدولة فرق
في الفرس عشرة آلاف بصرفه فإن انشق السلاطين شديدة في النبض
المصرى و ارتفحا فلما خوطب السلطانين بذلك ودعوا الناس
فلما كان في الليل ارتحل السلاطين كل واحد منهم الى بلدة
و اصبحت الجدود من كل بلد لا رأس فانقض الناس عن الجند
فقليل لنا نجيب الدولة هل ابصت هذا التدبير الذي قلت انا

٥ فاناها
٦ دينار مصرية
٧ كحي
٨ اللى

١ Khi
٢ منهم
٣ صراً or غنراً
٤ عروطة الجنبي

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استلمنا إلى دقائق زيد و لما تزاحف الناس في الجرب رأى رجل من العشرة المستأمنة يسمي فلم ي/apt الفرس الذي علئه ابن نجيب الدولة فسقط على ابن أباهيم إلى الأرض حتى شتث به الفرس فاتهم عسكرة فقتل السودان بأسرهم ولم ينحذ من الأرض سوى خمسين وكانوا اربعة قوس وأما الداعي فقالت عليه هدبان أشده قتال حتى ارتفع منهم رجل يقال له الساسى و جاهدته عنه من هدبان خمسة عشر فارسا اجتمعوا في الطرق و غاب فرس ابن نجيب الدولة من الوقعة صلة الظهر يوم الجمعة، فاتصل يوم السبت بمدينة الجند و بينها وبين زيد اربعة أيام أو ثلاثة للسهم ولم يمس الخبر الٛكِدِّي جبالة ابن ابن نجيب الدولة فقتل زبيد ثم وصل الداعي من الجند بعد اربعة أيام و ركب إلى ذي جبالة و اجتمع بالجبرة فارتدى. عادت حالة فغزى بالسليمان بن أبي النزر أربعة اشهر ثم تهادنا وعاد إلى الجند ثم غزا آخر الزى إلى الجبرة فالتقي معه ابن المفضل1 فزى بجنة سيد سلامة فتعى ابن نجيب الدولة وكان جعد الفراسة فسقط إلى الأرض فطلعه عبد لميسان بن زريع* يقال له زريع يقال إنه مسافر و حمل الطرق اليدمان على مسافر فقتله و وقف عند ابن نجيب الدولة حتى ركب و عاد ابن نجيب الدولة إلى الجند و كان ينشئه قد سقط و وقع على الأرض في هذه الوقعة فقال مخالب بن زريع في ابن نجيب الدولة لما سقط نشيته مضى هاربا ناسيا جوعنة جفافة يام بان تطغنة وليس عن المرد يتجي القرار كذلك ترى النفس الموقعة وفي سنة تسعة عشر سنة أتت عشيرة على الملكة الجرب و قال قد

3 Khi, 2 Om., 1 Read معه المفضل
لا نفتقد لجنة عمارة اليمن

و ما تحت تباب أكثر من ١ شاملا أو إثنان أو إثنان أو أثر نار فكان بن نجيب الدولة إذا سألتم عن غواصة هذه الأشياء اعتقدها أنه يعلم الغيب و هو ما عمل في حيلة ابن اخ برجنه بن عمر بن النازر يقال له سليمان بن عبيد وهو رجل نبيه القدر على الذكر فضله بالعصا حتى أخذت في تبابه و رجعت خولان إلى ٢ لذي حيلة فتحى سليمان بن أحمد الزواحي ابن اخ النازر الملكة، و زوج أم هندان بن المكرم فاخذ الجولن من ابن نجيب الدولة بغير اختيارية فجعل عليه وارسله إلى بني فانكفت أكف خولان عن ذلك البسط ثم ان ابن نجيب الدولة غزا اهل وادي مدريد ٣ و زبيد و غزا اهل السهل فأسلمت البلاد و رخصت الأسرار و انكفت الدعاء و قضى يده ع اموا الناس و عدل فهم و اقام الجنود و عزته جانب الجولة الملكة و انتقم اهل اليمن عن الطمع في اطراف بلادها و استخدم من بنى حماس و سنجل ٤ ثلاثمائة فارس و قث القمع علىهم الطرق البدائي و لما مات الأفضل سنة خمس عشرة و خمسين سنة قراة العاملون و شد أزرة و كتب إليه بالتنوين و بسط بيد و سماه و سيت إليه العاملون اربعمائة قوس أوف و سبعاً وأربعة أسود و سكين بيد و هي وطيفة للحاصر مستوطنة في الامثال فضاق به الأمر على سلتين الوثيقة و هم سليمان و عمران ابن النازر و منصور بن المهمل بن بني البركات و سنا بن أبي السعد و مفضل بن زريع و في سنة ثمان عشرة دخل ٥ رض Beitrag والوزير بها يومئذ من الله الفاتي و كانت عشرة رماة من اعجاب ابن نجيب الدولة قد

١ سحاب
٢ Khi
٣ Khi
٤ غزا زبيد فقاتل اهلها على باب القرب
٥ نظر خولان عن جيلة Khi
٦ ويلتم
تاريخ اليمن

و السؤال يا في صرف العرب عنها ولقد حكا إلى السلطان يزيد بن
عيسى الوالي قال يذكر وقد أرسلن محمد بن النزر إلى الجرّة الملكة
و هو مصطفى للعرب يستنجد بالجرّة فبعثت إليه عشرة آلاف دينار
معونة فردت بها إليها وقال هى تعرف ما ينفعني قال يزيد بن
عيسى فكتبني لي بخطبة إلى عمرو بن عروة بن الخزيمة 2 برقة فيها إذا
وقفت على أمرو هذا فارتجل على بلاد بنى الراز 3 مشكراً فلم يقف
عمرو بن عروة عليها نادى في الناس بشعار الرحيل وهو قول
يا راشد بن مريح فلم يصص ساعة وبقى منهم أحد نقال عمران أخية
هذا وربط العزوة الطاعة

ولما كان في سنة ثلاث عشرة وخمسين سنة قدم إلى اليمن ابن
نجيب الدولة و هذه الأخبار الموقعة ابن نجيب الدولة منها أنه كان
في ابتدأ أسرة على خزانة الكتاب الأفضلية وكان عميّر الحفظ
مستبصراً في المذهب الطاهر قابعاً بثارة القرآن العزيز وكان يقرأ
على كتابات فاكه اسمها فيه على ابن ابراهيم بن نجيب الدولة و لما
نحوته وهو الأمير المستحب عّر العلاقة الفائقة فخرج الدولة الموقعة في
الدين دائم إثير المعينين سار بعد ميع من الجغرافية فارسا
خيارته منتقاة وحنين وصل ابن نجيب الدولة إلى جزيرة دهلك
القية الكاذب 6 الوالي من مهد محمد بن أبي العرب الداعي من ولد
صائد بن حميد الدين فيفشت لابن نجيب الدولة أسرار اليمن
واحوال الناس كلهما وإسماءهم وحلاهم وكناهام وتواريخ مواليدهم
للفقيه، نجم الدين عمارة اليماني

شدّد فاخرج من الساطرة عبد الله بن علي الصليبي الشاعر الدبيبة
الفاطم الجميل ومملكةً وكان عبد الله بن علي هذا كثيف الدؤول
فانتقلت امواله إلى المسلمين ١ من الزر ٢ فقررت شوكته وأصل بالسيرة
المملكة، وبكراشيبها، رجا ان تقيمه الامرأة عوضاً عن النفعٍ بن أبي
البركات، وبعد الياه بعيدة، عمران، وسليمان، فعملوا موقعهما عن
قبالها وامرأته مما فعلها الفاخري على كبر نفاه كان بعد ذلك زوخت
سليمان وعمران بعض رائبةً وعندها وصار يختلفان إلى ابيهما بهدئ
و خوان مستطيرة وليم صولة وكتبه فلما جاء المسلم ١ ملك وندة
سليمان خص فهد وسقي عمران، عندها ثم ان عمران حسنة حتى
عندها، وكان فتح بن مقاتلح بعد موت المسلم ٣ من الزر ٣ خلف على
الملكة مولايه حصن التعكر، واستباد به دريا فانطفئ عمران حتى
تحيط إلى التاجد، فتح بن مقاتلح ابنته بعد خلته، وعصايتها عليها
بالتعكر، فلما كانت ليلة الدخول بها دين السليمان وعمران على فتح
حتى غدرا به وملكا عليه التعكر فأفرج عمران، واشترط عليها ففتح
اشياء وفيا له بها منها ٣ انها وها له حضنا يقال له شار فنقل الامه من
الذخائر، بما يتعزم عليها فلما حل العقاب، بيد عمران واصلا المرة الملكة
ببذل الطاعة، والخدمة، فلم تلتغت الامه، وامتدت أيدى خالون على
الرعاء وغيورهم وعئده واعتدوا، وكانت الامه التي املكها فيها حص
التعكر ليلة الاثنين عشر، ربيع الأول، سنة خمس وخمسمئة،
ولم تزل هذه حالة خالون مع الامه إذا رأيتهم قد طقووا أرسلت الى
عمرو بن عروفة الجبلي، سطرا أو سطرين، بلخواها فقيضهن على بلاد ابني
النزر وعساكر الفارس، والرجل فلا يخلصهما من الالعرة الامه.

١ مسلم
٢ الزر
٣ منهم
٤ عرفة الجبلي
٥ بالعسكر
٦
تأريخ اليعم

المرسل بن بني عامر نسي ليلو على أحد حتى وصل إلى التمكر و حصر
القبيعة، فقام به خالد في نصرة القبيعة و اقتل المحاربين عليهم ثم رأوا أن
خالد خذلهم فقال لهم إبراهيم بن زيدان أن حمزة حتى اقتل
المرشد ثم اهمل بالمرد فعميد إلى حضانة من السراي فأخرجه في
أكمل زي و احسنه و جعل بإديتين الطررات و اطعين على سقوف
التمور بجيش يشايد من الفلسطين وسمع هو و جميع من معه في
حص عزان التمكر و كان المرشد أكثر الناس غيرة و أنفة فقيل أنه
مات في تلك الليلة و قلآ خبرهم منشط هذا كان في يده معدة
عندما فشمت ميتا و اللحم في فيه فكان موتا في رضان سنة أربع
و خمسة و لما مات المرشد طلعت الجرح الملكة من ذى جبلة
و خيمت بالربادي على باب التمكر كاتب القبيعة و لطيفية التي
ان كتبنت لهم خطيت بما اقترحونه من أمان و إمداد و اشترطوا عليها
مع الوالي الى أن تصل وافقتهم شمل ذي ذلك و وئد
التمرير بولاها فتحن بين مفتاح و حدثين السلطان ناصر بن منصور قال
حدثين عماد إبراهيم بن زيدان بعد نزوله من التمكر أن نسبيه في
العين كان خمسة و عشرين ألفا وكانت خالد قد دخلت منها إلى
مخلاف جعفر قبل موت الملك الفلسطين سنة الاف بروي الشعر
و أكثرها بنو بحر و بنو عزة و بنو راج و شعب حي
و بنو جماعة ففرقهم الملك في الحديد و استحلالهم للمملكة فلما مات
المرشد و ينبس من مران رجل يقال له مسلم بن الزر على حص

1 J. and Khi
2 يشاهر
3 ولا يذكر
4 ضنة
5 رحل
6 الزر
لفقيه نجم الدين عمارا lلايمن
من آل النزير بعثت الف دينار كل سنة حديثة الشيخ أبو الطاهر
الم والحالي قال اذكر يوماَ و اننا عند المنفَّل بين أبي البركات بالتعابير وقد
اذى ارتفاع نصف عند خمسين الف دينار فسيرة* من وقته الى
الخربة الملكية إلى ذي الجبلة ولم يتعلّق منها بشيء فعانته على ذلك
فقال ليس تنفعني الا ما حصل* 1 عندها فلما رصل المال إليها اعادته
الله وقالت ابنتها قالت أحوال الله فننا قال أبو الطاهر ففرق
المنفَّل على الجاهليين لغرة اكيس فقَّلها* منها كيس فيه الف دينار
و كان المنفَّل يجمع حتى إلى الجرَّية لقَوَّة ثم يظهر فيغيب من اجتمعت
باهب سوء الوفود و يصل إليه الضعيف والقوى فيظنون في احوال النظام
والعمل و يجيب عن كل كتاب وصل إلى الناس ثم يغيب فلا يظهر
ولا يوصلي الباء وهذا عادته * 3 نعم ارمة و لما اخرج المعفنَّل من جيَّاس
من زبيد باخية عبيد الواحد بن جيَّاس هاجر حو و عبيدة الى الملك
المنفَّل و التزموا على النصرة ربيع البلاد فسار المنفَّل معهم فاخر
عبد الواحد ومنهم ثم هم ان يغرَّب بسم و يملك زبيد عليهم جميع
على التعابير المنفَّل و طالت اقامة بتهيئة و في التعابير نابية
يقال له الجمل وكان هذا الجمل منفَّل* 2 متمسكا بالدين فسعد الله
إلى التغكر سبعة من اخواته الفقيه منهم حمد بن قيس* 3 الوحاظي
و منهم عبد الله بن يحيى و منهم ابراهيم بن حمد زيدان و له كانت
لبعة وهو عَمّي اخو والدى لبيبه و أمه و اخذوا المحس من الجمل
و كانت الرعايا من السنة قد قالوا للقبيه إذا حصلت فرام الجمل
فانظروا الذكر فقدنوا ذلك ليلة فاصبح عندهم على باب البيت عشرون
النما و استولت القبيه على ملك تم بيعه و عدل الخبر الى الامير
تأريخ اليمن

تطلع من ذى جبلة ففي أيام الصيف فتمت تقييمها، واذا تعلت الوقت
سكنت بهذا جبلة، وفقدت يقطرف عن أمانها، ودخل عليها
مع خروش وزرائها وفارسون، وكبرت من عرائدها، وهو رجل الدولة
و مدبرها، ومرجوع إلى رابه، وسبقته، وهكذا لا تقطع أمراً الله، وفظعم
بذلك شأنه وعلت كلمته، وغلب تجاهة براراً له، وعليه، وربط عدد
براراً، ولم يبق بالكين من يسمعه، ثم قال للجرة، يهو، وهو في التعكر
انظرى يا مولانا إلى ما كان في هذا الحسن من ذكرئك فانزل به
إلى دار العز، أو فازليته في بعض هذه القصور، وما هذا الجحر يعني
التكرار فذكره لي في طاعة لك، على في، بعد اليوم قالت، لم تقل
هذا القول ما اخرجت، إلى الحسن حصنك، وانت رجل البيت
ولا حرج عليها، لأن فيها عاد لسموع قدرت، وعلم وعرك في خجل منها
و أطرق ونزلت الجررة الملكة إلى نين جبلة، ولم تغيير من الاحوال
شدة فكان ينزل اهلا، ثم يترصداها في طواب الحسن كعادتها فلا تفعل
وها في ذلك تواصل برة، بما يحسن عنده، موقعه ضر، من الجوارى المغاني
و السكساوى، والطيب، والعبيد، والأندلس، وغير ذلك بما لا وما
فيه وحذره منها، لم تسمع كناته، ولم في نصرتها، والذى عن أعمال
دوليها مواطن جميلة، منها أنه حارب الداعى سيا بن أحمد حين
خطب الجررة، ولم تفعل فسار إلى سيا، في حيوش عديدة، وحارب
على بن سيا صاحب فيضان، وخرج منه، وحارب عقرب بن عربي
الجندى، وغيره من سنجان، وعنس، وزيد، واسترجع لها، نصف عن

6 Khi، موقعه
7 Khi، فطن
8 إرقة للعالم
9 Read سنجان
10 مراراً فتارة لى وأتاري، عليه
11 ما فيه
12 Khi، قال له
13 اجتداء
14 Khi، مع
للغقية نجم الدين عمارة اليمين

عشرة و عاَّل على بن سبا شمس المعاد إلى اليمين فجعل حصن
ابيه ودس عليه الأمير المفضل بن قنله بالسم سنة خمس وتسعين
وابعثية

هذه أخبار الملك المفَّل بن ابي البركات بن الوليد
للخمير صاحب التفكر

لما اختلف العكرَّم بن على دار العزّة إلى جبلة وانتقل عن صنعاء إلى
عقفل جعفر قال عبد الله بن يعلى

ذهب النسيم فثبت كأحمراف شوقي إلى الامهين والجميرن
ما عبر ما بغداد ما طليمة كمدينة قد حنّّا نبران
خذد ليها شام وحب شرق والشكر الاسمي الوثيف يعان

و كان التفكر يوشك في يد السلطان اسعد بن عبد الله بن محمد
الضليكي ابن عم الملك المكرّم الذي يقتل مع الداعي على بن
محمد إخليص نشأة عشرة 1 هذا اسعد بن عبد الله بن محمد
ابن عم الملك المكرّم فنقلته عن جبارته ومن التفكر وروّعة حصن
رينة و اعمالة 2 و ولاد أخاه أبا الفتح 3 بن الوليد حسن تحرر و المفضل
يتوصّف للملحات المكرّم بذى جبلة وهو من صغار الدار الذين يدخلون
على الحرّة الملكة في رسائل الملك المكرّم و الحواجز بينهما و لما
مات أبو البركات والد الأمير المفضل بعد الملحام المكرّم جعلت
الحرّة ولاية التفكر إلى المفضل بن أبي البركات بعد ابنه وكان التفكر
مقرّر ذلك ببني الضليكي التي صارت لهم من ملوك اليمين و الجرد

ـ 1 Khi. سيرة
ـ 2 Khi. وجعل أبا البركات بن الوليد
ـ 3 Read إبا الفتح.
تمثيل اليمن

أحد يقل مولانا مولانا ورسل الداعي سبا بن أحمد إلى المرة
الملكية في السرري أن تأتي له في الدخول إليها إلى دار الغر
ليتروهم الناس أنه دخل بها فعلي ذلك و زعم قوم من أهل ذى
جلبة أنه اجتمع بها ليلة واحدة ثم ارتحل ففي صبيحتها و قوم
يقولون أنها بعثت إليه جاريةها فلأنها و كانت شبيهة بها و نعم
ذلك إلى الداعي سبا بن أحمد فبنت الجارية وافتعلت على رأسه
و وهو جالس لا يرفع طرف اليد حتى إذا طلع النهار صلى و امر بضرب
ال比利 و قال للجارية أعطني مولانا أنها نطفة شريفة لا توقع الأت في
مستحقيها ثم سار فلم يجتمعها بعد و يقال أن الداعي سبا بن أحمد ما
وطع أمة قت ولا شرب مسكر كأنها زوجته الجمانة بنت سويد
بين يريد الصلاحي تقول أنه لا يثير على مولانا سبا لانه لا بدًا امة قت
و العريبات تقول ما ذا أرسلنا مثالي الجمانة غير اسمه بنت
شاهد و دخل في هذه المرة شبيب الدولة و انغفو و دفع له شمس
المعالي الوفا من المال وكأن كريماً وهو زوج فاطمة بنت المكمّم
من الجرّة الملكية ثم تزوج عليها فكتبته إلى أنها تستنجدها فافننتها
بالخضّ بين أبي الابراك في عسكر و ليست فاطمة زين الرجال
وفقثت من حس زوجها في عسكر لنفسه فسيراً إلى ابنا الملكة
و ادام الحصار على شمس المعالي حتى خرجت منها مجمعة باباً
على نفسه وصل إلى الانقل مستنجدة به فلم يلتقت الاتضل الده
ولم يكره و حمل اليه الأمير شيخان الدولة الذي كان قد أخذ في
اليه سلتيون ارداً عن الشعر ولم يطمغة للقمة حزب ولا احس بعه

Read 1
أنا بالعملُ bleiben 2

زيد ناكاً
للفقيه نجم الدين عمارة اليمني

يريد ١ على الأحرى الملكة السيدة الرضية الزرقاء وحيدة النزيف سيدة
مارك النزيف ٢ عمدت الإسلام نخيرة الذين عسمة المسترشدين كيف
المستثنى ٣ ولية أمير المومنين وكان قايلة إرادة المماليك وقيل يا و ما
كان لهوى ولا موعظة اذ أفسى الله ورعلها امرأ ان يكون لهم نخيرة من
ارمهم و من يغص الله و رعلها فقد فدمت ضلالة مماليك و قد زوجت
مولانا أمير المومنين من الداعي الوحيد المستنصر عمدت الخلافة
امير التراب ابي حمي سيا بن أحمد بن المستنصر ٤ على الصيحتي على
ما حضر من المال وهو متنة الفد دينار عين و خمسون الفأ اضحاً
من ثقاب وأطلاف وطيب وكساو فتاتل يا كتبت مولانا فاقول
فيه انا القلق على كتاب كريم اننا سليمان و اننا بسم الله الرحمن
الرحيق ولا قول في أمير مولانا يا ابيا العلماء افتونى في امرى ما كنت
قائتعاً امرأ حتى تشدون و لاما انت يا ابي البحبيبي فوالله ما
جدت إلى مولانا مبا سبا بنبا يقين ولم قد حرمت القول عن موضعه
و سلمت لكم انفسكم امرأ فصبر جاميل و الله المستعان على ما تصفين
ثم تقدم زريع بن ابي الاتو وزرها و الاصبانى و نزوراً ومما زوالا
يلافون بها حتى اجابتهم فعقدوا النكاج ولم يلبس سبا بن أحمد ان
سار في أمع عظيمة إلى ذى الجبنة فقام يا شبرا و الاصبانى الواسعة
على كعبه و انفق على مماليك مثل قدمه الليا من العير
واتى ٥ الداعي سبا بن احمد من على ٦ همتها و شرف افعاليا
وخفا ذكره عنة ٧ و ان احدها من الناس لا يعد به احدها ٨ كل١

١ Khi, راى
٢ Khi, السلم
٣ Khi, للمستثديين
٤ Khi, محترف معه
٥ Khi, ألم
٦ Omit إحدى
٧ Khi, على
تاریخ اليمن

العرب بليلاً وأهم مرتين على باب ربعين في عشرة آلاف، وكانوا ثلاثة آلاف فارس وعشرة آلاف راجل فلم يلق منهم اضطراباً دنياً، وهاك الجميع قتالاً بالخرباب ودبّ سبا في تلك الليلة راجل في اشعار الناس حتى لفته في آخر الليل من حملته، فلم تعد العرب إلى تلبية بعدها وصاهم سبا بن أحمد الداعي ما حدثني به الغفيظ

ابن عبد الله الحسني بن علي الباجي عن أبيه وكان يسكن بني جبلية وهو من خروص الداعي سبا بن أحمد قال لما مات المكرم بن على من الجرة الملكة السيدة بنت أحمد خطيبة الداعي سبا بن أحمد فكره ذلك فجمع المساكرو سارس اشيع يزيد حربا بذى جبلية فجعته هي إياها جنوداً عظماً من جنوده ونصاد العسكرون وشبه الحرب بينما إياها، ثم قال له أهؤلاء لؤلؤ سليمان بن عامر الزواحي

والله لا إبادة إلى ما تريد اللبأ باب الأئمة المستنصر بالله، لهم المهديين فترك سبا بن أحمد الداعي اللوح المنصر قتالاً، ورجع إلى الشريع

و سير إلى الإمام المستنصر بالله رسولين هما القاضي حسنين بن اسمال الصبيانى وابن عبد الله الطبيب فكتب الإمام المستنصر بالله البيا في أئمة المكتبات ثلاثة إسطر بأمرها فيها بلحالة الداعي سبا بن أحمد أستذاناً له يعرف بكامل الحديث. ونشعت بعين الدورة برسم الدخول على الجرة الملكة قل الجبلي 4، وكتب فيما بهبه الداعي سبا بن أحمد من حص شريع إلى ذى جبلية صحبةرسلين وأستاذ الواعلين من الفقيرة الميزين دخلنا على الجرة الملكة السيدة بنت أحمد وهي بذار العزر من ذى جبلية تكلم الأستاذ و هو وافق بين وزراءها وكتابها وأهل دولة قيام لتقامه فقال المير المومنين

3 Khi, see Makrizi I. 449
4 Khi, see Makrizi I. 49
للقيقية نجم الدين عمارة البغدادي

من الجبال وذروته عالية ونالت عليه التهيئة من جميع الجبال وصواعق جبلية وعبارة وطابع وفوق وعبدو وشرف وشرف
هذا دار ابن عميد وذو الرصية وظفار وربعة وتماصيةها وحكم مصاقبة أعمال سبا للهيئة كان يسعى جيش سبا يلبت
العدل إن عادنا إذا لدنسى جمعنا ونزاوا إلى الحيمة فلا بلدت
جيشه إلا ان لقد زود من أهل البلاد ولكن غدير بعيد ويقيم سبا يجتبي خيره بما قال نقص من جيشه في أشهر الصيف والخريف فذا خرج
الشمال والربيع ارتحلت العرب عن تهيئة إلى الجبال وملكتها جيشه
فترة يكون رحيل العرب عنها بالانتقال وتارة بالرحلة وإذا عاد جيشه
إلى زبيد نشبت الخلافات وابتعلت له الرعاه بالدعاء وحلقت
الفقيها وتطهير العلماء واحتمس جيشه أيضا للعمال وحجة
الموال مما قصة منهم سبا في شهر الشتاء والربيع ولما طال ذلك
من أمرهم انتشر الوزير خلف بن أبي الظاهر على ابن جيشه فأل
يعتنق ويجتنب علي لمواله وماملكة ويدفع محمد بن الغافر وزيرا له
فتنه ذلك ثم إن خلقت تقبج الجبه وذهب إلى سبا فحس
وضعه من فهم برم يحسس للسما النزول إلى تهيئة وضم له في
الوجهة 4 والمكائد ما يتقطع به دارة جيشه للسما ما لا يقوم به حالة
المنصف وان يشتري على سبا إعداد الوزير خلف من عدة فلم
فعل جيشه ما اثار به الوزير استطماع العرب في البلاد
و أطعاماً ثم ان القائد حقاق المباني حولي سعيد بن نجاح يبت

1 Yak.  
2 Khi, فقد قال  
3 Khi, ظهرت حفلاً  
4 لعل عروضه
تَأريخُ اليوم

بِتانَجِل الجَمَاعَة منشأً بالشَّعر يُثْبِب بالمَدْح وَيُثْبِب على المَدْح

وَلَا مَدْحَةٌ ۫الهَيْثْرِي بِنْ اِحْمَد

فَعَظَمَ لآ شُرَي بِنْ زاَدْنِي

فَذُبِّلْت كَمْ شَقَّ الْظَّلَام عَنِ الصَّحٍ

فَقَيِحٌ دُهْرٌ لَّيْسَ فِيهِ بِنْ اِحْمَد

وَلَا مَدْحَةٌ عَزَّر فَحْصٌ يَقُولُ لِهِ اِشْشَعْ وَكَانَ اِشْشَعُ حَصْحاً عَالِيَاً يُمْثَل

مُسْلَمَةً وَالْتَعْقُرَةُ ۫الحَدْثَيْنِ المَقْرِي سَلِيمَانَ بِنْ ياسِينَ وَهُوَ مِنْ اَشْشَعِب

إِي حَنْيَةَ قَالَ بَسْ فَحْصٌ اِشْشَعُ لِياَلِيَا ۫وَأَيَّامْ أَنْتَ الْفَجْرَ أَرْيَ الشَّمس

تَطْلُعُ مِنْ المَ شْرَقٍ وَلَا يَشْهُدُ فِيهَا مِنْ النُّورِ شَيْءٌ وَإِذَا نَظَرَتُ إِلَى

تَبَاءَةَ رَأْيَتْ عَلَيْهِ مِنْ اللِّيلِ بَيْاناً وَأَجَدَّا يُبْنِعُ الوَاسِعِ اِنْ يُعْرَف

صَاحِبَهُ مِنْ قَرِيبٍ وَكَذَّبَ اِلْبَيْنَ ذَلِكْ مِنْ السَّجَابِ أوِ الْبَخْارَ وَإِذَا

هُوَ عَقَّالٌ ۫اللِّيْلِ فَاسْمَتْ اِنْ لَا أُصْلِيّ الْتَصْحِبَ الَّذِي مُدْهِب

الشَّاَعِرِ لِنَ اَشْشَعِبِ إِي حَنْيَةَ يُؤْخُرُونَ الْصَّحٍ إِلَى اِنْ تَكاَدْ الشَّمْس

إِنْ تُطْلُعُ عَلَى وَهَانِ تَهْرَاءَ وَمَا ذَلِكَ إِلَّا اِنْ ۫الْمَ شْرَقِ مَكْشُوفِ لَيْسَ

١٠ ِنِزْهٍ
١١ ِنِزْهٍ
١٢ ِنِزْهٍ
١٣ ِنِزْهٍ
١٤ ِنِزْهٍ
١٥ ِنِزْهٍ
١٦ ِنِزْهٍ
١٧ ِنِزْهٍ
١٨ ِنِزْهٍ
للقبول، تجم الدين عماره اليمنى

هولا الجرار قال بالما ووصف سعيد بن نجاح على كتاب الجمهور بين التبعي حسن موقع ذات عندة ويستفحل الفرح بذلك فخرج من
ثوبه يريد في جبلة في ثلاثين الف حرية وكان مستدير في يوم
قد وعدة التبعي فيه وقد كانت الجرة الملكة كتبته إلى الملك
اسعد بن شهاب و عمران ابن الفضل إلى صناعة أن يخفروا نجاحا
على تجاة في ثلاثة آلاف فارس ثم يتبعض اثة منزل بمنزل ففعلوا
ولما نزل سعيد بن نجاح تحت حسن الشعير 1 اطلق الجوشن عليه
فقد كان هو ومن معه وقيل تجا منهم الفان و نصب رأسه تحت
الطاقة التي تسكنها الجرة بدار العرو كأنهم أم المعارك زوجة سعيد
بن نجاح و هي التي عرفت رأس مولاها فنقله فصلب
بالقرب من طاقتها وكانت الجرة الملكة تقول عند صلب رأس سعيد
بن نجاح ليست لك عيدنا يا ولدنا حتى نظري مات الجمال تحت
طاقة أم المعارك وفي سنة اربع و ثمانين و اربعين سنة ما الكنمر
بن على و استند الوضعية في الدعوة إلى الأمير الابن الوحد المنصرم
المعظف عمدة الخلافة أمير الأمراء ابن حمیر سابا بن أحمد المظفر بن
على الصليبي

أخبار الداعي سبا بن أحمد بن المظفر بن على الصليبي

اما صفة فكان دهيم 2 الخلق 3 لا يكاد يظهر من الشرج 4 بطلان 4 واما
هو فكان جوادا كريما طابا ادبيا فاضلا عملا بالطهير الطاهر خبيرة

1 Khi, الشعر
2 Khi, ذهيم للذاق
3 Deest in Khi.
4 Deest in Khi.
تأريخ اليمن

عادت إلى صنعاء قالت للمركز ارسل يا مولانا على أهل صنعاء فليكشوا في قد ليحضروا إلى هذا الميدان فلما حضروا قالت له
شرف عليهم ان نظرما إذا تري فلم يقع طرفه إلا على برق السيف
ومع البيض والسلسة ثم لما توجبت إلى ذي جبالة قالت له احتشد
أهل ذى جبالة ومن حولها فلما اجتمعوا صبيحة اليوم الثاني قالت
شرف يا مولانا انظر هؤلاء القوم فلم يقع بصرة إلا على رجل يشرح كديما
أصل فاستقل القدير المركز إلى ذي جبالة فاختط بها دار العزا الذي في
دي بور وكان حثّا فيه بستان وأشجار كثيرة وهو مكان على النهر
و على الدار الأولى وأمرت الملكة السيّدة ببناء الدار الأولى مستبدا
جامعًا وهو المسجد الجامع الذي و بها قبر الملكة السيدة رحمها الله
 تعالى إلى الآن وكان بناء الدار دار العزة الثانية الكبيرة سنة إحدى
وثمانين وأربعمئة ثم استخلف المركز على صنعاء عمران بن الفضل
البياضي البناي و أسعد بن شيب و في هذه السنة دبرت الجمرة
المملكة في قتل سعيد بن نجار الأحول وذلك اما امرت الجسمين
ب التبيس صاحب الشعر ان يكون سعيد الأحول إلى زبيد
ويقول له ان المركز قد اصابه الفاجع و عرف على اللذات ولم يبق
اهرة إلا باب أمرائه و انت اليوم أقوى ملوك اليمن فان رأيت
تطبيق على ذي جبالة انت من تهامة و تخل من الجبل فتستريح منه
وتراجع اليكم البلد باسرا فأتىكم احبب إلى المسلمين من

3 J. and Khi, الشعر
1 Om. و
4 فستريج
لفقيه

فَرَزَتْ مَنْهَ عبد المستعِلِي وَابن فاطمة بنت السَّرة الملكة من السَّمْر
بن عليّ فَتَرْجَحْا شَمس المعالي على بن الداعي سبأ بن أحمد
و سَماَتْ أم هِمان سنة ست عشرة و خمسمائة١ و أُها فاطمة
فَمَتْ بعد أُمها بعقارين وذلِك في سنة أربع و ثلثين و خمسائة
و سُمِّعت غير واحد من شيوخ ت بالجبيلة يقُول أن الشَّهُيْكِي كان
يَخْصِبَها من الأكرام في حل صغرٍ ² بما لا يُمْثِلُها فيه أحد و يقول
لمساءاً كُرَمِياً في وَلَّهَ كَانَتْ ذَرََرِيَّا و حاَظِتَهُا هَذَا الْمَرَّ على يُبَقِى
فَمَنَا قَالَ و سُمِّع ذَكْرَانِهَا في غيِّر مَوْطِنَّ و أَمَا سَبْب
الْمُقْرَرْ على كُرَمِ دَلَّهَا مِن صَنَاعَة إلى مَدِينَة الَّذِي نُجَلَّ فَلْسَمْر
حِينَ مَتَتْ و الْذَّيْة السَّرة اسْمَاء بَنت شِيْبَان شَيْسَ الأَمْر إلى زوجته
هَذِهِ الْمَلكة السَّيِّدَة بَنت احمَد و استرْجَحْا إلى السَّمَاع و الْشَّرَاب
و أَسْتَبْدَدَتْ الْمَلكة السَّيِّدَة بَنت احمَد بالْمَر و يقُول انها استعْتَفَتْ في
نفسها و قَالَتْ لَهَا الْآَمَّة تَرَادُ لِلْفَرَائِش لَن تَقَلُ لِلْتَدْبِيْر فِي وَدْنِهَا و ما
اَنا بِهِدْا فَلَم يَفْعَلَ ثُمَّ احْتَلَّتْ صَنَاعَة في جَيْش جَرَاح
و تَرْكْتَهَا صَنَاعَة واَرْتَادَتْ لِي جَبِيلَة و جَبِيلَة كان رَجْلاً يِهْودَا يِبْيِع
الْفَتْحَ في الْمَوْكِع الَّذِي بَنِيتَ فيهَا دَار الأَمْر الْأَولى و بَيْنَ السَّمْرَة
المَدِينَة و أَوْلَى مِن اَحْتَلَّتْ لِي جَبِيلَة عبد الله بن جَمَد الصَّلِيمَيْكِي
المقْتَوِل بِالْأَحْلَوِيِّ مع اَحْلَوِيِّ مَرْجِيّ على بِن جَمَد الصَّلِيمَيْكِي الدَّاْعِي
يِمَوم الفَتْحَ و كان اَحْوَة قد ولَّا حَصَصَ التَّعْكَر و هَذَا اللَّيْث مَهَالٌ عَلَى
ذَيَ جَبِيلَة و هِيِّ فِي سَفَهَا و هِي مَدِينَة بَيْنَ نَهْرِينَ جَارِيِّينَ فِي
الْصَّيْف و الشَّبْا و اَحْذَفَتْهَا عبد الله بن جَمَد سنة ثَمْان و خَمْسين
و اَربَعِة عَمَّا ثُمَّ حَصَرَتْ الْعَزَايِا فِي جَعْفَر حتَّى رَكِيَّاً لَمَّا

٢ صفرها

١ Khl

٣ تَوْمَتْ قَبْل أَمَّها سَنَة ٥١٠،١

٤ وَلَا
تاريخ اليمن

بن شهاب و قوم يزعمون أن عليا ولد الحسين بن علي بن النقم ولي
زبيد أسد بن شهاب 2 قبل ولاية أسد ابن عرف

أخبار TARIFET AL-MUSLEGIA السيدة بنت أحمد

اسمها سيدة بنت أحمد بن جعفر 3 بن موسى الظاهري و أمه
البرك بناء الفام بن موسى ثم صارت تعرفًا أحمد أبو كبر السيدة
فخوفها عاملين بن سليم بن عبد الله الزواحي و هو آخر أحمد الملكة للسيدة
والدي الدوحة الهاشمية 4 بعدها ثم قتلها الأمير المخلص بن أبي
البركات بن أبي الوليد 5 بالنسر رحمة الله علية و كان مولده سنة
اربعين و أربعون 6 و تولى اسمها بنت شهاب تأديبها و تذهبها
ويقال أنها قالت بهذا لسماه رايت البارحة كان بيدى مكشطة و أنا
اكسى قصر ملءولا فقط بأسماء كاتب بيك و الله يا حميرا و قد
كانتها آن الظاهري و ملكت الأمر و اما صفحها فكان بعده
حمراء مدينة القانية معتدية البدين إلى السمع أقرب كابرة المجاس
جورجية 7 الصوت قاترة كاتبة تحفظ الأخبار و الأشعار و التواريج و بما
احسنا تجاوزت بين سطور الكتاب عنها من النظير و المعنى
و أبى بنا المكرر أحمد بن علي في أيام أبيه علي بن محمد الظاهري
عام أحمد و ستين و أربعون سنة فوسته له أربعة أولاد محمد و عليا
وقلمة و أم همدان فتى محمد و علي فنانة طفلاين بصنعاء و اداً أمه
همدان فتزوجها السلطان أحمد بن سليمان الزواحي وهو ابن خاليا

5 Read 6 Khi 444.
6 Khi ; perhaps جهوره؟
7 Read والد 8 مع أسد بن شهاب 9 بن محمد بن جعفر
10 J. and Khi
11 Om. Khi.
لفقيه نجم الدين عماره اليمني

 medidas اللسانة و الوجه، ثم ظلت إلى أن حيثها اسم يعبد بن شهاب، فأتت

 لكتب لص między بن سالم بعث في العام سنة

 والما بعد ولم تلبث اسمه بنت شهاب أن دخلت به سنة

 صبعم و تسعين و أربعين. وفي هذه السنة أمر المعمر بضرب الدينار

 الملكي واللي ينسب وهو دينار اليمن، وأمكبوت عليه الملك

 السيد المعمر، زعم العرب سلطان إمبراطور اليمن، وألي اليوم الدينار

 على هذه السنة إلى أن يقول الداعي عمران بن محمد بن سبا السريفي

 سما لالة اوحد ولالة إنزال العرب واليمن، عمران بن

 محمد ثم عاد بنو نجاح يخرجوا أحمد بن شهاب من زبيد، ومعهما

 سنة ثمان و سبعين ثم اخرجهم المعمر بن على منها، وقتل سعيد

 بن نجاح اللحول تحت حرص الشعير بجيلة من السلطان ابن عبد

 الله النبيزي يأتي شرحاً في أخبار الحرية الملكة السيدة بنت أحمد

 وكان 5 سعيد اللحول في سنة إحدى و ثمانين وأربعين. وفي

 هذه السنة خرج جياث بن نجاح وزعيم خلف بن أبي الطاهر

 الامري إلى عدن من الشرق، و سافر إلى اليمن، وأقام بها سنة أشهر

 وعاد إلى زبيد فملكها في بقايا تلك السنة، وفي هذه الكرة، وفي

 أسعد بن عرفان زبيد، وجعلوا 6 معه على أن الكبير ولد 7 ثمسين بن

 على أن الكبير الشاعر وزائر، وكببنا على حارس عادة جدة 8 مع أسعد

 4

 6

 7

 8
تأريخ اليمين

و هو ينطفّس رأسه و تتعرّك بشارة وجهه ثم قالت له من عاهبتيك فسّاها. هم لها فوجئت لاحدهما ارتفاع عدن في تلك السنة وكان عادلة الف دينار و وحبت للآخر حصن كوكبان و حوبان و عفانيما و ليسا دون ارتفاع عدن ثم دخل الجيش ارسله وهي في الطائق لا تستمر وجهها و تدلّت عادتها في أيام زوجها لسمو قدرها عُمّ يكتب عنه النساء ثم تقدم المكرّم فأمر بترال الرأسين و بني علبيها مشيدا و انها ادركت مشهد الرأسين و بقال ان اسماء بنت شيان قالت للمكرّم حين سفر عن وجه من كان صبيًّه كصبيًّات فما ابطة ولا اختنا ولم يكن قوله في كتبها انا حاملة من العبد صحة و اننا ارادت أن تستشير حفاظتها و نادي منادي المكرّم يبيِّنه برفع السيَف بعد الفتح وقال للجيش اعلموا ان عرب هذه البلدية يستلدن الجيوش السود فالمجادلة السود نعم العبد والجَّر و لكن إذا سمعت من يسيَّة العظم عزيز فاهبشي فقَّلت و من سماء عزما فهو عزيز فاتركه ثم وليّ خاله أحمد بن شيان اعمال تباعدا على جارى عادته و ارتحل إلى صنعاباسماء فتنت شيان تربر العين بالظل و ادركت اهل زبيد إذا شتم السؤوقي صاحب قبيل له تتشتّم الرجل فينول الشام للرجل 3 وللذي اخذ أمه 4 من زبيد و قتلت من الجيشة عشرين الفا دون أنه لعمره ان هذا هو الرجل حقا ثم ان المكرّم اعطى خاله اسم بين شيان ولاية زبيد وما معها شيان في هذه الكرة احمد بن سلم العامل و وافده ارتفاع 5 قيمه فضُفرت اسماء على وقود العرب ممَّاده فانتف احمد بن سالم لجنته و قال دخلت النار في هذا المال ثم صار إلى ما صار إليه

1 Lacuna in text.
2 قال.
3 وقال.
4 اشتَم.
5 Read the Jihl.
لقينه، نجم الدين عمرة اليمني

وأينست اليوم أزدهكم غير ما سمعتموه فين بالكامل وفيما قبله وفيا قالتة كفية وقد كنست أهتم عليكم الرجوع وفي المسافة إبان فا اليومن فقد عار الخيار إلى عدوكم أكثر من هم توطتم عليه خيصة وانما هو الموت أو العطار بفوار لا يردو ثم انشد قول أبي الطيب المتنبي

وأورد نفسى والهند في يدي، موار لا يصرن من لا يجلد

و كانت الحربة يومها قد صمت في عشرين الف رجل و تانت ميمنة العرب لسعد بن شيبان وعمه و قال لىما المكرم لستما كأحد من هذا الحبشة لانهنا بوقت و مولانا أخذ أجد وكما و أبنة الأخير و سار المكرم في القلب و انطوى العسكر و القلبي القزم فقاتلت * الحبشة التي كانت في القلب و انطوى جناحاها فانكسرت الأجهش و قتلوا قتل ذريعا و هرب سعد بن ناجح الأحول و ابن معه إلى دهلك و جئرها ولم يزل القذل في الناس إلى سنة الظهر على باب المدينة تم كان أول فارس وقف تحت الرأسين الطويلين و تحت طاقة اسماء بنت شيبان ولدها المكرم أحمد بن على الميلكي فقال لها المكرم وأ ليس تزخار ادام الله تزك يا مولانا فقالت مرحبًا يا وجة العرب فسلم عليها صاحبها مثل سلامها ثم سألهن هل هو فقال لى إذا أحمد بن علي بن محمد قلت أن أحمد بن على في العرب كثير فأفسر لي عن وجهات حتى اعرف فتح حسن الجديد عن وجهة قالت مرحبًا بموهنا المكرم و في تلك الجملة أصبه اليواء فارعت و احتجنت بشرة وجهة و عاش عدة سنين

1 Khi 
2 Read 
3 Khi 
4 قاصد بالمدينة هو 
5 اني اخى
6 Qasim
البوادي إلى زبيد وتتصدى بها من خوف العرب وقد بلغت
في الصحمة إلى سورة و السماها ذات البروج ولم يكن لي شغل في
الليلة تلك إلاьерودة إلى حيث بلغت السحمة والمسيب 3.م.م.ل
في قفرة من الأرض فذانا إذا بدت يبثيني و إذا لا اختمق لها خطاط الرأس
و بقايا الغبض فوقه و اسندت إلى البنجاح الغربي الذي إذا فيه ثم
نزل فصعد إلى شخص ما رايت في ولد آدم إنه مه خلفة و لا
احسن مدرك و رواية رواية الملول ثم قام إلى جانب فصل ولم
يلبلا الصباح إن تجاك و إذا رحمة انبوية من البراق الصهيوني و لا
تلقى عليه من الكفان ۱ و الفرس مثل الباعير ثم قال لي اختم حزنك
فأختمت و هو مصم إلى القلعة و أخرجني من النور السكينى و لا
و هو يروى على الدعاء و إذا الجيل قد أقبلت عند طلوع الشمس
ارسال و حرفاً و زوبيل ذلك الجنبت و كل رجل منهم يسلم عليه
و يقف و كان تجنيته لله صاحب ۳ مرنا و أدام عزة و لا
يزيدهم على ما أكثر سلة مرحبًا يا وجهة العرب إلى أن تكلموا
و صعد إليه من المسجد اقام لم يعرف منهم الآساد بن شهاب
حكم وليتة علينا هدر زبيد فقات لسلوق من هؤلاء فقال اهنا هذا
فالمكر الملك السعيد أحمد بن علي الصليبي و اهنا هذا فالمكر
اليامي و اهنا هذا فعلم الرواحي اكر مرعي تمشي به الجبل ثم عرضوا
على راج أن يطلع الدليم فلم يفعل و هو عم الآساد بن شهاب و عم
السيدة اسماء بنت شهاب و ليس دون الاربع في شرف و لا
حسب ثم قام المكرر فخطبهم بحيث يسمع و حفظت من كلها
قوله اهنا الذيون أن عزراكم لو جمست جديداً لكان قد ارهفتة

۱ صاح
۲ كاهن
۳ بالمسجد
۴ حرفًا
لفقيه نجم الدين عمارة اليمني

نعرفن نجده فنها إلى زبيد ورأسان فنفقلن دام هودجيا إلى أن
ركحه قنابل الطاقة التي اسكتها تزبيد فيها وأقامت اسماء بنت
شجب عند سعيد بن نجاح سنة كاملة في أسرة

أخبار مسير الملك الكرم عظيم العرب سلطان امير المؤمنين
أحمد بن علي بن محمد الصليحي من صنعاء إلى زبيد لاحذ

قالوا لما اعیت الجبهة في ايصال كتاب من اسماء إلى الكرم أو سنة
إليها احتلت اسماء وكتبب كتابا وجعلته في رغيف واحتالت
في ايصاله إلى سلطانه فوصلت إلى الكرم في شوال سنة
خمس وسبعين واربع وخمسة وهي تقول فيه ان قد صرت حبلى
من العبد الاحول فان ادرکتني قبل ان انح وان لا هو العار الذي
لا يزول فإني وقف الكرم على الكتاب جمع الناس ووقفهم عليه
غضبوا بالبوا وثرت الحفظ وسار الكرم من صنعاء في ثلاثة آلاف
فارس بعد ان حلفتهم وخطبهم لنفسه وحرصهم واستنصرهم وكان
فصيحا خطيبا شجاعة مشهورة بالنبث وقوية وشدة قوته وعظيم خلقته
ولم يزل في كل منزل يخطب الناس ويلقول لهم من كان يرغب
في الجبهة فلا يعم ولا يعم على الأسماء الفاف وستمئة وفارس
و غد المف واربعمائة وحديث الشيخ الفقية المقرئ سليمان
بن ياسين قال حديثي الشيخ الزاهد محمد بن عليه قال كنت
في مسجد التربية يوم الجمعة عند طاعون الفجر وقد دخل اهل
تأريخ اليمن

الريح إذا اشتدت ثم عاد الصليبي إلى صفائه خرسانة الله بعد دخوله إلى زبيد فأقام بها اثنتي عشرة سنة لا يريمن منها ومن أخبر 1 مقتل الداعي على بن محمد الصليبي وهو في يوم السبت اليوم الثاني عشر من ذي الفعدة سنة ثلاث وسبعين واربع ميلة وقيل في سنة تسع وخمسين واربع ميلة وهي رواية صحيحة ثم ولى الأمير الداعي الاجل المظفر في الدين ولئامان المومنين على بن محمد الصليبي أعمال العصوين والجبال لقوم يثق بهم وأخذ الملائكة الأكبر في صحته وأخذ معا زوجته الجريرة اسماء بنت شهاب أم الملائكة المكرم وعزط على السوحة إلى مكان حرسها الله تعالى وولى ابنه الحكم صنعاء واستخلفه وقت فارس من آل الصليبي مائة وستون حتى إذا كان بالهجراء ونزل في ظاهرها بشيعة يقال لها أم الدهيم وثيرن معبود وخييساء عساكر والملائكة التي معه من حوله مثل 2 معن بن أبي معن وابن الكرندي وابن النبياوي ووليد بن عيسى الوحاذي ونظرائهم من الملائكة الذين أخذهم الصليبي خوفا منهم ان يثوروا بعدة على البلاد ولم يشعر الناس وهم يتبون في أحوالهم متفرقون في انديتهم وانكشف الخفر عن قطع رأس الأمير على الوحي عبد الله بن محمد الصليبي واحي بدان فلم يفج منه أحد وانتقل 3 إلى سعيد بن نجاح الخول ورماهم بالجراء والحرزاب وبقى على وائل بن عيسى الوحاذي وعلى ابن معن وابن الكرندي وذلك من بقى وسبى اسماء بنت شهاب أم الملائكة المكرم فاتبعل

1 الاخبر
2 على بن معن
3 الامر
لفقيه نجيم الدين عمارة اليمنى

وخلال السودان فسار اليمين الصليبي في القي فارس وسعبنة فلم يبقوا بالنزرابب من أعمال ابن طرف وهو الوطى الذي ولدت فيه وبدا اهل إلى اليوم فاستحكر القتال أول يوم بالقرع ثم كانت الدائرة على السودان فلم يبق منهم إلا لف احترامهم جدى أحمد بن محمد في حصنه بعكوة و العوائل جبلان منهم لا يطيع أحد في حصارهما وبيهما 1 يقبل راجر الحاج إذا نفروا يخطب عينه 2

 اذا رأيت حبلا 3 عكان
و عموتيين من مكان بالا
فابشري يا عين بالرقدان

وحبلا عكان فوق مدينة النزرابب واهليها باقون على اللغة العربية من الجاهلية إلى اليوم لم تتعين لغتهم بحكم أنهم لم يختلطا قط باحد من أهل الجاهلية في مناكبتهم ولا سكنتهم وهم أهل قرار لا يعلمن عنده وليتخرجون منه ولقد اذكر ان دخلت زبيد في سنة ثلاثين
و خمسمائة اطلب الفقه دون العشرين فكان الفقهاء في جميع المدارس يتعصبون من كون لا جين في شيء من الكلام فاقسمهم الفقهاء نصر الله بن سالم العسيلي بالله تعالى لقد قرأ هذا السبي في الخص القراءة كثيرة فلم اطال الودة والجاهلية بيني وبينه صرت 4 اذا لقيته يقول مرحبا بمن حنثت في يميني لأجله ولما زارني والدتي وسبعة من أخواتي الى زبيد احترضت الفقهاء فشتدوا معهم فلالله ما لى أحد منهم اللهجة واحدة نقومها عليه ونعود الى ذكر الداعي على بن محمد الصليبي وادركت العظام والاظفار في موقع الوقع تنديدا

1 Read فيهما
2 Yak. قرأ عنده
3 قراءة
4 قراءة
تأريخ اليمن

ال يقول بدمتي منها ما لا أعلم به قال أسعد بن شهاب وكان مولانا على بن محمد الصليبيكي قد ولّى معي ثلاثة رجال كنا نوا اعوا لى على ارتدت 1 من الكفاية والعذاب عن أمر العمالتة من وادى حرض إلى قريب من عدن فكان اللي أمر العمالتة من الجيات و كان يجعل من قلبي شغل العمال و استخرج العمال ولا أحصر من أحواله 2 إلا على حساب مهمل أو مال مهمل ومنهم القادئي أبو محمد الجسيه بن أبي عقبة وهو من ولد محمد بن هرون التلبيزي الذي قلّد الماجور بن الرشيد الحكم بالعين مع ابن زياد فكان قائمًا على باموال 3 الشريعة قبلما يمهد عيه كئيس دينه ومنهم ابن الجهم على بن محمد القلم وهو ود الجسيه بن علي بن محمد القلم الشاعر وكان هذا من أعالي الرجال كريما ورياسة وكفاية في الكفاية وكان صديد الشعر وهو القائل في اختيه وقد عنفه في شدة ميلة الي ولدة الجسيه من مقطوع تراة عينين لا نزال ترى بها بنيه وما كل الرجال رجال

قال أسعد بن شهاب فجعله الداعي على بن محمد الصليبيكي معير وزيرا وكان복 إنشاء وأمره هو ومولانا اسمه ان لا أقطع بردى دور راية وكتبت ارسلها في كل سنة وافدا على الى صنعاء صحبة العامد احمد بن سالم عامل تهامة واجمل من تهامة في كل سنة من الأعى خاصة الفددينار فلا يرجع الى صحابة في كل سنة إلا بصع من مولانا ومولانا مبلغها خمسين الف دينار فاقصها بيني وبيب إجابة وأمنا إخبار البديع علي بن محمد الصليبيكي أنه في سن ستين وأربعنيه بلغه أن ابن طرف قد اجتمع إليه من ملوك الجبيه

1 على ما ارتدت
2 بأحوال
3 بامول
4 جيد
الفقيه نجم الدين عماره اليماني

أن بُثِّيها صيّرة اسعد بن شهاب صنٍّو اسماء بنت شهاب زوجة علي بن محمد الصليبيّ1 فقال لها زوجها 2 مولانَا اني لُك هذا قلّت هو عن الله ان الله يرِزق من يشاء بغير حساب فتقبه و علم أنه من خزائه فقبضه وأيى بجانته راقت ليًا فقاتله له و نعمى اهلنا و خنفنا اخنا ودخل اسعد بن شهاب زيد سنّة ست و خمسين و ارتفعنا و وحن السيرة مع الرعايا و فسي للسنية في اظهار أديانهم و اسكر دار شجار و هي بنيّة لا تكاد هيئة أخبار ان ترتقي إليها و لا يقدر سلطان الفساد ان يتسلّط عليها و هي مما بذاه شجار بن جعفر مولى ابن زيد صاحب خلاف جعفر قال اسعد بن شهاب فاستلقيت يوها على ظبي افك في جأري و اقرّ أن الصليبيّ مجبِّل و قد ولّى زبيد و هو يرى مكان السلطان اسعد بن عراق 3 و عسير بن سليم الزواج و فلان و فلان من الملوك 5 تغمرهنّ باحساستها و ان مَلَّتني بأسابيعاً فوجدت 6 في نفس غضبى من الدخول تحت بنى مولانَا اسماء بنت شهاب و كرهت ان امّهِ يدّى إلى ظام أحد من الرعايا و العمل ثم غرفت فذى أنا بثراب ينتشر على وجیى من السقف و هو مقرن بالذهب فصعدت إلى سطوح و كشفت السطح و السقف فوجدت صناديقاً من المال و فيها من الصامد والدخان و ما يزيد على ثلثيّة الف دينار فقدمت تلك الجملة فتصدقته به و صيرت ثلثها إلى مولانَا و تخلصت من مثلها و تالثاً 7 أموالاً املاكاً بالثلث الثالثة و عهدت الله تعالى ان لا ظلم احداً من خلقه فاقامت و ليا خمس عشريّة من

1 Kan. 2 يا مولانَا 3 مكان كم كان 4 عراّب 5 مولانَا تغمرني 6 وان مثلاني بابسيابها فوجدت 7 تالثاً
تأريخ اليمن

و كان نجاح صاحب تهامة يكانيته و يلاطته 1 و يستكيين لهزة، ولم يزل الصليحي يعمل على نجاح 2 حتى قتله بالسمّ مع جارية جميلة اهداداً له، وكانت رفاة نجاح بالملك في عام اثنين و خمسين واربعين، 3 كتب الصليحي إلى الإمام المستنصر بالله، يستذن فيه أظهر الدعوة فعاد النبي الجرب بالذين فتوّيهم أثاراً و طلاً و فتح الحصون و التقيم ولم تخرج سنة خمس و خمسين، و بقي عليه من اليمن سبيل ولا وعر ولا بر ولا بحر إلافتحة، و ذلك أمر لا يعود مثله في جاهلية ولا إسلام حتى قال يوماً وهو يخطب الناس في الجند، و في مثل هذا اليوم يخطب على منبر سيدان ابن شا الله تعالى فقال بعض من استنزا 4: سباق قد وُلد فائر الصليحي بال[][جوجة عليه و خطاب الصليحي في مثل ذلك اليوم على منبر عدن، فقال ذلك الإنسان وقال: سباقان قد وسار وأخذ البيضة ودخل في المذهب الظاهر، و سنة خمس و خمسين استنشر قرار الصليحي بصنعاء فأخذ معه ملوك اليمن إلى الاملة 5، فكانهم معه و على في الحصن غيرهم و اختط بصنعاء عدة قصور حدثيّ صمود بن بشارة من أنّه صنعاء سنة خمس و ثلاثين و خمسين 6 و ذكر أن عمره قد نادر الثمانين قال ثم أعقل بقصر الصليحي الاستهداف، و جمع من بني دارا بصنعاء يديّ بانطفاقي قصور الصليحي من تلك المدة إلى الآن وما فيها طهية وأحجار وإخفاء وما زيد و اعماهما تهامة فكان الصليحي اقذس لا ولاهاً الله在日本 وله مادة ألف دينار ثم ندم على يمينه و اراد

1 Kan. نجاح صاحب تهامة يكانيته و يلاطته
2 Kan. وفي الباشاك يعمل لله
3 Kan. في سنة 53
4 Kan. من حضر مستنزا
5 Kan. الذين قد ازل ملكهم
6 Kan. لم يبق من قصور الصليحي ما هو مستمدها
للفقية نجم الدين عمارة اليمني

استطاع خبر عبد مرجان نفيس و نجاح فنر على بعض من يعرفني فتجربته عين ثيابي و لم يتثبت ثياب سلطان يجمع السيطرة في معركة من معاصرة حرص و تحققته هذه الشهادة بيضاء في منزل رجل يقال له السباق و لولا ملكت الأمر وقفت لي عجوز بخطى فرعته فلم يسعني إلا اعتق شهاة و كان مثل ما كتبته في وقت التحميل شهد على ذلك على بن محمد قاضي حراز و كتبه خطياً ليذكر أن شا الله تعالى و من أخبر الصليبي في مبادئ المرأة ما حدثني به السلطان ناصر بن منصور الأول على جدة عيسى بن يريد قال أن على بن محمد الصليبي كان دليلاً على طريق السراة خمس عشرة و أن الناس في أول ظهورة كانوا يقولون له قد بلغنا انك تستمل البين بابرة و يكون لك شال و دولة فيتك ذلك و ينكره على قوليه مح كونه آخر قد شاع في انتفاح بالواقلم النام الخاص و العام و لما كان في سنة تسع و عشرين و أربع عشرة فأثار الصليبي في رأس مسار وهو أعلى درجة في جبال حراز و كان معه يوماً ستون رجل قد حالفهم في مكان في موسم سنة تسع و عشرين و ارتباطه على الموت على القيام بالدعوة وما منهم إلا هم من قوته و عشائره في منعة و عدد كثير ولم يكن برأس الجبل بدأ بل كان فئة فاصلة منهية فلما تطلها الصليبي لم ينفصح النحار الذي ملكها في ليلة الله وقد احاط به عشرين الغاب ضارب سيف و حتروسه و ضدهم و جمعه و قالوا له اما نزلت و الاقتذال انت و من معقل بالجوع فقيل ليهم أنى لم انفعل بما فعلت الا خوفنا علينا و عليكم فإن تركتموني أحرسه و انا نزلت اللهم فانصرفوا عنه ولم تمض به إشارحتي بذا و حضتك و ائتهب و بقي الصليبي في مسار و أهربة يستخل شياً فشيء من سنة تسع و عشرين و ارتباطه في تنزق من أهربة كانت لما يضع من الدعوة
تأريخ اليوم

المثل في الأدب والعقل وخطبتهما الله فاشتراك في مههما وأهمهما تقبل لا تنزوجها إلا لبعض مولات هدوان صنعاء أو مولات بني الكرد في مختلف جعفر وقد استناء وعلي من المال مبلغًا لا قدرة لي عليه وأنا متوّجة أمان إلى بنى معن بعدم وادي إلى بنى الكرد، بالمعائر قلنا فدفع له القديد فرج السحر ودلا جزيلًا اضطاع ما أدى الصليبيح وجزر العباسيين جميعاً حسناً جبها يختبئ الملوك به لطاعينهم وإعادة إلى عنف فتوّج بسامه وله وأم الملوك المكرّم زوج الجرّة العلامة السيدة 1 وأبيت أحمد الصليبيح وكاتام أسماء من الكوم والسود والبواريش السنية الجزيلة للشعراء والصلاة الواسعة في سبيل الله تعالى وفي سبيل المرأة والغير حيث يمدح أولادها واحترامها وبنو عمها بما خذلها فيها يقول شاعر زوجها وأسماء أسد بن يحيى السبئي من قضية اورثها حشت بمحمد الوامل حشماً 2 ومنها وسمت في السماء سنة 3 جود لم تدع من معالم البخل، رسمها قلت أن عظمها لبلاقيس عرشاً دست أسماء من فري المنكم 4 اسماً ومن الإخبار الداعي على بن محمد الصليبيح ما حدثن أحدث بن حسن الدوي المعروف بابن السيدة 5 عن أبيه عن جده قال كنت أسكن في مدينة حيس وبينها وبين زبيد ليتاء فلما ملك الصليبيح زبيد وقد ركب إلى مجلس القضاة وادا عدة 6 شهادة كان قد تحملها في صباه ثم تحملت مع القضاة سراً وافترا ونها القضاعة بعد قيام الامبراطور 7 بن محمد الصليبيح أنه قال إلى نزات إلى مدينة حيس

1 J. and Khi.; Ah. الميد. 2 حمت بيش الناجيم حما. 3 أروي بن. 4 السبئي. 5 See infra. 6? وأدى عنده.
للفقهية نجم الدين عمارة اليمني

بي و بالجَد السعيد عائدة SERVICE الامل البعيد فكان عالماً فقية في مذهب الدولة مستبصاراً في علم التأويل أخبرته أنه اقام يْحَجّ دليلًا بالذات على طريق السيرة والطائف عدة سنين لكيّ بالناس غير وتفقدت به الأحوال في مبادئ عمرة من خفض إلى زعج و من ضع إلى ضع فعلي ذلك ما حدثني به الفقية أبو الحسين على ذي سليمان وكان شاعراً قد أسّس ومن شعرة قُبّله في عمر بن عدنان العكى إذا الليالي اسأت غير عائدة كان ابن عدنان لي من جوزجاف

ومنذ ما حدثني به السيروقان بين العريقّي العكى عن فلان الشاعر وهو الفجول يذمّ قومه عند قصيدته

فمن يشترى عَّا بفضل فاتني جميعاً على قطع الخيار ابيعبا

صالحهما و غيرهما من الجمهور حدثنا عن الفقّاء عمر بن المرجل الجنيفي نسبياً ومذهبًا وكان من عين العلماء قال كان على باب زريب دم داخ السور دار رجل من الجبهة يقال له فرج السيروتى وكان من أهل المعروف والصدقات الواسعة وكان من نزل بمسجد اكية وأواه ويزكي ويدخل المسجد يتيحه إخبار الضيوف سِرًا من وكلائه و خديه فخرج ذات ليلة فظهر بالمسجد برجل يقرأ القرآن

فسألت عن العشاء فانشد قول المتنبي

مَن عَلَّم الإسما الممتعة مَكَّةَ إعماة الغرام أحواله الصيد

فاذذة الجبهي وطاعه به إلى أعلى مكان في دار و أكرم إثماه واستحبر

عن سبب قدومه إلى تجاه قال الصليبي كان لى عمّه يقال له شباب وله ابنه يقال ليا اسماء قليلة النظير في الجمال معدومة

? الغويفر

? من جبر جالاً 1
تاريخ اليمن

هِمْدَان وَتَغَلَّبَ عَلَى صَنِعَاءَ وَسُعَالِيفْهَا قُومٌ مِنْ هِمْدَان وَتَغَلَّبَتْ بنو عبد الواحد على اعمال برز وَالعمد وَعَسَان وَتَغَلَّبَتْ عَلَى حُصُم مسَار ايضاً وَلَيْسُ فِي الْيَمِنِ ما يَعْمَلُهُ سُوَى التَّعْمَرُ وَلَمْ يُهَدِّدُ الْيَمِنِ وَحَبِّ وَمَنِّهَا ثَارٌ الصَّلِيحِي بالدعوَةِ المستنفرة مِنْ حراز وَحِرزَانِ الْأَعْمَالِ وَبَيْنَا سَبَّى اهْتَيَا وَأَلِهِمْ مِنْ هِمْدَان وَبَيْنَ ثَارِ الدَّاعِي عَلَى بِنْ هِمْدَان الصَّلِيحِي

أخبر الداعي على بِنْ هِمْدَان الصَّلِيحِي وَعَنْهَا تَنْفَعِ جَلَّ أخبار اليمن وَبِهَا يَتَتَّخِذُ بَقِيَةُ الكِتَابِ مِنْ القَضَاءِ وَالدَّعَاةِ وَالكِبَرَاءِ وَالشَّعَرَاءِ

كان القَنَفِي هِمْدَان بن عَلِيّ وَالد الداعي على بِنْ هِمْدَان الصَّلِيحِي سِنَّهُ المذهب وَلَهُ طَاعَةٌ فِي رَجَال حراز وَهُمْ اربِيعُ الْفَا لَوْما اتَّقَلَّطَتْ الدَّوَرَةِ لَي غَمِرَتْ بِنْ عبد الله الزَّحَاجِي وَالزَّحَاجِي قرِينَةً مِنْ أَعْمَال حراز شَرِعُ فِي مَلَطِعَة القَنَفِي هِمْدَان بن عَلِيّ وَالد الداعي على بِنْ هِمْدَان الصَّلِيحِي فَكَانَ الزَّحَاجِي يَرَكِبُ الْيَلِّ لَي هِمْدَان كَانَ لَهُ رِياَّةٌ وَسُوَدَ وَصَلِيحٌ وَعَلَمَ فَلَمْ يَلِي عَامِرَةَ حَتَّى اسْتَعَمَال قَلْبٌ عَلَى بِنْ هِمْدَان وَهُوَ يَمِينُ فِي النَّمَوْعِ وَلَا حَتَّى لَهُ بِحَيَةِ عَمَلِ الْأَمْرِ وَقَدْ كَانَ عَدَّ عَامِرَةَ حَلِيْةَ الصَّلِيحِي مِنْ كَتَابِ الْصَّوْرِ وَهُوَ مِنْ ذَخَاتِ الْأَطْنِهِ عَلَيْهِمْ السَّلَامُ فَارْقَهْ مَنْهَا عَلَى تَنْقِلَ حَالَةٍ وَشَرْفَ مَا لَهُ وَاسْتَعَالَةٍ سَراً مِنْ ابْيَهِ وَقُوْمِهِ وَلَمْ يَلِبَثَ عَامِرَةَ الزَّحَاجِي حَتَّى مَاتَ وَاوَسَى لَهُ بَكَتَبَةٌ وَعَلَمَةٌ وَلَمْ يَبْعَثَ حَتَّى قَدْ عَرَسَ فَعَكَفَ عَلَى الْدَّرَسِ وَكَانَ ذَكْيَا فَلَمْ يَبْلِغَ الْجَلْمَ حَتَّى تَضَعَ مِنْ مَعَارِفِهِ الَّتِي قَدْ بَلَغَ

3 Kan. قد رَسَ مَيْدَةً عَلَى مِنْ الرَّواهِي بِرَأْيِ وَلَِلَّةِ الْمَهْلِمَيْنِ. 1 J. كَالْعِظَامِ وَلَمْ يَطَأِهِ عَلَى ذَكْرِ مَرْحَمَ.

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للفقهية نجم الدين عمارة اليمني

ولده و هو الذي عمل الجليلة على قتل سعيد بن نجاح الأحول
قاتل الأمير على بن محمد الصليبي و تغلب على مختلف أهلته
و يقال و حافظة و مقرن بني حرس بدرس و من حصنها دهوان
و يفوز و شعر و الخضر و غير ذلك و مدينتها شاحط و في سلطانها
يقول نزار بن الفقيه زيد بن الحسين الاحظي
قالا لنا السلطان في شاحط
دنيا الردى من موقع الغافط
قلت هل السلطان أعلاهما
قالا بل السلطان من هاريا
و تغلب على حصن و حافظة و بلادها بنو وائل و هم من ولد ذي
اللاع و ليم رياستة مقائة و هم حماعة برون أنهم أشرف ولد آدم
على الطلق و لقد اذكراني خرجت من سوق السجناب وهو أكبر
اسواقهم في يوم صاف فحتى إذا بعدت عن السوق لحقني منهم
فارسان بركاتشان وقد سدد إلى اسمة الرحمين فنزلت عن الدابة
و صعدت إلى الجبل فلما انتهيت إلى قالا أنا اختلنا في الأفضل ولد
آدم وقد رضينا بحكمت وكان احدهما قال بنو وائل أفضل على
ال إطلاق و قال الثاني بل هم و قريش في البشر فقلت لهم ان
رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم أفضل البشر و بنو وائل أفضل
من قريش و من سائر البشائ تفادوا منها قال انها ولد الله على
غير هذا ما سلمت منى ثم فارقني و من هؤلاء بنو وائل السلطان
اسعد ابن وليل بن عيسى صاحب الكرم العريض و الناش المستفيض
و من تغلب على حصن اشيم و هو مقر الملك الداعي سبا بن
احمد الصليبي و على حصن و خلي و حمالة قوم من بكيل ثم من

3 Yak. ياتى الزنا
4 Yak. حايط
5 Fargani
6 Fargan

ج. and Khi, J. and Khi, J. and Khi, J. and Khi, J. and Khi,
See note 19.
تأريخ اليمن

فعل بمواليدك و مواليداً قال هم في ذلك البئاد فاخر جمالاً نجاح و على عليهما و بنى لهما 1 مشيداً و إعاد مرجاناً في موقعهما فبنى عليه حياً وعلى جهته نفيس و ركب نجاح بنطلة و ضربت السكة باسمه و كتب أهل العراق و بذلك الطاعة فنعت نجاح بالمبنى نصير الدين و فوض إليه تقليد القضاء لم يراه و النظر العام على الجزيرة اليمنية و لم يزل نجاح ملكاً سهياً قاها لأكثر أهل الجبال و خطوط كونت بالملوط و بمولانا و من ولادة سعيد بن نجاح و جياس و معارك و الذخيرة و منصور فاماً الجبال فتعلقت ودا حسین ابن سلامة على الجيهم فعم تغلب على عدن و أبين و يجب و الشجر و حضرموت بنو ممن و اظهروا من غير ولد ممن بن زائدة الشيباني و تغلب على السعدان و هو حمص 3 الدلمة و حصن صبر و حصن دهر و حصن التريز و هو ما هو و على مختلف الحنيد و مختلف عنه و مختلف المعادر قوم من حميم يقال لهم بنو الكرندي وكانت لهم كمارة و مفاخر و سلطنة قادره و دولة وازرة و تغلب على حصن حب و هو نظير التريز و على حصن يقال له ذا بن و بيتي تعزو حصن السهر و هو ظليم و حصن نور و النقيل و السجول وهو الوضع الذي ينسج فيه الطيب السحولي وكفى رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم في توبين منها و هذا الوادي بين 8 سهين قوم الفقيه مالك الماضكي 9 أمام دار البجيرة و من الحجصن أيضاً حصن خدود و الشواقي 9 تغلب عليهما 10 السلطان ابن عبد الله الحسين بن التبغي

5 Khi and J. 6 Khi, الشجر 7 J. أبيض Khi, الأخور 8 Khi, لبني 9 الشواقي 10 Khi, خذر

See note 10.
للفقيه ُنُجِمُ الدين شمارة اليمني

تنهي يشوني أعمال الكبدرا والخليج ومور والواديين 

والربعاء جيل الأعمال الشمالية ُرَبِيد ثم معنا التنافس بين نفس

و نجاح عبد مرجان على وزارة الحضرية و كان نفسه عضواً مرنباً

و نجاح رفوا باللاستعراض على الرعايا ظبيباً باليهم الأثن مولاهم

مرجان يميل مع نفس على نجاح فنها ُرَبِيد إلى نفس ابن

زياد مولاة تكاثب نجاحاً و تميل اليه فسقا نفس ذلك من فاعاً

إلى مرجان فقينض مرجان عليها وعلى ابن اخليها ابن زيد وهوا آخر

القلم ومنه زاله دولة بني زيد باليمين و انتقلت إلى عبيد

عبيدهم ُفِيْن كون دولة بني زيد باليمين مائتي سنة و ثلاث سنين لأنهم

اختطاو زبيد سنة اربع و سادتين و زالت عنم سنة تسع و اربعمئة

ثم ابن مرجانا لما قبض على مولونه ابرهم و عمتة دععها إلى نفس

فنبى عليهما جداتا و هما قايمان ينشدان الله عز و جل حتى

ختمه ُعليهما و كانت به زيدا لما انصل بئم اختلال الدولة

العباسية من قتال المنتكول و خلع المستعين تغلبوا على ارتفاع اليمن

و ركزوا بالعظيمة و سأقوا قلوب الرعايا ببناء الخلافة لبني العباس فلما

قتل نفس ابن مولاة ابرهم و عمتة تمثل و ركب بالعظمية و غرب

السكة باسمه و حين ذى الى نجاح ما اعتمده نفس في موالاه

استفاش الأحمر والأسود و قضى نفسا إلى زبيد نفروت بينهما عدّة

وجاي معها يوم رمع و يوم فشل و دعا على نجاح و منها يوم العقيدة

و هو على نفس و منها يوم العرق و فيه قتل نفس على باب

زبيد و قتل معه خمسة آلاف بين الفريقيين و فتح نجاح زبيد في

في الثالثة سنة ثالثة عشرة و اربعمئة قال نجاح لمرجان ما

٤ كحي، 
٥ كحي، 
٦ نيمي 
١ بيش، 
٢ غير، 
٣ مهن.
تأريخ اليمين

ومن العلماء الراجحيين يسكن بمدينة المعفر قال حدثه إبراهيم وجماعة
من اسلاسة وقد اهله بيتي علم وعافن قالوا نظام أنسان إلى الجسيم
ابن سلمة بهذا الوادي وهو سائر من مدينة زبيد إلى الكران ورغم
انه سرقته له عيبة فيها ان دينان وقال أنا دينان في واد مور
و بعدة من الموضوع إياهم فأمر به حسين قلبه مع خواصة
و قام إلى الكلالة فاطها ثم نام في الحراب فلم يشعر إلا الناس
يقرؤن الية من اطراف أنجب إلى الحرف قال والدى وكان
من اقرب الناس إليه فسمعته يقل لرجل من قواده تعقيب هذى
الرجل إلى القرية الفلانية على الساحل فتأخذ له من فتى بن فتى
مالة من غير أن تؤديه فان رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم شفع الى
فيه وأخبرني أنه ينتسب اليه وهو صلى الله عليه وسلم الذي
عرفني صورة الجال واخبر حسنين ومساشه باليمن مجدات ثم
انتقل الأمر بعد ذلك الى طفل من آئ زيادة أعرف اسمه واظله
عبد الله وكفته عمة له عبد أسد ذات اسمه مرجان من عبد الجسيم
ابن سلامة واستقرت الوزارة لمرجان وكان له عبدان من عبد الجدادة
فكان رباحا في النصر ويلاما الأمر في الكبير واحدا يسمى
نفيسا وهو الذي يتولى التدبير بالحضره وعبد النافذ يدعى نجاحا
و هو جديد مملوك زبيد الذي أزالهم على ابن شديد في سنة أربع
و خمسين وخمسائة ونجاح هذا هو ابن الملك سعيد الأول قاتل
الامير على ابن محمد الصليبي الذي رأثه بالرياض بالدوة الهامبية
المستنصرية وهو أيضا والد الملك الفاضل العادل ابن الطائي جيش
و لم يزل الملك في عقب جيئا هذا الى التاريخ المذكور وكان

3 Khi, في جامع النقد
4 Khi, ول الخطات
1 قيل
2 فاجلهم مع ناما

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لفقيه حكم الدين عماره اليمن

وحبس وزيد وفشل وقيل: "للكريت" بكسر الباء وفتحة ولام وسجدة، وهى مفتقرة واحمدها أيضاً وجلته وعرق النشام ونجم وثور، وردبان وجبران، والمساء، وتعشر، ومعيد، ورما، ونفر، ثم تلتقي طريق البحيرة والساحلية، ويفترق من السربى وعطفها وعين مكة خمسة أيام فقول ما يقلح الحاچ من عمارتة بعين الروادى ثم سبحة الخراب ثم البيت، 3ً، ثم يردد الناس وادي بيلوم وحب بقى، عطرة إبوع وعمرها خمسة أو سنة إبوع ثم يفتقر الناس فنسم ارادة مكة ورد من عمارته، 4ً، ثم البيت، ثم التوقيع، ثم مكة وسمن ارادة عرفات ورد من عمارته بطر بواية الرحم ثم نعوذ ثم عرفات وله مصيدة على جبل الرحمة بعرفات رحمة الله علية وحذف التقية

ابو جعفر موسى بن إسماعيل ابن عمر بن عبد الملك ابن العباس، وهو ناظم عمارتة العائلة، قال حذفه والده: أبو القاسم، وحذف النافذة، بعث ذلك عبد الرحمن بن علي العباسي، وحذف النافذة المقرى،، بين فلاد بن حسين ابن سلامة. 5ً، وما هؤلاء الامام نزاع عمارتة العائلة، قالوا أن الناس مزددوين للصباح على حسين بن سلامة حتى تقدم الله انسان فقال له ان رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم أرشامي وعين النافذة لتتدفع للفدوار قال حسين لعهد السيد، تمت تلك قال بل الأمة بيني وبيئك انك منذ عشرين سنة كل ليلة تصل عليه مرتى سرة، فبكي حسين ابن سلامة، وقال أمانأ، وبه صبر، لم يعلم بها الله عز وجل ثم دفع اليه الفدوار، وحذف التقية. 6ً، أبو علي بن طليق وكان من الصالحين.

7 Khi, الضال.
8 Khi, السخية الغراب
9 Khi and D.
10 Khi, المحت.
11 Khi, من عمارتة ثم بير ادام وهى بير روى
12 Khi, والنعمان المرح.
تاريغ اليمين

اب 1 ثم الفقيل ثم ذمار 2 ثم جامع صنعا وهو عظيم ثم من صنعا إلى صعدة عشرة أيام 3 ثم من صعدة إلى الطائف سبعة أيام في كل مرحلة جامع وصولان للغام ثم عقبة الطائف وهي مسيرة يوم للطالب من مكة ونصف يوم للباب إلى مكة عمرها حسين ابن سمية عمارة.

يغمر في عرضها ثلاثة اجسام بأحجامها هذا الطريق العليا واما طريق تيبة في تفرق أيضا طريقين فوحدة ساحلية على البحر ووحدة و هي الحافة السطانية متوسطة منها إلى البحر و الجبل و افترقاها من تجاه 5 و في كل مرحلة من الطريق الساحلية والوسطى جامع عظيم 6 من الساحلية و الوسطى المعهيد وهي من عدن على ابليسا و بيا فجر طوالها تتماون 8 باعا انا وردتها مـرارا و جامع مستوادم.

ثم العارة ثم عثر ثم السقيا جامع و بـثر طوالا اربعون باعا ثم الباب و باب الدندوب ثم المها ثم السعيار 11 ثم الخبرة ثم الاحواز ثم غلافة ثم ببعه ثم الجردة 12 ثم الزرعة تم الشرجة ثم المنفيجر ثم القندير ثم عثر و هي مقرملة قديم ثم الرويعة 16 ثم حمصة 17 ثم ذهبان ثم حلى ثم المسرى ثم جدة فذدة جواصوس السواحل منها اناها اناها اناها اناها اناها اناها الا رابطة عامرا و اناها خرابا و اناها الوسطى فذالت الخيف 19 و موسر و أجدون.

1 Khi، أن
2 Khi، ثم ما بين ذمار و صنعا مسافة
3 Khi، خمسة أيام في كل مرحلة منها
4 Khi، مفتوحة
5 Deest in Khi.
6 Khi، جامع و بيار
7 Deest in Khi.
8 Khi، ثلاثون
9 D. المشهد
10 Deest in Khi.
11 Khi، للزهري
12 Khi، للوردية
13 Khi، المقر
14 Khi، الغدير
15 Khi، عمرس مصي
16 Khi، الدوحة
17 Khi، حمصة
18 Khi، ساير
19 Khi، ذات البيت
20 Khi، ثم الدون.
للفقه: نجم الدين عمارة اليمني

وأختص مدينة المعقر على وادي ذوال وكان غالباً على الرعايا كثير
الصدقات وصلاة في الله تعالى مدتياً بسيرته عمر بن عبد العزيز في
أكثر أحواله وعمر في الملك ثمانين سنة ومائة سنة ثمانين وأربع
مئة وأربعمائة حسين بن سلمة إنشاء الجوامع الكبار والمدارس
الطويل من حضرةهم إلى مكة حرمها الله تعالى وطول المسافة التي
بقي فيها سنين يومنا حفر الأنهار الروبية والقلص العالية في المقام
المنقطع وبنى الامام والفراس وعبد الرحمن على الطرقات نفسي ذكر
ما زاهية عامراً وتوتوشيا وعندما ما زاهية الناس لرواية إجهاض نفسي
شبيه وترمز مدينة حضرموت أنصلت عمارة الجوامع منها إلى عدن
وأبين وعند المسافة عشرون ميل النجدة في كل محلة جامع
وجدد حسن بن سلمة ثم تتفق الطريق من عدن إلى مكة الطريق
تصعب الجبال وطرق تسلاس في نهاية فانه طريق الجبال ففيها جامع
الحوزة وهو أكبر الأدبيات عامراً بممارسة حسن بن سلمة، ورقص فيها
جامع الينس وهو جامع مثل جامع أحمد بن طولون بعصر وكان مسجدًا
طبيعاً أول من بنائها بعده إلى يمامة واهل الينس وما حولهم من القرى
ففي فضل هذا المسجد اخذوا من جهة الأحجار. إن زيارة في أول جمعة
ففي كل سنة حتى كثر ذلك فصار موسماً من وسائط الجهج ومسكا
العامة، وأذان كان لبعضهم على بعض حق قائل اهلندى حتى ينقضي
الجهج وما يعني الزائر الينس إلاه ذي اشترف وآسر مسجد مكتوب
على اختيارها فوق بابه معاً أمر به عمر بن عبد العزيز بن حروان ثم مدينة

1 Khi, أشرق
2 Khi, أشرق

البر،

اختيارًا كبيرًا عن رسول الله
لا يمكن قراءة النص العربي من الصورة.
للفقهية نص الدين عمرة اليمن

عمرة شتاءً و لا صيداً و تقترب بها ساعات الشتاء و الثياب و بيا

بناه عظيم قد خرب فهو نال يعرف بعمداء و لم تبين ملوك اليمن

فصرًا خصلة ولا أرفع منده و في ملك اسعد بن أبي يعفر صاحب

صنعاء جبل المذخرة و بلغني أن أعتله نحو عشرين فرسفا فيها 1

المزارع و الرياء و فيه نبت الورس و هو في معنى الزعفران

و لا يسلك الآ sớm طريق واحد وقد كان حمود بن الفضل الداعي

المعروف بشيخ لائة و هذى و لائة إلى جانبها قريه لطيفة يقال لها

عدن لائة و ليست عند ابن الساحني و إذا دخلت هذه عدن

لائة وهي أول موقع ظهرت فيه الدعوة العلوية باليمن و منها قام

نصر الدين و ومنها حمود بن الفضل الداعي و معه و عل اليمين و

دعا الدولة أبو عبد الله الشيعي صاحب الدعوة العلوية بالمغرب

و فيها قرأ على بن حمود المكي في عيان و هي دار دعوة باليمن

و كان هذا حمود بن الفضل الداعي شلب على جبل المذخرة

و خطاب فيه للدعاة العلوية سنة أربعين و ثمانية ثم استرجع منه

اعتباس اسعد بن أبي يعفر ثم عاد إلى اعتماد الدعى حمود بن

الفضل ثانية و في ملك اسعد بن أبي يعفر صاحب منعا جبل

شبل و هو منيع جداً و فيه قرى و مزارع و جاعب كبير و هو عمل

مستقل بنفسه و يرتبط عند العقوق و الجعبر و هي حجارة تعصية

فذا ظهرت ظهر جودها و منهم امت الشعر من تدلال ابن الجبيش

بين زيد سلمان بن الطرف صاحب نثر و هو من مراتب تباهية

و عمة مسيرة سبعة أيام في عرب يهوي و هو من الشرجة إلى

حلي و بلغ ارتقاء في السنة خمسين الف دينار 2 و كان مع

اعتماده من الرصوه إلى ابن زيد يخطب له و يضرب السكة على

3 دينار عينية 4 Yaq. فيه.

1 Yaq. في شيء الزعفران.

2 Yaq. فيه.
تاريخ اليمن

ابن زيد جعفرة١ وهو الذي اشترط على عرب تبابة أن لا يركبوا الجبل
وملك ابن زيد حضرموت وديار كندة والجوف والمبراطة وابن
وجف وأم الفقيه إلى حالي وابن حلي وسكة حرسها الله
ثمانية أيام وملك من الجبال الجند واعمالها ومختلف المعانق
وختلف جعفر وصنعاء وصفا وعدنان وبيحان وواصل ابن زيد
العندية لمبى العدس وحمل الأبرام واليديا السفينة هو وولادة
بعدة وهم إبراهيم بن محمد هذا الذي هو أولهم ثم ملك بعدة ابن
زيد بن إبراهيم فلم تمض سنته ثم ملك بعدة اخوة أبو الجيشه
استحق بن إبراهيم وطلبت منه فلا اسن وبلغ الثمانين في العملك
تشعب عليه من دولته بعضنا فسمعنا ظاهر له بعض ما يكره ملك
صنعاء وهو من ولقه البابطة عن حميم واسمه ابن أبي يعفر
ولله كان يعتني ابن الجيشه بن زيد وضرب الدراهم على اسمه
وأم ينفذه الى ابن الجيشه هدية وليسترة ولا ضربة وكار ارتفاع
أووال استاء هذا لا يزيد على اربعة عشرة ألف في السنة يصرف معظمها
في سبيل البر الوافدي والقاضية وامام صاحب بيحان وجيران
وجيشه فيم ابقت طاعة ابن زيد وامام استعان بإبنا الشريف
الحسائي المعروف بالرسى ثم مزيدي٢ وما يليق ذكره في هذا الموضوع
مع أنه ليس جميع اليمن مدينة أكبر ولا أكثر مراقبا واجتهاد من
صنعاء وهو بلدة في خط الاستواء وهو من الاعتدال في ٢ اليو
بقيت لا يتحلى الإنسان عن مكان واحد الى مكان آخر طول

٢ Khi، الإمام الهايدي يحيى بن الحسين، الرسي
٣ Yak، وقال عمران بن أبي الحسن، ليس جميع
٤ Yak، فمن
٥ Jak.
للفعالية نجم الدين عمارة اليهوني

وقت على الطاعة دانيث ابن سيل على هذا 1 محمد بن زياد وعلى العروانى والنغبلى عند العامين و انهم من اعيان الرجال و افراد الكفأة واشار يتسبيهم إلى اليمن 2 ابن زياد اميرا و ابن هشام وزيرا و التغلبى حاكا و من ولد التغلبى محمد بن هرب قضاة زبيري بدو ابي عقدة ولم يزل الحكم فهم منثور حتى ازيلت على ابن مهدي حين ازال الجبهة 3 فخرجوا في الجبهين الذين جريزة العامون إلى بغداد إلى حصاراء ابراهيم بن المهدى و حمّ ابن زياد و سار في معركة فتحهاء بعد حروب جرت بينه وبين العرب بها و اختت زبير في شعبان سنة اربع و مائتين و في هذا التاريخ مات الفقهاء الإمام محمد بن الأدريس الشافعى بعصر رحمة الله عليه و حمّ من اليمن جعفر هو ابن زياد بدم و هداة سنة خمس و مائتين و وصل إلى العراق و وقى المؤمنين يعاون يعاد جعفر هذا في سنة ست الى زبير و سعا الفارس من مسرة خراسان سبعمائة فعظم ملفات 7 ابن زياد و ملف 8 اقليم اليمن بابسة الجبال و القِنن و تقلت جعفر هذا الجبال و اختت ببا 9 مدينة يقال لها المذيخرة 10 بعشق ريمة الاشاعر ذات اثار و أشجار 11 واسعة و البلاد التي كانت لجعفر تسمى 12 الاليوم نجلاج جعفر و المخلوق عند اجل اليمن عبارة عن قطر واسع و كان جعفر هذا أحد الكفأة الكبيرة 13 و بما نمت 10 دولة ابن زياد لأنهم يقولون

8 Yak. نقلاً
9 Yak. به
10 Deest in Yak.
11 Yak. رض
12 Om. Yak.
13 Yak. هذا من الدّهالة الكبيرة
14 Yak. نتم
15 Yak. لذاذ
1 Yak. على الزيادى وكان اسمه
2 Yak. فسير
3 Yak. التقلي الباقية
4 Yak. دولة للبيضة
5 Yak. (s.y.) وسأ (المذيخرة)
6 Yak. فيها من
7 Yak. أسر
تأريخ اليمين

بن زيد 1 فاتسرب إحددهم و اسمه محمد بن فلحن بن عبد الله بن زيد إلى زيد 2 و انتسب رجل منهم إلى سليمان بن هشام بن عبد الملك و من ولد هذا الرجل الوزير ابن خلف 3 ابن الطاهر ووزير الأمير جيشان بن ناجي فقتل الامهون لهذا الامه ان ابن الله على بن الاعباس ضرب عتق سليمان بن هشام و اتخذ ولده في يوم واحد فقال الامهون ان من ولد الصغر من ولد سليمان بن هشام 4 مما قوم بالبصرة في افناء الناس و انتسب للرجل إلى بني تغلب 5 و اسمه محمد بن هرون فنكب الامهون وقال ان لي 6 بمحمد بن هرون يعني ابنه الامين ثم قال اما الامهان فاقتنال 7 و اما الغزالي فيعتى عليه رعاية 8 لسعة و اسم ابنه فقال ابن زيد ما أكذب الناس يا امير المؤمنين انهم يزعمون انك حليف كثير العفو متورح عن سفك الدماء 9 في حق فإن كنتم تقتلون على 10 ذنبيا فانا لم فكر عن الطاعة 11 ولم نفارق في بيئتكم را الجماعة 12 و ان كنتم تقتلون على جنايات بني أمية فيكم فالله تعالى يقول ولا تزر وزيرة وزر أخرى فاستحس العمون كلامة و عفى عنهم جميعا وكانوا أكثرهم مائدة رجل واضافهم إلى ابن الاعباس الفضل بن سهيل بن الرياسين وقيل إلى اخيه الحسن ملما توجى لبرهيم بن المهدى في بغداد في العام سنة 13 انتين و مائتين وافقت ذلك و روى 14 كتب عابد اليمين بخطو الشاعر.

1 Yak. من ولد زيد بن ابيه.
2 Yak. قوم من ولد هشام و فيهم رجل من من بني أمية, Khi, J.
3 Yak. الى عبد الله بن زيد بن ابيه.
4 Yak. الي الامه، J.
5 Yak. الامهون.
6 Yak. ما لي.
تاريخ اليمن

للقيد العالية تَحم الكُتباء عمارة اليمن

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي أвести أطراف النسيم واكرم نور الله وعليه

آلية العلم وطرقات العلم وسلام وبعد فاتحة في سنة ثلاث وستين

و خمسية، حضرت جلالة الدولة القاضي الناجي الفاضل ابن علي

عبد الرحمن بن النائب الأشرف إبن الله إبن عبد الله بن علي الكاظم على البديع

حرس الله علامة إمام سموه وهو يومئذ صاحب ديوان الانتهاء عن

العلاقة العامة، فدانا بن هذائي أمية إلى وضع كتاب جمع فيه

ما علق بجهزه من أخبار جزيرة اليمن سهلها وعرها جزأ وجزأ

و جدد معالمها واسباب جمليتها وحوسب أهلها ومرههم ومشارهم

و شخصتهم والأخبر قضاها ودعاها وأخبار إيمانيها وإرهازيها ومن روته

عبده أو راكه من شهارتها فلم تفتح من ذلك ما ندب إليه ومرات

عن المستحق عليه وما هو من استحق لذا خصياً، واجلالاً بمسور

خطر، ولم يشيعه تقاسية عامية جمالية على حملة العجز.

خدعت الشيخ القتيبة نزار 1 بن عبد المطلب العكبي، والقديم أحمد بن

حمد الشعري 2، وما منهما إلا عرف بأيام الناس واسبابهم واهاليهم و

قراة في كتاب عين لأخبار زبيد تأليف الملك المكيين ابن الطائي

جيشن بن نجاح نصبر الدين 3، مال زبيد قلنا لما كان في سنة تسعم

و تسعة، وصلاته أني إلى العالمون بن الرشيد بقدم من وله عبد الله

ابرهيم الفرضي الشعري

1 Khi, المنصور نزار

2 Khi, أبو أحمد بن

3 Khi, ظاهر الدين

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